TARAS KUZIO

UKRAINE

Democratization, Corruption, and the New Russian Imperialism

PRAEGER SECURITY INTERNATIONAL

Ukraine

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TARAS KUZIO

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The relationship between the state and the society is seen as one between conqueror and conquered. The state is in control, but in the manner of an occupation power dealing with a conquered populace. It is the active party, the organizing and energizing force, in the drama of dual Russia, where as the population at large is the passive and subordinate party, the tool and victim of the state's designs. The consciousness of the state as an alien power grew out of a real separation of the state from the nation.

Robert C. Tucker
The Soviet Political Mind: Stalinism and Post-Stalin Change
(New York: W.W. Norton, 1972, 122–123)

No European country was subject to such intense colonization as Ukraine, and no European country suffered more: It was the deadliest place on Earth between 1939 and 1945.

Timothy Snyder
The Battle in Ukraine Means Everything, *New Republic*, May 11, 2014

Is Russian President Vladimir Putin's aim to destroy Ukraine as an independent state? More or less yes. The Russian strategic objective is to change the regime in Kyiv... Ideally Russia would want to find a former Georgian Prime Minister Bidzina Ivanishvili for Ukraine, an interlocutor who understands former (President Leonid) Kuchma's policies that would permit Ukraine be a Russian dominion, with limited sovereignty of some kind, without the Crimea, but constitutional safeguards and power for the Donbas guys to veto any attempt to move Ukraine to the West. Putin would want (Ukraine's leader) to be controllable.

Pavel Felgenhauer, Interviewed by the *Kyiv Post*, January 25, 2015

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Preface and Acknowledgments

Western histories of Ukraine survey Ukrainian history from earliest times to the present and are primarily geared to those who have an interest in the centuries-long evolution of Ukrainian history.[1] Serhiy Yekelchyk's history is a survey of twentieth-century history until the disintegration of the USSR and emergence of Ukraine as an independent state.[2] This book is different in that it provides the first analysis of *how* and *why* events have shaped *achievements* and *disappointments* in contemporary Ukraine. As former Russian Prime Minister and Ambassador to Ukraine Viktor Chernomyrdin famously said: "Хотели как лучше, а получилось как всегда (We wanted the best outcome, but it turned out as always)."

This book presents an original framework for understanding Ukraine's history as a series of seven historic cycles, during which European (Ukrainophile) and Eurasianist (Russophile and Sovietophile) orientations and policies competed between respectively mutually exclusive and multiple identities within a regionally diverse Ukraine. The book is an outcome of the author's three decades of involvement in Soviet and independent Ukraine, first as an MA student in Soviet Studies who attempted to convince his University of London professors on the cusp of Mikhail Gorbachev coming to power that there was a nationality problem in the USSR. My MA degree was made possible working as a journalist and democratic activist for Prolog Research and Publishing Corporation, which played an important role in Ukraine's drive to independence. During the 1990s, my PhD at the University of Birmingham, which was combined with political, economic, and legal consultancy work and journalism, became intractably bound up with Ukraine's quadruple transition.[3] Meanwhile, my

interest in Ukraine's national security grew out of a fellowship at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS). Not surprisingly therefore, the book includes personal examples and interviews from my long and multifaceted involvement with Ukraine. (In reports presented by Ukraine's Foreign Intelligence Service to the presidential secretariat under President Viktor Yushchenko, this author was cited by the service as one of the "influential experts on Ukraine, with access to decision-making circles in the West").[4] In December 2013, during the Euromaidan, this author was included in a blacklist of foreigners to not be allowed to enter Ukraine proposed by the Party of Regions to the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU); not coincidentally in view of who was in power in Ukraine, this was the second time I was blacklisted the first being in the Soviet Union. The book also draws on extensive primary and secondary sources that break through the Byzantine world of opaque politics by providing frank insight into the political culture of Ukrainian elites.

This book begins its survey and analysis of Ukrainian history with the death of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin in 1953 because independent Ukraine did not begin with a clean slate in 1991. As this book demonstrates, post-Soviet Ukraine is heavily influenced by Soviet Ukraine, specifically by how political repression and nationality policies entrenched mutually exclusive and multiple identities in Western-Central and Eastern-Southern Ukraine, respectively, that made the continuation of historic cycles inevitable; 1991 did not mean the end of Ukrainian history, merely the continuation of historic cycles. One of the most important of these Soviet legacies continues to influence Ukrainian political culture; namely, the manner in which elites and everyday Ukrainians think, act, and operate.

This book analyzes 10 critical areas that are central to our understanding of the "Why?" in contemporary Ukrainian history. These include (1) the legacy of Soviet political culture leads to virtual domestic and foreign policies; (2) Russification was facilitated in the 1970s by the Soviet regime and Westernization and latter continues to a great degree in post-Soviet Ukraine; (3) Ukrainian elites remain provincial, a fact of crucial importance for hampering Ukraine's policy process; (4) émigré nationalists were unsuccessful in establishing their presence in Soviet and post-Soviet Ukraine; (5) nationalism and patriotism in Ukraine is a far broader phenomenon than Western ethnic Ukrainian; (6) the Orange Revolution could have been a major breakthrough but failed to achieve its declared objectives and the Euromaidan leaders face an even more difficult task because of the domestic and foreign environment they inherited; (7) energy corruption has been led by Western Ukrainians and—the rule of law as a central component of democracies and market economies is not understood across the political spectrum; (8) two decades of cooperation with NATO de-Sovietized the former Soviet Ukrainian military but

nonmilitary security forces remained unreformed and represent major threats to Ukraine's democratic development (as witnessed during the Euromaidan); (9) Ukrainian foreign policy sought to balance East and West but failed to satisfy either and since the Euromaidan and Russian-backed separatism has become unequivocally pro-European; and (10) reforms of these nine factors is impossible without a national compromise between mutually exclusive and multiple identities.

The Introduction surveys the emergence of Ukraine within its borders in the twentieth century and outlines the book's framework of seven historic cycles and competing mutually exclusive and multiple identities. The subsequent narrative includes three chapters on contemporary Soviet Ukrainian history from 1953 to 1991 and independent Ukraine since 1991 through to the Euromaidan and Donbas conflict. The nine chapters in the thematic section of the book include two on émigrés, dissidents, opposition movements, and political parties in Soviet and independent Ukraine; two chapters on nationality policies in Soviet Ukraine and nation-building policies in independent Ukraine; three chapters on economics and society, the rule of law and corruption, regional clans, and oligarchs; and two chapters on foreign policy and military and security policies.

Professor Paul Robert Magocsi, chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto for the last three decades, provided invaluable advice and suggestions for the structure of the book. Academic support was provided by the Austrian Marshal Plan Foundation during a Visiting Fellowship in 2010–2011 at the Center for Transatlantic Relations, School of Advanced International Relations, Johns Hopkins University, in Washington, DC, and a Visiting Fellowship in 2011–2012 at the Slavic Research Centre at Hokkaido University, Sapporo, Japan. I also wish to thank Bohdan Vitvitsky for his long-term support for Ukrainian studies and my research and publishing and Ihor Broda for excellent strategic advice. Finally, I would like to thank Peter Shutak for editorial assistance from which the book immensely benefitted.

My father, Joseph Kuzio, and late father-in-law, Mychaylo Jajecznyk, provided inspiration and nurturing that encouraged my interest in Ukraine's history and politics. I am most grateful to my wife Oksana A. Jajecznyk for providing endless support and patience with my long absences from home during my fellowships. I am also grateful to numerous Western and Ukrainian experts, government officials, scholars, and journalists working in and on Ukraine who have provided information and quotations that are included in the book, some of which are cited at their request anonymously.

Note on Transliteration

The transliteration system used in this book is the one used by the U.S. Board on Geographic Names, as well as U.K. official bodies, such as the PCGN (Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British official use). This book uses Ukrainian transliterations of names, media. and geographic locations except in the case of Euromaidan that has become the internationally recognized transliteration (rather than Euro-Maydan). When the surnames appear twice or on more occasions from different people (e.g., Yevhen, Ruslan, and Volodymyr Shcherban, Andriy and Serhiy Kluyev, Vitaliy and Volodymyr Klitschko, or Vyacheslav and Taras Chornovil), they are rendered in full throughout the book. There are two exceptions to this rule because their names appear extensively in the book: (1) Petro Yushchenko is written in full on each occasion, but Viktor Yushchenko appears in full only on the first occasion and (2) Oleksandr Yanukovych is written in full, but Viktor Yanukovych appears in full only on the first occasion. The book uses the widely known term KGB (Committee on State Security, 1954–1991) rather than the Ukrainian equivalent KDB.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

The Agrarian Party (*Ahrarna Partiya*) was renamed the Peoples Party of Ukraine ([NPU] 2004) and led by Volodymyr Lytvyn (2004–).

Alpha antiterrorist special forces (*spetsnaz*) unit within the Soviet era KGB and Security Service of Ukraine (SBU).

Batkivshchina (Fatherland) is a political party led by Yuliya Tymoshenko (1999–).

Berkut (Golden Eagle) were the riot police within the Interior Ministry (1991–2014).

BYuT (Bloc of Yuliya Tymoshenko) was a bloc of political parties that included in different elections *Batkivshchina*, the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine, and the Reforms and Order Party.

CDPP (Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners) was established and led by Ukrainian-Americans and Ukrainian-Canadians (1970s and 1980s).

Chornobyl (Chernobyl) is a nuclear power plant north of Kyiv that experienced a major accident (1986).

CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) was established by Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus (1991) and expanded to include 11 former Soviet republics.

DCFTA (Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement) is one of the major components of the Association Agreement signed with the European Union (2014) after Ukraine joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2008.

Derzhavnyky (statists) are political leaders and political parties who prioritize state building over other policies.

Donbas is a region that incorporates Donetsk and Luhansk *oblasts* in Ukraine and part of the Rostov region in the Russian Federation.

EPP (European People's Party) is a center-right political group in the European parliament that *Batkivshchina, Rukh,* and UDAR are members of.

"Era of Stagnation" was a term used to define the Soviet Union under Leonid Brezhnev (1964–1982).

The *Front Zmin* (Front for Change) party was led by Arseniy Yatsenyuk (2008–2012) when it merged with *Batkivshchina* and the Reforms and Order party to establish the United Opposition. Yatsenyuk split from Tymoshenko to establish the Popular Front (2014).

FNP (*[Forum Natsyonalnoho Poryatunku]* National Salvation Forum) was established in 2001 by opposition parties *Batkivshchina,* Social Democratic Party of Ukraine, Ukrainian Republican Party "*Sobor,*" Ukrainian Republican Party, Socialist Party of Ukraine, and Christian Democratic Party of Ukraine, who supported Ukraine without the Kuchma movement (2000).

Holodomor ([moryty holodom] killing by hunger) was an artificial famine organized by the Soviet regime that led to an estimated 3.5–4 million deaths of people living in Ukraine and in the Ukrainian populated region of Kuban in the Northern Caucasus (1932–1933).

Hryvnya is the name of the Ukrainian currency used in Kyiv Rus and by the UNR and introduced by the National Bank of Ukraine under Chairperson Viktor Yushchenko (1996).

ISD (Industrial Union of Donbas) is a business group established (1995) by Akhat Bragin, Yevhen Shcherban, and Alexander Momot, who were

assassinated (1995–1996), and Volodymyr Shcherban, and was divided (2000) into ISD and Systems Capital Management (SCM) with ISD owned by Serhiy Taruta (40 percent), Oleh Mkrtchian (40 percent), and Vitaliy Hayduk (20 percent).

KNDS (Confederation of National Democratic Forces) was established by the *derzhavnyk* wing of *Rukh* (1992) in opposition to Vyacheslav Chornovil's "constructive opposition" that supported cooperation with Presidents Leonid Kravchuk and Leonid Kuchma.

Komsomol ([VLKSM] All-Union Leninist Young Communist League) was the youth wing of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

KOP (*[Komanda Ozymoho Pokolinnya]* Winter Crop Generation) was an election bloc (2002) of the Constitutional-Democratic party, Liberal-Democratic Party of Ukraine, Party of Private Property, and the Peasant Democratic Party.

KPU (Communist Party of Ukraine) is a new political party (1993), although it claims to be the successor party to the Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party, and led by Petro Symonenko.

Krysha is criminal slang for roof but used in the former USSR to mean political protection for businesspersons.

KUN (Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists) is a political party established by OUNb (1992) and led by OUNb leader Yaroslava Stetsko (1992–2003) and Oleksiy Ivchenko (2003–2011).

Liberal Party (*Liberalnoyi Partiyi Ukrayiny* [LPU]) was established in Donetsk (1991) and led by Ihor Markulov (1991–1995), Oleh Soskin (1995–1996), and Volodymyr Shcherban (1996–2005).

MAP (Membership Action Plan) is the preparatory stage to join NATO.

MBR (Inter-Regional Bloc of Reforms) was led by Volodymyr Hrynyov (1991–1999) that supported Kuchma's election campaign (1994) and merged with the NDP (2001).

Nasha Ukrayina (Our Ukraine) was a center-right bloc of national democratic parties led by Yushchenko (2001–2004 and since 2011), Yuriy Yekhanurov (2005–2007), Vyacheslav Kyrylenko (2007–2008), Vera Ulyanchenko (2008–2009), and Valentyn Nalyvaychenko (2009–2011).

NDP (*[Narodno Demokratychna Partiya]* Peoples Democratic Party) was established (1996) as the political representation of the Dnipropetrovsk and Kharkiv clans through a merger of the Party of Democratic Revival of Ukraine (PDVU), Labour Congress of Ukraine, Union in Support of the Crimean Republic, Union of Ukrainian Students, New Wave, the political club New Ukraine, and Association of Young Ukrainian Politicians and Political Experts.

NS-NU (*[Narodnyy Soyuz-Nasha Ukrayina]* People's Union-Our Ukraine) was established (2005) to unite national democrats into a single pro-(Yushchenko) presidential party.

NUNS (Our Ukraine-Peoples Self Defense) election bloc (2007–2012) was established by President Yushchenko and led by Yuriy Lutsenko.

OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) was established (1975) as the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) was established (1929) by the Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO) uniting veterans of the struggles for Ukrainian independence (1917–1920) and led by Yevhen Konovalets, who was assassinated by a Soviet agent in Rotterdam (1938) and followed by Andrey Melnyk (1939–1964), Oleh Shtul-Zhdanovych (1965–1976), Denys Kvitkovskyy (1977–1980), and Mykola Plavyuk (1981–2012).

OUNb (Stepan Bandera wing of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) split from OUN (1940) and called themselves ZCh (*[Zakordonni Chastyny]* External Branches) of OUN, and OUNr (*[revolyutionery]* revolutionaries), but known by the more commonly used OUNb, and led by Bandera (1940–1959) until his assassination by a Soviet agent in Munich followed by Stepan Lankavskyy (1960–1968), Yaroslav Stetsko (1968–1986), Vasyl Oleskiv (1987–1991), Yaroslava Stetsko (1991–2003), Andriy Haydamakha (2003–2008), and Stefan Romaniw (2009–).

OUNz (OUN abroad) emerged (1954) after ZChOUN had expelled the democratic opposition (1948) led by Zynoviy Matla and Lev Rebet, who supported the democratic ideological changes at OUN's Third Congress in Ukraine (1943), aligned with the zpUHVR (external representatives of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council) and led by Lev Rebet, who was assassinated by a Soviet agent in Munich (1957), Bohdan Kordyuk; Dariya Rebet (1979–1991); and Anatol Kaminskyy (1991–).

PACE (Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe).

Partiya Pratsi (Party of Labor) was launched by the "Red Directors" Inter-Regional Association of Industrialists (1992) to lobby the interests of large state enterprises in parliament and was led by Valentyn Landyk.

Partiya Rehioniv (Party of Regions) was established (2000–2001) as the Party of Regional Revival—"Labour Solidarity Ukraine" by the Party of Regional Revival, Party of Labor, Party for a Beautiful Ukraine, Party of Solidarity of Ukraine (PUS), and All-Ukrainian Party of Pensioners and led by Mykola Azarov (2001 and 2010–2014), Volodymyr Semynozhenko (2001–2003), and Viktor Yanukovych (2003–2010).

PDVU (Party of Democratic Revival of Ukraine) emerged from the *Komsomol*-led Democratic Platform of the Soviet era Communist Party of Ukraine and united with other political parties and NGOs to establish the NDP (1996).

PfP (Partnership for Peace) was a program launched (1993) by NATO and with which Ukraine cooperated (1994–).

Political technologist is a term used in the former USSR to describe political and election consultants who are active during and between elections often undertaking smear campaigns and negative PR against the pro-Western opposition and ruling parties and therefore largely different to political and election consultants who operate in Western democracies.

Pora (Its Time) was a youth NGO campaigning against Kuchma (2003–2004) and active during the Orange Revolution with two competing wings defined by the colours of their agitprop, black and yellow (2004). Following the Orange Revolution, "black" *Pora* became *OPORA (Resistance)* conducting election monitoring (www.oporaua.org) and "yellow" *Pora* entered parliament in NUNS (2007) led by Vladislav Kaskiv, who was a cabinet member of two Azarov governments (2010–2014).

PPPU (Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs) was established by the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs ([SPPU] 2000) and led by Kuchma (1992–1996) and Anatoliy Kinakh (1997–).

Rada (in Russian *Soviet*) is the name of the Ukrainian Supreme Council (Ukrainian parliament) and the Crimean Supreme Council (parliament of the Crimean autonomous republic) (1998–2014).

Reformy i Poryadok (Reforms and Order) party grew from the democratic wing of NDP after it split with a breakaway political party led by Viktor Pynzenyk (1997–2010) merging with *Batkivshchina* and *Front Zmin* (2012).

RNBO (National Security and Defense Council) was established in 1992 and was renamed and strengthened as the National Security and Defense Council (1994) and is headed by the president of Ukraine, who appoints a secretary.

RUE *(RosUkrEnergo)* gas intermediary (2004–2009) is owned by Gazprom (50 percent), Dmytro Firtash (45 percent), and Ivan Fursin (5 percent) with earlier gas intermediaries *Respublika* (1994–2000), *Interhaz* (1996–2000), *Itera* International Energy (1994–2001), and Eural-Trans Gas (ETG) (2002–2004) and *RUE* replaced by *OstChem* (2012–).

Rukh (*[Narodnyy Rukh Ukrayiny]* Ukrainian Movement for Restructuring) was a popular front established by former dissidents, national democratic activists, and cultural leaders (1987), holding its inaugural congress (1989), splitting twice (1992 and 1999), and led by Vyacheslav Chornovil (1990–1999), Hennadyy Udovenko (1999–2003), Borys Tarasyuk (2003–2011), and Vasyl Kuybida (2012–).

Samvydav (in Russian *samizdat*) was a term used to describe independent publishing of uncensored writing in the Soviet underground by dissidents and oppositionists.

SBU (Security Service of Ukraine) was established as a successor structure to the Soviet Ukrainian KGB.

SCM (Systems Capitol Management) is a Donetsk-based oligarch conglomerate headed by Akhmetov (2000–).

SDPUo (Social Democratic United) party was created (1996) by social democratic groups through a merger of the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (SDPU), Ukrainian Party of Human Rights, and Ukrainian Party of Justice, with the SDPU splitting (1997–1998). The SDPUo, allied to President Kuchma and oligarchs, was led by Viktor Medvedchuk (1997–) while the SDPU, allied with the opposition National Salvation Forum and BYuT, was led by Vasyl Onopenko (1998–2005), Yevhen Korniychuk (2006–2010), and, after it was taken over by oligarchs, BYut defector Natalya Korolevska (2011–), who changed its name to Forward Ukraine (2012), was a member of the second Azarov government, and was elected by the Opposition Bloc (2014).

Shistdesyatnyky (generation of the sixties) is a term used to describe cultural figures and political activists in Soviet Ukraine during the 1960s.

Silna Ukrayina (Strong Ukraine) party was led by Serhiy Tihipko (2009), which merged with the Party of Regions (2012) and was revived (2014).

SLON (Social-Liberal Union) election bloc (1998) aimed at liberal Russian-language voters and was established by the Constitutional-Democratic party and MBR.

SOU (Union of Ukrainian Officers) was a patriotic NGO uniting former Soviet officers (late 1980s–1990s) assisting in transforming former Soviet into Ukrainian security forces.

Sovereign communists was a term used in the late Soviet Union to describe the national communist wing of the Soviet-era Communist Party in Ukraine led by Kravchuk.

SPU (Socialist Party of Ukraine) was launched (1991) and led by Oleksandr Moroz (1991–2011) and Petro Ustenko (2012–), splitting (late 1990s) with the breakaway of the Progressive Socialist Party and *Spravedlyvist* (Justice) party.

SUM (Association of Ukrainian Youth) was established by OUNb in the Ukrainian diaspora (1946).

Svoboda (Freedom) is a nationalist political party led by Oleh Tyahnybok and previously called the Social-National Party of Ukraine ([SNPU] 1995–2004).

Temnyky was a term used to describe censorship instructions sent to television stations by the presidential administration when Medvedchuk was chief of staff (2002–2004).

Tovarystvo Ukrayiny (Society for Cultural Ties with Ukrainians Abroad) was led by the KGB (1960) publishing *News from Ukraine* and *Visti z Ukrainy* newspapers only available outside the USSR and specializing in vitriolic attacks against the Ukrainian diaspora.

Trudova Partiya Ukrayiny (Labour Ukraine) party represented a wing of the Dnipropetrovsk clan (1998) associated with Viktor Pinchuk and Tihipko.

UDAR (*[Ukrayinskyy Demokratychnyy Alyans za Reformy]* Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reforms) was led (2012–) by international boxing champion and city of Kyiv Mayor Vitaliy Klitschko with the name UDAR a pun on the word "punch."

UHH (*[Ukrayinska Helsinska Hrupa]* Ukrainian Helsinki Group) was established (1976) to monitor Soviet compliance of the third basket of human rights provisions in the Helsinki Accords adopted by the CSCE and the largest of five Helsinki groups established in the USSR in Moscow, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and Lithuania, of whom Ukrainians were subjected to the greatest degree of KGB repression.

UHS (*[Ukrayinska Helsinska Spilka]* Ukrainian Helsinki Union)—UHH prisoners of conscience released from the Soviet Gulag reestablished their organization as UHS (1987) that transformed into the Ukrainian Republican Party (URP, 1990).

UHVR (Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council) was the political umbrella organization of OUNb and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (1944) that established an external representation (zpUHVR) (1945) to seek support from Western governments for Ukrainian independence and were active through the Prolog Research and Publishing Corporation in New York City (1952–1990) and Ukrainian Society for Foreign Studies publishing house in Munich (1960–1990).

Ukrayinskyy Istorychnyy Zhurnal (Ukrainian Historical Journal) was launched (1957) during the period of liberalization following Soviet Communist leader Nikita Khrushchev's secret speech (1956).

Ukrayinska Pravda (Ukrainian Truth) was launched (2000) by Georgi Gongadze, who was murdered (2000), and Olena Prytula as an online Internet news site with original funding from Yevhen Marchuk and later Western foundations.

Ukrayinskyy Visnyk (Ukrainian Herald) was a *samvydav* magazine published by the UHH (1970–1973) and revived by the UHS (1987–1990).

UNA-UNSO (Ukrainian National Assembly-Ukrainian Peoples Self Defense Forces) was a nationalist movement established (1992) as the Ukrainian Inter-Regional Assembly (1989), splitting (late 1990s) into one wing led by Andriy Shkil joining BYuT and another creating the *Bratstvo* (Brotherhood, 2004) party led by Dmytro Korchynskyy (2002), who is a member of the International Eurasian Movement and Eurasian Youth Union.

UNF (*[Ukrayinskyy Natsionalnyy Front]* Ukrainian National Front) was an underground nationalist organization influenced by the OUN (1960s–1970s) with some UNF leaders creating the State Independence of Ukraine party ([DSU], 1992–2002).

UNR (Ukrainian Peoples Republic) was formed in Kyiv with historian Mykhaylo Hrushevskyy, the head of parliament (1917–1918), overthrown by the Germans (1918) but re-took power as the Directory after the Axis powers surrendered in World War I (1918), and struck a brief alliance with Poland (1919–1920) in return for giving up claims to Western Ukraine but was defeated by the Bolsheviks (1921).

UPA (*[Ukrayinska Povstanska Armiya]* Ukrainian Insurgent Army) was a nationalist partisan movement organized by OUN (1942–1952).

URDP (Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party) was established by Eastern Ukrainian émigrés in Germany (1947) based upon social democratic traditions and the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR). Ivan Bahrianyy (pseudonymn for Ivan P. Lozovyaha) was its first leader and vice president of the UNR government in exile.

VAAD (Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities of Ukraine).

ZPU (*[Zelena Partiya Ukrayiny]* Green Party of Ukraine) was launched in the aftermath of the Chornobyl accident (1986) by the Green World NGO (1987–1990) led by Yuriy Shcherbak but taken over by oligarchs (1998).

ZYU (*[Za Yedynu Ukayinu]* For a United Ukraine) was a pro-presidential election bloc (2002) led by Lytvyn uniting the Party of Regions, NDP, Agrarian Party, PPPU, and Labour Ukraine party.

Independent Ukraine. Note: The Crimean Autonomous Republic was illegally invaded by Russia in March 2014 after which an internationally unrecognized referendum allegedly supported its annexation by the Russian Federation. The Crimea is recognized as lying within Ukrainian sovereignty by the majority of UN members. (Reprinted with permission from Paul Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples*, 2nd revised and expanded edition, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010)

INTRODUCTION

Seven Cycles of Ukrainian History, Borders, and Identities

In the late 1990s, the leader of the Socialist Party of Ukraine (SPU) Oleksandr Moroz introduced into Ukrainian political life the now well-known anecdote "Those who do not care about the disintegration of the USSR do not have a heart while those who advocate its restoration do not have a head (*Ті, хто не сумують за розпадом СРСР, не мають серця; ті, хто прагнуть його відновлення, не мають розуму).*" President Vladimir Putin's new Russian imperialism—as witnessed by his annexation of the Crimea and invasion of Eastern Ukraine—showed how he did not agree about the impossibility of rebuilding a union. Faced with Russia's unprecedented aggression since World War II in Europe, Ukraine's options were to accept a frozen conflict "state" in the Donbas that would take its orders from Moscow and hold a veto over Ukrainian domestic and foreign policies, continue the antiseparatist war (with or without Western military assistance), or hold a referendum that may vote for the region to separate and unite with Russia.[1]

Moroz's anecdote succinctly captured a number of different but closely interrelated aspects of independent Ukraine and the impossibility of neatly dividing the Soviet and post-Soviet eras, which was precisely why I chose in this book to integrate contemporary Soviet and post-Soviet Ukrainian history. Ukraine's five presidents have included a cross-section of political, economic, and criminal Soviet life—a Communist Party ideological secretary, a director of a military-industrial plant, a banker, a former felon, and a business tycoon. In post-Soviet Ukraine, democratic political forces without roots in the Soviet political system have won two out of five presidential elections (2004, 2014) and received first-place plurality in two out of seven parliamentary elections (2002, 2014).

Understanding independent Ukraine is impossible without an appreciation of the deep influence of Soviet history and the continued impact of Soviet culture on Ukrainian politics, economics, and national identity. Moroz's anecdote reminds his generation—the ruling elites of contemporary Ukraine—of the personal crossroads they all faced—and continue to face. While being simultaneously nostalgic for the warm comradeship of their youth, free summer holidays, no unemployment, wages paid on time and cheap prices, and a paternalistic state from birth to grave that produced a life with few concerns, in the 1990s they suddenly faced the traumas and challenges of coping with Ukraine's quadruple transition and the first economic depression of their lifetimes. Ukrainians described this period of their lives as a *durdom* (madhouse) when the all-encompassing Soviet state disintegrated, while at the same time the newly emerging post-Soviet state was hostile, indifferent, self-obsessed, and rapacious. Roy Godson writes that "Economic and political transitions create uncertainty regarding what norms of behavior are acceptable, and provide an extremely favorable environment for former and current state officials to work with criminal opportunists."[2] In Ukraine, organized crime inevitably filled the vacuum—as in Southern Italy and Sicily—"in the gap between the state as it ought to be and ought to function and the state as it was and actually functioned in the southern regions of the country in the divergence between the official set of values and the unofficial but effective moral."[3]

In his anecdote, Moroz distances himself from his former Communist Party of Ukraine (*Komunistychna Partiya Ukrayiny* [KPU]) allies by stating what to the majority of Ukrainians was the seemingly obvious; namely, that although life may have *seemed* a lot better in the USSR, the former superpower was gone forever and no amount of nostalgia could revive it from the grave. The nostalgia that Moroz was referring to played a significant part in producing a large protest vote for the KPU during the first decade of Ukrainian independence. The exception is of course Western Ukraine where there has always been little nostalgia for the USSR and, if it existed, never translated into support for political forces that had "no head" by promising to revive the USSR. In Eastern and Southern Ukraine, where the Soviet system implanted deeper roots, the Party of Regions eclipsed the KPU during the second decade of Ukrainian independence and continued to mobilize Soviet nostalgia and "stability" that translated into not moving from the crossroads. All of the Party of Regions deputies in the Crimean parliament supported Russia's annexation and some covertly and others openly backed Donbas separatism.

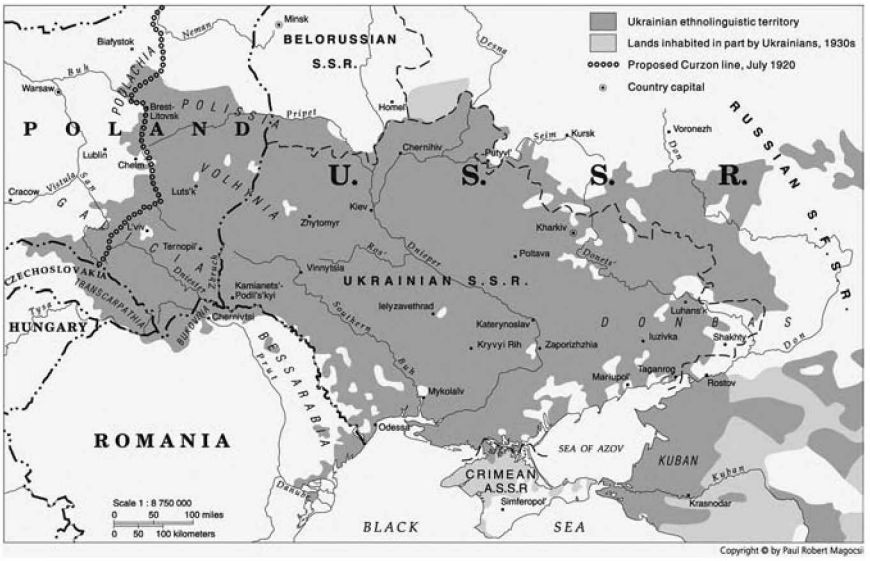
In the first two decades of the twenty-first century, Ukraine was repeatedly described as being at the crossroads where it could not make a choice as to whether it would receive a bright future by integrating with Europe or give in to nostalgia by integrating with Russia and Eurasia. Former

Soviet Ukrainian elites who ran Ukraine since 1991 always resisted making this choice, and when in one case they did attempt to choose Europe at the expense of Russia under President Yushchenko, they faced a backlash from elites and Ukrainians, the majority of whom until the Euromaidan and Crimean crisis wished to live in both worlds. In October 2013, Yanukovych argued that Ukraine did not have to choose between the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) Customs Union and the European Union (EU) Association Agreement at a time when *both* Moscow and Brussels were telling him that he had to choose. A large number of Ukrainians preferred to not move away from the crossroads because they continued to agree with Moroz's anecdote; that is, they remained nostalgic for the USSR while understanding it would never return. The crossroads represent the gray zone of "partial reform equilibrium"[4] between communism and capitalism where many of Soviet Ukraine's commissars were transformed into Ukraine's oligarchs. Moroz's anecdote explains why Ukraine was stuck at the crossroads because of Soviet nostalgia *and* post-Soviet practicality and why, as this book demonstrates, moving away from this anecdote and the crossroads is proving to be very difficult. In 2014, the Euromaidan revolution and Russia's new imperialism generated the momentum to move Ukraine from the crossroads, and in the same year Ukraine's foreign trade began reorientating to the EU.[5]

This chapter analyses how modern Ukraine emerged within its current borders in the USSR and presents the framework used in this book for contemporary Ukrainian history through seven historic cycles. This book defines Ukrainian leaders as holding European (i.e., Ukrainophile) and Eurasianist (i.e., Russophile and Sovietophile) values and orientations. These two groups of leaders have introduced different sets of policies; the former gave support to Ukrainian ethnic nation building, political liberalization, and economic liberalization while the latter have launched counterrevolutions against these policies and supported Russophile national identities and elevated the status of the Russian language.

THE MAKING OF MODERN UKRAINE'S BORDERS

Competition between mutually exclusive and multiple identities is a product not only of different historical legacies but also of the lack of territorial unity of what was to constitute the imagined community of "Ukraine." Ukraine's emergence in the twentieth century is synonymous with the bringing together of territories and formation of recognizable borders, which was different from the nineteenth century when Ukraine had not existed on official maps. The process of establishing Ukraine's borders took place in three stages: in the East in 1917–1921, in the West in 1939–1945, and in the South in two stages in 1945–1954. Soviet Ukraine within these borders became an independent Ukrainian state in 1991.



Ukrainian lands, 1923. (Reprinted with permission from Paul Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples*, 2nd revised and expanded edition, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010)

The collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917 led to demands from the Central *Rada* (council, which here means parliament) for the empire to be transformed into a loose federation. The provisional government in Petrograd (as St. Petersburg had been renamed) refused to accept these moderate proposals, but the Bolsheviks overthrew them in November 1917. Three months later, on January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian Peoples Republic (UNR) declared independence and was immediately embroiled in military conflict with the Bolsheviks and White supporters of the deposed Russian provisional government. Border conflicts also arose between Ukraine and its three neighbors (Poland, Romania, and Hungary). Although the Volunteer Army of the Whites was dominated by the liberal Constitutional Democratic party (known as the *Kadets*), they defended Russia's unity and indivisibility, opposed a federally reconstituted empire, and condemned Little Russian (i.e., Ukrainian) autonomy and separatism. Russian nationalist volunteers flowing into the Donbas, like Putin, believe these chauvinistic and racist views of Ukrainians which were held a century ago by White armies and in the Tsarist Russian Empire.

In November 1918, the Austrian–Hungarian Empire collapsed, and the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (*Zakhidnoukrayinska Narodna Respublyka* [ZUNR]) declared independence and made its capital city Lviv. ZUNR was involved in bitter military conflict with the Poles for control over Galicia and was finally defeated by 1919, uniting with ZUNR ahead

of being defeated by Polish armies. A year later, an alliance between the UNR and Poland liberated Ukraine but was eventually defeated by the Bolsheviks who pushed their joint forces back to Warsaw. In March 1921, the Treaty of Riga divided Ukraine between Soviet Russia and Poland, with the former a year later becoming the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) and a constituent member of the newly established Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) with its capital city in Kharkiv, moved to Kyiv in 1934.

Promises to grant autonomy to its large Ukrainian, German, and Belarusian minorities, who together accounted for one third of its population, were never honored by the Polish authorities. Integral nationalism grew increasingly popular among Ukrainians and influenced the ideology of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) who undertook a militant and terrorist campaign against the Polish authorities and the Soviet state. Polish–Ukrainian conflict since the seventeenth century, in 1918–1919, and in the interwar era laid the seeds for the interethnic violence that engulfed Volhynia in World War II and ended with *Akcja Wisła* (Vistula Operation) that deported a quarter of a million Ukrainians from Southeastern Poland to former German "recovered" (the official phrase used at the time) territories in the North and West of the country.

Ukraine's territory was reduced in size on one occasion and enlarged on two occasions by the Soviet Union. Its Eastern borders were established during the civil war and Ukrainian war of independence in 1917–1921, but in the 1920s regions adjacent to Ukraine that were populated by ethnic Ukrainians were transferred to the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR). In other areas, such as the Kuban in the Northern Caucasus, where two thirds of the population were Ukrainian, the Soviet regime altered the ethnic composition through a massive program of Russification.[6]

Following World War II, the Soviet Union annexed Galicia and Volhynia from Poland, Transcarpathia from Czechoslovakia, and Northern Bukovina from Romania, thereby incorporating most territories where ethnic Western Ukrainians lived; only small areas populated by Ukrainians and Rusyns in Northeastern Slovakia and Southeastern Poland remained outside the USSR. This was not a "brotherly reunion," as Soviet propaganda claimed, but the installation of a communist dictatorship and destruction of Polish and Ukrainian nationalist, democratic, and civic organizations.[7] Western Ukrainian territories, which became seven Soviet *oblasts*, added a population largely holding a mutually exclusive identity (the exception was Transcarpathia). Kravchuk, the father of Ukraine's modern independence and Ukraine's only leader from Western Ukraine, was born in one of these *oblasts*, Volyn.

The third construction of Ukraine's borders took place in 1945–1954 through one reduction and one enlargement of its territory. In the 1940s,

the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR), which had been included within interwar Soviet Ukraine, was merged with Bessarabia, a region annexed from Romania after World War II and becoming the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Transdniestr region, a separatist frozen conflict since 1992, continues to retain an ethnic Ukrainian but Russian-speaking majority. Transdniestr leaders have occasionally called for reunification with Ukraine that has not received support in Kyiv.

The enlargement of Ukrainian territory in 1954 came with the transfer of the Crimea from the Russian SFSR, and the peninsula remained the only region in Ukraine where ethnic Russians were in a declining majority. Then Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, himself an ethnic Russian from Ukraine, supported the transfer of the Crimea from the Russian SFSR to Ukraine on geographic and economic grounds. The Crimea remained within the Ukrainian SSR as an *oblast* until 1991 when it was reorganized into an autonomous republic following a local referendum. In the first half of the 1990s, separatist mobilization called for the Crimea's unification with Russia, but in 1998, the Crimea adopted a new constitution that recognized Ukrainian sovereignty. Constitutional niceties, Ukrainian and international law, and the Budapest Memorandum were ignored by Russia when it annexed the Crimea in spring 2014.

Tatars who lived on the Crimean peninsula were the descendants of the Tatar and Mongol invaders who had ruled the region for six centuries until the late eighteenth century; it is therefore historically inaccurate, as some Western commentators are prone to do, to tout the Russian nationalist line of the Crimea having "always been Russian," thereby justifying its annexation as restoring "historical justice." Tatars had never constituted a majority of the region's population but had been a plurality until the early twentieth century. In May 1944, the Soviet authorities ethnically cleansed the Tatar community in the Crimea to Central Asia after accusing it collectively of collaboration with the Nazi occupation forces during World War II. In 1967, the Soviet regime rehabilitated the Tatars but did not allow them to return to live in the peninsula. Two decades later, under the more liberal Soviet Communist Party leader Gorbachev, a Soviet commission fully rehabilitated the Tatars and permitted them to return to the Crimea. After a quarter of a century of Ukrainian rule, the Tatars constitute 15 percent of the Crimean population and are the third largest ethnic group on the peninsula. They rightfully fear Russia's occupation of their homeland and thousands have fled the Crimea.

SEVEN CYCLES OF CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN HISTORY

Nation building and political liberalization has gone hand in hand in Ukraine since the nineteenth century. Cultural figures, such as Mykola Hohol (in Russian, Nikolai Gogol), and their political counterparts

supported imperial autocracy, defended serfdom and class privilege, believed Orthodox Christianity was superior to Western forms of Christianity, and worked against Ukrainian autonomy and independence.[8] Ukrainian bard Taras Shevchenko opposed Tsarist autocracy and serfdom and gave his support to Ukraine's autonomy within a Slavic federation of equals. There has therefore been a historically close correlation between Ukrainian leaders, promoting ethnic Ukrainian nation building and liberal political and economic policies. Soviet and post-Soviet Ukrainian leaders introduced Ukrainian nation building, liberalization, democratization, and economic reforms during the first, third, fifth, and seventh historic cycles. Meanwhile, during counterrevolutionary cycles of Ukrainian history, generations of Ukrainian intellectuals suffered political repression, and the country has entered "eras of stagnation."[9] Repression of Ukraine's intelligentsia took place during every generation of activists, which has developed an ingrained fear of the state, limiting the willingness of Ukrainians to participate in political and social activities. In turn, this has inculcated conformism, double standards, duplicity, and cynicism.[10] Jaroslaw Pelenski describes political and cultural repression in Ukraine in its fourth historic cycle as the second repression of Ukrainianization in the twentieth century. Stephen Velnychenko placed Ivan Dzyuba's 1965 *Internationalism or Russification?* report in a similar "anticolonial Marxism" vein as that of the writings of national communists in the 1917–1920 war of national independence and Ukrainianization of the 1920s.[11] In the fourth and sixth historic cycles, the interests of the "ambitious and aggressive" Donetsk group within the KPU, which had been irrevocably hostile to national communism from 1918 onward, took the lead in the 1972 *pohrom* (pogrom) and Ukrainophobic and neo-Soviet policies under Yanukovych.[12]

In the twentieth century, Ukraine experienced three historic cycles of ethnic Ukrainian nation building, liberalization, and democratization and followed on each occasion by Eurasianist conservative counterrevolution and political stagnation. From the 1920s until the early 1930s, Ukraine experienced the *first historic cycle* of *korenizatsiya* (indigenization) and Ukrainianization that facilitated nation building in language, culture, and the arts. Ukrainian peasants moving to the growing towns were becoming the new Ukrainian-speaking working class. National communists defended Ukrainianization and republican sovereignty and promoted political and economic liberalization in the NEP (New Economic Policy).

From the late 1920s to the mid-1950s, Ukraine experienced a *second historic cycle* when the Eurasianist wings of the Soviet and Soviet Ukrainian Communist Parties launched counterrevolutions against political and economic reforms and ethnic Ukrainian national identity. Velychenko points out that Russian settlers in Ukraine were largely opposed to

Table I.1
Seven Cycles of Contemporary Ukrainian History

Cycle	Type	Leaders	Dates
1	European (Ukrainianophile)	Mykola Skrypnyk, Mykola Khvylovy	Early 1920s to late 1920s
2	Eurasianist (Russophile and Sovietophile)	Joseph Stalin, Stanislav Kosior, Nikita Khrushchev	Early 1930s to 1953
3	Europeanist (Ukrainianophile)	Oleksiy Kyrychenko, Mykola Pidhirnyy, Petro Shelest	Mid-1950s to 1971
4	Eurasianist (Russophile and Sovietophile)	Volodymyr Shcherbytskyy	1972–1989
5	Europeanist (Ukrainianophile)	Leonid Kravchuk, Leonid Kuchma, Viktor Yushchenko	1990–2010
6	Eurasianist (Russophile and Sovietophile)	Viktor Yanukovych	2010–2014
7	Europeanist (Ukrainianophile)	Petro Poroshenko	2014–

Ukrainianization in the 1920s, especially in the Donbas, and therefore, "The fears of this 'colonialist' social stratum predisposed them to support Stalin after he stopped enforcing indigenization—and made Ukrainian communist criticism relevant again."[13] Nostalgia for Stalin in Ukraine primarily existed in the Crimea and Donbas. Ukrainian national churches, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and Greek Catholic, were abolished in the late 1920s and late 1940s, respectively, their clergy repressed, and the churches merged with the state-controlled Russian Orthodox Church. Russophile cultural policies introduced alongside a return to history writing that would have been the envy of the Russian tsars. The *holodomor* and the Great Terror murdered millions of Ukrainians and crushed its political, economic, and cultural elite. Independent Ukraine continues to live with the legacy of Stalinist—and Nazi—genocides against the peoples of Ukraine.

In the mid-1950s, Ukraine experienced its *third historic cycle* following the death of Stalin, and Khrushchev's secret speech revealed the horrors of Soviet crimes. Nation building, political liberalization, and economic liberalization followed de-Stalinization. A large proportion of Ukrainian cultural and political elites supported the de-Stalinization campaign and promoted demands for a change to the writing of history, the rehabilitation of repressed Ukrainian cultural figures, and greater republican

sovereignty. Ukraine's third historic cycle is commonly associated with Ukrainian national communist leader Petro Shelest although in reality the cycle began with Ukrainian Communist Party leaders Oleksiy Kyrychenko and Mykola Pidhirnyy who laid the groundwork in the decade before him from 1953 to 1963.

In 1964, Leonid Brezhnev replaced Khrushchev as Soviet leader that "began a gradual ideological and political-renaissance of Stalinism."[14] In 1972, Ukraine's *fourth historic cycle* began with a counterrevolution that removed Shelest and replaced him with Volodymyr Shcherbytskyy, who ruled Ukraine for the next 17 years. The Shcherbytskyy era increased the Russification of Ukraine, which led to cultural stagnation and political repression and further arrests of opposition leaders in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The Eurasianist counterrevolution was supported by conservatives in the KGB and by members in Ukraine's two largest regional branches of the Communist Party in Dnipropetrovsk and Donetsk. In 1971–1972, Ukraine experienced the largest arrests of Ukrainian dissidents and cultural figures since the Stalin era that had taken place anywhere in the USSR. Yuri Orlov, head of the Moscow Helsinki Group, said, "It was the Ukrainians who suffered most from the arbitrariness of the camps in Stalin's time, and they are still suffering most today."[15]

The *fifth historic cycle* emerged in the late 1980s during Soviet leader Gorbachev's policies of *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness). In 1989–1991, two KPU conservative leaders (Volodymyr Ivashko and Stanislav Hurenko) replaced Shcherbytskyy, but the tide was already turning and the Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party was beginning to split between Eurasianist "imperial communists," "sovereign (i.e., national) communists," and a democratic platform within the *Komsomol* (Communist Youth League). In addition, in the same year, the Ukrainian Movement for Perestroika (a popular front commonly known as *Rukh* [movement]) held its inaugural congress and, reconfigured as the Democratic Bloc, won a quarter of parliamentary seats in the March 1990 elections to the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine.

During the next three decades, Presidents Kravchuk, Kuchma, Yushchenko, and Poroshenko supported policies that promoted ethnic Ukrainian national identity in education, history writing, and the Ukrainian language.[16] Throughout the majority of independent Ukraine's existence as an independent state, democratization and a liberal political and media environment is accompanied by the promotion of ethnic Ukrainian national identity. A breakthrough came in 2004 with the Orange Revolution when civic nationalism played a decisive role in mobilizing millions of Ukrainians to protest at election fraud, expanding Ukrainian patriotism from Western (which had played a decisive role in the drive to independence in the late 1980s) to Central Ukraine. During Yushchenko's presidency, democratization progressed rapidly, and Ukraine was defined

from 2005 to 2010 as "free" by the Freedom House's human rights think tank. The Euromaidan and conflict with Russia expanded Ukrainian patriotism and national identity into Russian-speaking Eastern and Southern Ukraine.

Stephan Shulman introduced a useful framework contrasting two competing identities in Ukraine: "ethnic Ukrainian" and "Eastern Slavic," with the former approximating voters with mutually exclusive identities who supported Yushchenko and the latter corresponding to voters with multiple identities found in Eastern Ukraine and the Crimea who supported Yanukovych.[17] Shulman, drawing on extensive surveys, found that ethnic Ukrainian identity supported democracy more than East Slavic identity, a factor reflected in the prioritization of economics and stability over democracy found among many Party of Regions and KPU voters (see Chapter 10).

The *sixth historic cycle* of Ukrainian history began following the election of Yanukovych in 2010 that launched a third Eurasianist counterrevolution, dismantling democratic gains and returning political repression to Ukrainian political life. Although much of what Ukraine experienced in 2010–2014 was similar to the ideological tenets driving the Eurasianists in the Shcherbytskyy wing of the Communist Party in Soviet Ukraine, there was at the same time a major difference between the fourth and sixth historical cycles. In the fourth cycle, Shcherbytskyy was frugal and never wore a watch worth three quarters of a million dollars; he did not personally control a quarter of the economy, had not stashed billions of dollars in offshore accounts, and never possessed two penthouses in Knightsbridge in the world's most expensive address, One Hyde Park Corner. Shcherbytskyy was an economic nationalist, not an asset stripper, who bequeathed a Soviet Ukrainian economy in 1989 that remains larger than the post-Soviet Ukrainian economy in existence today. Although Shcherbytskyy and the KGB have on their conscious the dissidents they imprisoned who died in Soviet camps, this pales in comparison with the violence that engulfed in Donetsk, Odesa, and Crimea from the mid-1980s to mid-1990s, from which one wing of Ukraine's post-Soviet elites emerged. Although there were undoubtedly corrupt Communist Party members during the "era of stagnation," there were not members with past or current ties to organized crime in the Soviet Ukrainian ruling elites.

Alexander J. Motyl writes, "Despite claiming to be a moderate, Yanukovych proved to be a quintessential revolutionary committed to destroying the existing political order as rapidly and as thoroughly as possible,"[18] and believes, "The Regionnaires have done everything possible to roll back Ukrainian in the last two years."[19] Minister of Education Dmytro Tabachnyk and the Party of Regions resumed Soviet era denunciations of Ukrainian nationalism, equating it with fascism, which after being

assiduously promoted by Russian media prepared the ground for Ukrainophobic chauvinist separatism in the Crimea and Donbas. The July 2012 language law upgraded Russian to an official language, the first major change to Ukraine's language policy since 1989. As the inheritors of the conservative and Eurasianist wing of the Soviet Communist Party in Ukraine, the Eurasianist counterrevolution introduced similar policies undermining the growth of Ukrainian language, culture, and national history, curtailed political liberalization, and unleashed political repression. In the Soviet Union, Communist Party leaders remained in power until they died, or other communists replaced them and Yanukovych acted similarly as though he intended to remain in power indefinitely.[20]

Following the Euromaidan, the *seventh historic cycle* could be its last with Ukraine no longer on the crossroads and a president elected by a landslide committed to European integration. Yanukovych's thuggish kleptocracy and Russia's backing for Crimea's occupation and promotion of violent separatism in the Donbas have discredited the Eurasianist orientation to such a degree that with an imploded Party of Regions and unpopular Communist Party, it is impossible to see how this interest can be revived. Regional diversity and competing mutually exclusive and multiple identities will of course remain in place, but these would be less divisive if Ukraine returns to centrist policies of national integration that were by and large successful in the Kuchma era.

MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE AND MULTIPLE IDENTITIES AND UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM

Historian Paul Robert Magocsi's framework of competition between mutually exclusive and multiple identities provides an excellent framework in which to understand Ukraine's regional, ethnic, and linguistic diversity. He argues that Ukraine's national revival was a "conflict between the framework of multiple cultural and national loyalties on the one hand and mutually exclusive identities on the other."[21] Ukrainians in Tsarist Russia in contrast to their brethren in Austrian Habsburg-ruled Western Ukraine never completed the three stages of nation building by the outbreak of World War I that Magocsi defined as (1) heritage gathering, (2) organizational, and (3) political. By 1914, Western Ukrainians possessed a distinct mutually exclusive national identity while Eastern Ukrainians continued to grapple between the concept of one identity, as epitomized in the writings of Shevchenko, and multiple loyalties, with which the Russian writer from Ukraine, Hohol, felt more comfortable. Mutually exclusive Identities, which the Austrian–Hungarian Empire permitted, encouraged "the survival and even flourishing of a Ukrainian nationality." In Tsarist Russia and later the Soviet Union,

multiple identities allowed for a gradual process of Russian assimilation and the "persistence of a 'lower' form of Russian identity."[22] Putin's new Russian imperialism defines Ukrainians as divided between "good" and subservient Little Russians who look up to the elder brother and anti-Russian "fascists" who desire to take Ukraine from Russia's sphere of influence; a bizarre echo of the early eighteen-century novel of Robinson Crusoe's relationship with Man Friday as long as he acknowledges his subservience.

Magocsi writes that the concept of multiple identities and loyalties "is as 'natural' a phenomenon in Ukrainian culture (at least until 2014) as the concept of mutually exclusive identities."[23] Ukrainians have a range of views on how they understand independent statehood and the correct set of nation building and national identity policies for their country. Conflict and competition between multiple and mutually exclusive identities "persists to this day," Magocsi wrote on the eve of the disintegration of the Soviet Union,[24] but the first quarter of a century of Ukrainian independence has shown that this competition is not simply a historical question but one that continues to influence contemporary Ukrainian politics, as witnessed in the Donbas conflict.

Multiple national identities were common throughout Ukraine until the nineteenth century, but by the early twentieth century these had been replaced by a dominant ethnic Ukrainian national identity in Western Ukraine. In the nineteenth century, three orientations, Russophile, Rusyn, and Ukrainophile, had competed in the Western Ukrainian regions of Austrian-ruled Galicia and Bukovina, Hungarian-ruled Transcarpathia, and Russian-ruled Volhynia. The Eurasianist orientation believed Eastern Slavs were "Russians" and Ukrainians and Belarusians were Little and White branches of the "Russian" nation, respectively. This pan-Russian identity was similar to the pan-German identity commonplace in the German-speaking lands until the late 1930s; the emergence of an Austrian identity separate to German is very much a post–World War II phenomenon. The Russophile orientation became unpopular in Western Ukraine by World War I but survived in Transcarpathia until the region's Soviet occupation in World War II and its integration into Soviet Ukraine. A second orientation in Western Ukraine, Rusyn, defined itself as a fourth East Slavic group in addition to Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Russians. Rusyn identity lost support in Galicia by the end of the nineteenth century, but the Polish authorities continued to define Ukrainians as Rusyns or Rusnaks until the 1930s.

A third orientation, Ukrainianophile, believed regional groups within the Ukrainian nation belonged to a larger Ukrainian nation, and Lemkos, Boykos, and Hutsuls were therefore similar to regional groups in the German and French nations. Rusnaks and Hutsuls in Galicia and

Bukovina, respectively, adopted an Ukrainianophile orientation by the late nineteenth century. In Transcarpathia, Rusyn and Ukrainophile orientations competed in interwar Czechoslovakia, and its censuses collectively defined its East Slavic citizens as *Ruski*. Following the Soviet occupation of Transcarpathia in World War II, the Soviet regime redefined *Ruski* as Ukrainians. A Rusyn identity in Transcarpathia revived in the late 1980s but did not grow sufficiently popular to challenge the dominant Ukrainian narrative in the region. Rusyn identity has been stronger in Northeastern Slovakia and the autonomous province of Vojvodina in Serbia, with the weakest examples found in Poland and Ukraine.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Ukrainophile orientation had become dominant in Western Ukraine because of the support it had received from the Austrian imperial authorities. Following the partitions of Poland in 1793–1795, the Western Ukrainian lands of Galicia, Transcarpathia, and Bukovina came under Austrian and Hungarian rule, and the Austrians permitted autonomous cultural, educational, and political life for its Ukrainian subjects. The Greek Catholic Church was permitted to flourish, increasingly identifying with Ukrainian national identity and thereby differentiating Ukrainians from Latin-rite Catholic Poles *and* Orthodox Russians. Western Ukrainians established an active civil society, cooperative movement, and independent Ukrainian-language newspapers. By the eve of World War I, Ukrainian mutually exclusive national consciousness was more developed in Western than in Eastern Ukraine.

Eastern and Southern Ukraine had been part of the Tsarist Russian Empire since the late eighteenth century, and the Russian state integrated and Russified Ukrainian Cossack elites. Some Ukrainians maintained multiple national identities loyal to Ukraine and the Russian Empire, as in the case of the writer Hohol. However, these loyalties increasingly came into conflict with one another as the Russian Empire sought to undertake steps to forge a Russian ethnic nation through the assimilation of three East Slavic peoples. The nineteenth century was a century of nationalism, and Russia and Ukraine were not exceptions. The Russian state viewed Ukrainians and Belarusians as regional branches of the Russian nation once united in the medieval state of Kyiv Rus but artificially torn apart by internal conflicts, foreign invasions, and Western conspiracies. As late as 2011, the Russian consul general in Lviv described Ukrainians as a product of an Austrian conspiracy, and Putin has repeatedly stated Ukrainians and Russians are the same people. Therefore, Ukrainians and Belarusians were ethnographic raw material ripe for assimilation into a Russian ethnic nation; the model was that of Île-de-France assimilating Provence, Brittany, Normandy, and Alsace-Lorraine into a new French nation in a process described by Eugen Weber as the transformation of peasants into Frenchmen. Russia today is therefore akin to the

Tsarist Russian Empire in the late nineteenth century in transforming from Russian civic to ethnic Russian identity.

Tsarist nationality policies restricted the development of the Ukrainian language and banned its use on two occasions that were unprecedented acts not applied against any other language in the Tsarist Russian Empire. David Saunders argues that Russia's treatment of Ukraine in 1847–1941 "was deliberate and great hostility," and prior to 1917, "Russia tried consciously and systematically to prevent the emergence of a distinctive Ukrainian identity."[25] The Tsarist Russian Empire viewed all shades of Ukrainian political activists as subversives, regardless of whether they supported independence (e.g., Mykhaylo Mikhnovsky) or a Slavic federation (e.g., Mykhaylo Drahomanov, Shevchenko, and Mykhaylo Kostomarov). The Soviet regime during the third and fifth historic cycles articulated a similar all-embracing hostility to different aspects of Ukrainian identity that defined national communism, liberal democracy, and integral nationalism as manifestations of "bourgeois nationalism" and "fascism."

By the early twentieth century, Tsarist nationality policies and political repression had stymied the development of mutually exclusive Ukrainian national identity in Eastern and Southern Ukraine, and the majority of Ukrainians living in these two regions continued to define themselves as *tuteyshi* (I am from here or locals) or "Orthodox," retaining dual allegiances to their territory (whether the local village or Ukraine) and the Russian Empire. In the 1920s, the KPU's policies of indigenization and Ukrainianization combined urbanization and industrialization with Ukrainian nation building. Ukrainian peasants who moved into towns and cities entered a Ukrainian language and cultural environment promoted by the Ukrainian state. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, indigenization and Ukrainianization were reversed and replaced by a Stalinist national–Bolshevik fusion of Russian imperial nationalism and communism, with Russians the "leading nation" and "elder brother" of the USSR. Eastern Ukraine's towns and cities were non-Ukrainian in their ethnic profiles in the Tsarist Russian Empire but became ethnically Ukrainian in the twentieth century as a product of Soviet industrialization and urbanization. Ukrainian ethnic majorities emerged in Soviet Ukrainian cities and towns although these were divided between Ukrainian speakers in Western Ukraine and Russian speakers in Eastern Ukraine. A mutually exclusive Ukrainian national identity dominated Western Ukraine while multiple Ukrainian–Russian and Ukrainian–Soviet identities held sway in much of Eastern Ukraine. The two arch poles of Ukrainian identities were Galicia, which became more Ukrainian under Soviet rule, and the Donbas and Crimea, where multiple identities remain most entrenched and Ukrainophobia more pronounced. Soviet identity (which is a conflation of multiple identities) continues to remain more popular than Russian or Ukrainian identities in the Donbas and Crimea.

Mutually exclusive identity policies promoted by Presidents Kravchuk and Yushchenko proved to be unpopular in Eastern Ukraine and can be contrasted with the fusion of mutually exclusive and multiple nationality policies under President Kuchma. Eurasianist policies emerged from a high degree of allegiance to Soviet culture in the Donbas and Crimea, the prominence of Soviet era myths combined with a disinterest and even hostility toward Ukrainian national ideals and cultural values and the Ukrainian language. Eurasianist views of history do not believe Kyivan Rus was the first Ukrainian state,[26] ignore or belittle Tsarist Russian oppression and Russification, and play down the significance of Ukraine's governments in 1917–1921 that supported autonomy and independence. This approach does not believe the *holodomor* was a result of policies deliberately directed against Ukraine, is hostile to Ukrainian nationalism equating it with "fascism," and is indifferent to the dissident movement in Soviet Ukraine.

This book understands Ukrainophile history writing as that developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by the doyen of Ukrainian historiography, Mykhaylo Hrushevsky. Russophile and Sovietophile are descriptors for two competing schools of history promoted by the Tsarist Empire and the Soviet Union, respectively, until under Stalin the state's new official narrative integrated the two. The Russophile historiographical framework, which has dominated twentieth-century Western writing on Russia and the Tsarist Russian Empire, has marginalized Ukraine.[27] Different approaches in Ukrainophile histories are evident in Orest Subtelny's focus on the history of ethnic Ukrainians, similar to President Yushchenko's understanding of what should constitute "national history," and Magocsi's inclusive and territorial approach encompassing all the peoples of Ukraine, something that is more in keeping with the tradition of Western history writing.[28] This book's description of ethnic Ukrainian nation building and identity policies pursued by Kuchma, Yushchenko, and Poroshenko differentiates them from the Eurasianist policies pursued by Yanukovych.

Nevertheless, there are important nuances between Ukraine's second and third presidents. Nation building and identity policies pursued by Kuchma combined both ethnically based European *and* territorially grounded Eurasianist tenets that reflected the political alliance of national democrats and centrists who ruled Ukraine in the 1990s. Kuchma's nation building policies reflected the more diversified and multicultural environment of Eastern Ukraine, his electoral home base, and are "pragmatic, rather than ideological."[29] He encouraged the commemoration of *both* anti-Soviet dissidents *and* Soviet era *nomenklatura*. Tatiana Zhurzhenko's analysis of the debates in Kharkiv about the *holodomor* showed Kuchma's policies to be more in accordance with the pragmatism, ethnic tolerance, and bilingualism of the region. Yushchenko, in contrast, promoted a more

inflexible and therefore divisive ethnic Ukrainian nation building and national identity orientation. Although from Eastern Ukraine, Yushchenko's nationality policies were a product of his Western Ukrainian electoral home base where national identity is ethnic and mutually exclusive.

Both Kuchma and Yushchenko promoted the *holodomor* as an act of genocide in their nation building and national identity policies, but only Yushchenko elevated that historical tragedy to the centerpiece of his nationality policies.[30] Yushchenko's view of the *holodomor* as a genocide and crime against ethnic Ukrainians provided no room for alternative interpretations and defined the historical event in nationally exclusive terms.[31] By contrast, the Party of Regions joined the KPU in opposing Yushchenko's *holodomor* narrative, especially his promotion of the *holodomor* as an act of genocide comparable in its criminal scale to Nazi Germany's holocaust against the Jews and other racial undesirables. Yushchenko, Ukrainian nationalists, and some Ukrainian diaspora organizations inflated the number of *holodomor* victims to over 10 million in an attempt to prove it was on a par with the Jewish Holocaust.[32] Respected Ukrainian historians such as Stanislav Kulchytskyy, head of the Institute of History, National Academy of Sciences, and Yale University historian Timothy Snyder calculated the *holodomor*'s victims to be 3–3.5 million in Soviet Ukraine or upward of 4 million when the Kuban region of Russia is included.[33] Although it is quite appropriate to condemn equally Nazism and communism as totalitarian ideologies that committed massive crimes against humanity, in the manner of the July 2009 Vilnius resolution of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the European Parliament's commemoration of August 23 as a Day of Remembrance for the victims of Stalinism and Nazism, it is immoral to promote a competition between the *holodomor* and holocaust over the numbers of people who were murdered. Yushchenko's focus on communist crimes would have been less open to criticism at home and abroad if he had given equal attention to Nazi crimes committed in Ukraine from which his father suffered.

Viewing the *holodomor* as a genocide was initially primarily supported by Western Ukrainians, who are traditionally anticommunist and anti-Russian, and possess a mutually exclusive identity, but less so by Eastern Ukrainians with multiple identities. But, this has changed, and by 2014, *all* regions of Ukraine viewed the *holodomor* as genocide, ranging from 96 percent in the West of the country to 62 in the East. Although Yanukovych adopted the Russian line on the *holodomor* that it was a crime committed against all Soviet peasants, the number of Ukrainians who believed it was a genocide undertaken against Ukrainians increased each year during his presidency, from 58 in 2011 to 72 percent in 2014. The predominant sentiment among Eastern Ukrainians is to view the famine in

nonethnic terms as having been organized specifically not against ethnic Ukrainians but against all the peoples of Ukraine and to blame the *holodomor* on communism, not on "Russia" or "Russians." Both claims, that only ethnic Ukrainians died in the *holodomor* and that only nonethnic Ukrainians implemented the *holodomor*, are incorrect.

Counterrevolutionaries in Ukraine's second, fourth, and sixth historic cycles have primarily been Ukrainians, and Stalin's leadership of the second cycle had nothing to do with his Georgian ethnicity. Crackdowns on nationalism under Shcherbytskyy were undertaken by a Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party that was "staffed by the highest proportion of ethnic Ukrainians ever." "Ethnic Ukrainians were thus pressed into the task of exorcising Ukrainian separatist nationalism," Mark Beissinger writes.[34]

A second area that has inflamed regional tension in Ukraine and one that arguably is even more dangerous to Ukraine's unity and stability has been the cult of nationalist leaders. School and higher education textbooks under Kuchma included a discussion of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (*Ukrayinska Povstanska Armiya* [UPA]), the partisan arm of the OUN. The Government Commission on OUN and UPA, established on parliament's initiative and active in 1997–2004, included respected scholars, and its conclusions "tried to provide a balanced assessment of OUN and UPA, combining a nationalist approach with the discussion of the ideological proximity of OUN to European fascism, and the participation of UPA in ethnic cleansing of the Poles."[35] Nevertheless, Kuchma never made these nationalist movements and their leaders a centerpiece of his nationality policies. Not so Yushchenko when "even this moderate attempt at objectivity became redundant" and together with a section of the Ukrainian diaspora promoted the cult of nationalist leaders and movements. This in turn provoked a revival of Soviet "antinationalism" (equating it with "fascism") discourse under Yanukovych and the Party of Regions that mobilized counterrevolution against the Euromaidan and inflamed anti-Kyiv violent separatism in the Crimea and Donbas (see Chapters 3, 6, and 7). Kuchma was willing to broaden the discussion of the "Great Patriotic War" in the Soviet Union to an inclusive view of World War II that included the Soviet armed forces and partisans, the UPA, and Ukrainians who fought in Allied armies, without placing Ukrainian nationalists at the centerpiece of his nation building and national identity policies. Again, we therefore find that Kuchma's policies were indicative of his promotion of flexible, inclusive nationality policies that are in tune with Eastern Ukraine's multiple identities. Kuchma, in including Ukrainian nationalist movements within Ukraine's new history, satisfied Western Ukrainians with a mutually exclusive identity while at the same time, in not placing Ukrainian nationalism (and the *holodomor*) at the center of his nationality policies, also satisfied Eastern Ukrainians with multiple identities. These flexible and inclusive nationality policies

Ukrainian civic inclusiveness in action: (top) Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev and (bottom) Jewish-Ukrainian government minister Volodymyr Hroysman are "Proud to be Ukrainian" candidates running in the Petro Poroshenko bloc in the October 2014 parliamentary elections. (Taras Kuzio)

worked toward the national integration of Ukraine while the policies pursued by Yushchenko and Yanukovych did not. Poroshenko would be well advised to return Ukraine to Kuchma-era nationality policies.

The monopolization of discourse on Ukrainian nationalism by his supporters at the local level and by President Yushchenko restricted public space for objective discussions of Ukrainian nationalism, atrocities committed by Ukrainian and other nationalists, and anti-Semitism and *pohroms* undertaken in World War II. In 2003, the presidents of Ukraine and Poland, Kuchma and Oleksandr Kwaśniewski, respectively, as part of a joint commemoration that condemned the nationalist-inspired massacres in Volhynia during World War II that led to the loss of 60,000 Polish and 20,000 Ukrainian lives, erected a monument. The year before, President Kwaśniewski had condemned the *Akcja Wisła*, describing that event as "a symbol of the abominable deeds perpetrated by the Communist authorities against Polish citizens of Ukrainian origin." Kwaśniewski argued that the claim *Akcja Wisła* was an act of revenge for the slaughter of Poles by the UPA was "fallacious and ethically inadmissible," because it invoked "the principle of collective guilt."

Yushchenko's glorification of nationalist movements made similar mutual commemorations and acts of reconciliation impossible. While the Ukrainian historical narrative is incomplete without a discussion of the OUN, the UPA, and Ukrainian nationalist groups, at the same time, it remains incumbent upon statespersons to avoid glorifying one side (whether nationalists by Yushchenko or the Soviet side by Yanukovych) and instead to facilitate inclusivity and public space for critical discussion. Only Kuchma of Ukraine's four presidents facilitated this approach and, in doing so, more securely promoted the national integration of Ukraine.

Yushchenko's *and* Yanukovych's nation building and national identity policies during the fifth and sixth cycles of Ukrainian history deepened regional divisions and produced political and ethnic instability. Yushchenko's nation building and national identity policies made centrist nationality policies no longer tenable, and Kuchma's political allies, such as former Chiefs of Staff Tabachnyk and Yevhen Kushnaryov, defected to the Party of Regions. As President Kuchma's chief of staff, Tabachnyk had been editor of a three-volume history of Ukraine's medals that included an entire volume devoted to decorations awarded by nationalist military formations, including the UNR, the UPA, and even the World War II Galicia Division (officially known as the 14th Grenadier Division of the frontline Waffen SS).[36] As deputy prime minister in the first Yanukovych government under President Kuchma, Tabachnyk had lobbied foreign governments in support of recognition of the *holodomor* as an act of genocide against the people of Ukraine.[37] In May 2003, 21 out of 44 Regions of Ukraine and 5 out of 20 European Choice deputies (who jointly comprised the Donetsk clan in the Ukrainian parliament) voted for the appeal on "Remembering the Memory of Victims of the Holodomor 1932–1933," but four years later the Party of Regions did not support the

law on the *holodomor*. However, under Yanukovych, Minister of Education Tabachnyk no longer held these centrist positions on nation building and identity policies and instead promoted Eurasianist nationality policies.[38] Dzyuba condemned Tabachnyk's Eurasianist nationality policies for promoting the Russification policies he had condemned four decades earlier in his seminal *Internationalism or Russification?*[39]

Many of the political, nation building, and national identity policies of the Yanukovych administration were tantamount to acts of revenge and counterrevolution against Yushchenko's earlier nationality policies. As in Kharkiv under Yushchenko, and so too after Yanukovych became president, Party of Regions nationality policies were "rather reactive than proactive."[40] Kuchma's flexible and inclusive European nation building and identity policies are more conducive to a regionally and ethnically diverse country such as Ukraine. It is for this reason that Ukraine's relative ethnic and regional stability under Kuchma during the 1990s stands in stark contrast to the regional and ethnic instability that characterized Yushchenko and Yanukovych's Ukraine.

Ukraine will not provide a prosperous future for its citizens as a divided and therefore dysfunctional state that either was unwilling to leave the crossroads or muddles to an indeterminate future. Centrist compromises between the mutually exclusive identity in Western and multiple identities in Eastern Ukraine are the only manner in which to ensure national integration in a regionally, linguistically, and ethnically diverse country such as Ukraine.[41] Nation building policies should unite, not divide, Ukraine, and this requires compromises on both sides of the Dnipro River, which will be made more difficult by bloodshed and violent conflict in the Donbas supported by domestic counterrevolution and Russian proxy intervention.[42]

The manner in which Ukraine became the country of today is analyzed in the following 12 chapters, beginning with a historical narrative and followed by major themes covering all aspects of Ukrainian society.

PART I

Narrative History

CHAPTER 1

Ukraine between Joseph Stalin and Mikhail Gorbachev (1953–1991)

We will not, will not be slaves.

Ukrainian nationalist slogan used during one of the uprisings in the Soviet Gulag in 1953[1]

We are not slaves!

Popular Orange Revolution and Euromaidan chant.

The post-Stalin era in Soviet Ukraine should be divided into two periods under Soviet Ukrainian Communist leaders Shelest and Shcherbytskyy. The first, Ukraine's third historic cycle from the death of Stalin in 1953 to the removal of KPU leader Shelest in 1972, included political and economic liberalization and ethnic Ukrainian (Europeanist) cultural reawakening. The second, Ukraine's fourth historic cycle, which became known as the "era of stagnation," was undertaken by Shcherbytskyy with the support of Soviet leader Brezhnev and included political repression, an end to economic reforms, and Russophile (Eurasianist) nationality policies. Independent Ukraine inherited a greater legacy from the Shcherbytskyy era, which was celebrated in 2003 by the Yanukovych government (see Box 1.1).

THE INTERREGNUM: STALIN TO SHELEST

The death of Stalin in 1953 and denunciation of Stalinism three years later by Soviet leader Khrushchev emboldened Ukrainian writers, journalists, and national Communist Party activists to campaign for the same

Box 1.1 Volodymyr Shcherbytskyy Celebrated, Petro Shelest Ignored

In 2003, the Ukrainian state, led by President Kuchma and Prime Minister Yanukovych, celebrated the 85th anniversary of the birth of Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party leader Shcherbytskyy. In the same year, the Ukrainian state ignored the 95th anniversary of the birth of Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party leader Shelest. Deputy Prime Ministers Volodymyr Semynozhenko (the second leader of the Party of Regions) and Tabachnyk, who held responsibility in the government for education and the sphere of humanities, respectively, managed the celebrations. The national democratic opposition who felt a greater affinity with Shelest than Shcherbytskyy condemned the celebrations. Presidents Kravchuk and Kuchma, born within a two-decade period from 1934 to 1954, were socialized into the Soviet system when Shcherbytskyy was the first secretary of the Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party.

The celebrations were wide embracing covering eight areas:

1. Hold a press conference in the Ukrainian House.
2. Prepare articles for the mass media, including the government newspaper *Uryadovy Kuryer.*
3. Hold an official commemoration with the laying of wreaths on his grave.
4. Hold an exhibition in the National Philharmonic portraying his life and political activities.
5. Hold a public meeting in the National Philharmonic with a guest lecture titled "The prominent state activist Volodymyr Shcherbytskyy and his era."
6. Prepare a book of memoirs about Shcherbytskyy.
7. Rename streets in Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, and Dniprodzerzhynsk in honor of Shcherbytskyy and put up memorial plates and monuments.
8. Prepare a documentary film about the life of Shcherbytskyy.

Sources:

Uryadovy Kuryer, February 14, 2003.

Viktor Andriyenko, ed., *Volodymyr Shcherbytskyy: spohady suchasnykiv. Do 85-richya vid dnya narodzhennya Volodymyra Vasylovych Shcherbytskoho* (Kyiv: Vydavnychy dim "In Yure," 2003).

Stephen Velnychenko, "1654 and All That in 2004," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 30, no. 1 (Summer 2005): 97–122.

A. Vlasenko, *V.V.Shcherbytskyy i yego vremya* (Kharkiv: Folio, 2009).

Vitaliy Vrublevskyy, *Vladimir Shcherbitskyy: pravda i vymysly: zapiski pomoshchnika. Vospominaniya, dokumenty, slukhi, lehendy, fakty* (Kyiv: Dovira, 1993).

demands they had raised in the 1920s and would again raise in the late 1980s and during Yanukovych's presidency. These demands focused on three areas: (1) changes in the writing of Ukrainian history, including a downplaying of the glorification of Imperial Russian tsars and generals; (2) the protection of the Ukrainian language; and (3) the rehabilitation of murdered and repressed Ukrainian intellectuals and national communists. Opposition groups also raised these questions but added additional demands such as respect for human rights, the transformation of the USSR into a confederation of sovereign states, and, among Western Ukrainian–based groups, Ukraine's independence from the Soviet Union. The cultural intelligentsia's concerns received a sympathetic hearing from the national-communist (Europeanist) wing of the KPU—as they had earlier in the 1920s and as they would again in the late 1980s.

Although Shelest sought to balance between the European and Eurasianist wings of the KPU, the latter portrayed him as ideologically suspect because he was allegedly sympathetic toward "Ukrainian nationalists." Shelest was indeed a "liberal" on Ukrainian culture and defended the rights of the Ukrainian language, but he was *never* a nationalist. In 1966, he told a visiting delegation of Canadian communists: "Some comrades have, on occasion, expressed mistaken ideas about what they call the merging of languages, but only a fool could imagine that there is any possibility of Russian taking over in Ukraine." In the same year, he told the Congress of Ukrainian Writers: "we must treat our beloved and wonderful language with care and respect. It is our treasure, our greatest heritage, which everyone above all, you writers, should protect and develop.... Your work in this direction has been and will be supported by the Communist Party."

There were two important obstacles to liberalization in Soviet Ukraine. The first was the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Khrushchev who had served Stalin faithfully in the 1930s and became Soviet Ukrainian Communist leader in 1937 at the height of the Great Terror. It would be wrong to define Khrushchev as a liberal on nationality questions in the same manner as Shelest. Khrushchev's 1958–1959 education reforms opened the floodgates to Russification, and the strongest reaction to these reforms emerged in Soviet Ukraine. Until the reforms, Soviet schools had taught the republican titular language and Russian language, but the educational reforms permitted parents to choose the language of education for their children. Compulsory instruction of children in Ukrainian, therefore, ended opening the way to a greater number of schools using Russian as a language of instruction because parents believed Russian was the language of advancement for their children. The number of Ukrainian schoolchildren educated in Ukrainian-language schools fell below 50 percent by the second half of the 1970s, and fewer books were published in the Ukrainian language under Brezhnev than under Stalin. Shelest had

been willing to support the Ukrainian language, culture, and national historiography, whereas Shcherbytskyy demonstrably chose to speak Russian, and his rhetoric on language, culture, and history writing were in line with the Eurasianist wing of the Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party. Shelest's books were published in Ukrainian in Kyiv while three quarters of Shcherbytskyy's books appeared in Russian and were published in Moscow.

The second obstacle to liberalization in post-Stalin Ukraine was that it was strongly opposed by the Eurasianist wing of the Communist Party in Ukraine who had powerful backers in the republican KGB and Moscow. The Eurasianist wing of the KPU was opposed to de-Stalinization and prioritized Soviet centralization over defense of republican rights. Russian chauvinists were prominent in the Communist Party in regions where the Eurasianist wing of the party was strong such as Odesa, Crimea, and the Donbas. In Ukraine's second and fourth historic cycles, the influential Eurasian wing of the KPU opposed Ukrainization, supported the removal of national communists, and lobbied for a hard-line crackdown on dissent and opposition. Outright hostility to Ukrainian language and culture was especially strong in the Donbas, Odesa, and other areas of Eastern and Southern Ukraine where pre-Soviet Russian nationalism had merged with the Eurasianist wing of the Bolshevik party to create a form of national Bolshevism. Following World War II, a similar integration of Polish ideologist Roman Dmowski's pro-Russian National Democracy (*Endecja*) merged with communism to produce a form of Polish national Bolshevism; this wing of the Polish United Workers' Party excelled in attacking Ukrainian and German nationalism.

In May 1964, Russian nationalist Vladimir Pogruzhalskiy, a librarian, went on trial for setting fire to the library of Kyiv's Academy of Sciences that destroyed 600,000 books, documents, and archives, including hundreds of countless historical manuscripts. Pogruzhalskiy openly admitted undertaking the arson and in his final statement before the court claimed he undertook it for patriotic reasons, citing a Soviet Russian poem. He was sentenced to four years' imprisonment, but there was strong suspicion among Ukrainian dissidents and cultural activists that he had links to the KGB. In response, Ukrainian dissident cultural activists Ivan Svitlychnyy and Yevhen Sverstyuk wrote the *samvydav* pamphlet "On the Occasion of Pogruzhalskiy's Trial" protesting against the arson.

Poles Apart: Lviv and Dnipropetrovsk

The two key cities in Soviet Ukraine for dissent and nationalism were Kyiv and Lviv (see Chapter 4). Of the 749 known Ukrainian dissidents in 1969–1972, 25 percent were from Lviv, only 13 percent less than Kyiv, and Lviv was second to Kyiv in the number of arrests by the KGB. Soviet

Soviet Ukraine, 1954. (Reprinted with permission from Paul Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples*, 2nd revised and expanded edition, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010)

nationalities policies and the influx of Western Ukrainians had progressively Ukrainianized Kyiv from the 1950s ensuring that it would become the center of dissident and cultural movements in the 1960s and late 1980s. Many of Lviv's writers moved to Kyiv and influenced institutions such as the Writers Union where they increased support for policies to promote ethnic Ukrainian identity calling for Soviet nationality and cultural policies that benefitted the Ukrainian language and culture. Kyiv was the home for major universities, Academy of Sciences, official cultural unions, and editorial offices of national journals, magazines, and newspapers. It included a large concentration of intelligentsia specializing in the humanities and social sciences, many of whom had arrived from Western Ukraine and later became influential in independent Ukraine. Ukrainian dissidents were drawn mainly from Central and Western Ukraine, which produced towering personalities such as Sverstyuk, Svitlychnyy, and Vyacheslav Chornovil, among many others. Over half of Ukraine's dissidents were born in Kyiv, Lviv, and Ivano-Frankivsk with Western Ukrainians overrepresented in the overall number. Nevertheless, Central and Eastern Ukrainian dissidents provided the movement with cultural icons and intellectuals such as Dzyuba, Vasyl Stus, Mykola Rudenko, and Levko Lukyanenko.

Western Ukrainians never believed the Soviet system could be improved, and they were alienated further by Stalinist crimes in the 1930s. William Jay Risch writes that Lviv represented a "fault line of rival projects of nation building and imperial dominance."[2] Dissidents and opposition activists in Lviv were more radical than their counterparts in Central and Eastern Ukraine, and the large influx of Ukrainian villagers into Lviv "represented a politically unreliable, Banderite other."[3] Western Ukrainians were viewed as politically unreliable even to the extent that a monument to Taras Shevchenko was not permitted in Lviv because, as in Kyiv, it would have become a place of pilgrimage and center of protest. The *Komsomol* in Kyiv and Lviv became major catalysts of demands for political liberalization and Ukrainianization in the "cutting edge" of liberalization,[4] and in the late 1980s it launched the Democratic Platform in the Communist Party. Members of new dissident youth clubs called for political liberalization and reform of nationality policies.

In the 1940s, the nationalist insurgency in Western Ukraine and mass deportations to Siberia served to further fuel already high levels of anti-Soviet and nationalist sentiments. Ukrainian nationalists while "openly or covertly resisting the Germans, endeavoured to use the war situation to prevent the return of the Soviet regime."[5] Ukrainian nationalists led uprisings in the Soviet Gulag in the early 1950s. By 1956, 41,000 former deportees and nationalist guerrillas returned to live in Western Ukraine, and they provided an example, encouragement, and membership for nationalist and dissident groups. Nationalists who had evaded death or arrest had infiltrated Soviet institutions in the late 1940s and 1950s, such as the KPU and *Komsomol*. Western Ukrainians sang folk songs in private in homage to World War I *Sich* riflemen in the Austrian army, post–World War I Galician Army, and UPA nationalist partisans. When Soviet censorship was liberalized in the late 1980s, hitherto privately promoted homage for nationalist armed forces entered the public domain. Dissidents Leonid Plyushch and Lukyanenko, Yushchenko, and Yuriy Lutsenko became Ukrainianized after their visits to Western Ukraine. Yushchenko recalled being labeled a "Banderite" after returning to his native Sumy from his studies in Ternopil. Lutsenko explained to a Kyiv courtroom in 2012 how his personal national awakening began when he was a student in 1983 in Lviv Polytechnic University.[6]

Leading Western Ukrainian writers such as Dmytro Pavlychko and Rostyslav Bratun not only flirted with Ukrainian nationalism in their youth but also went to work for the Soviet regime, and in the late 1980s they supported democratization and Ukrainian independence. Western Ukrainian intellectuals encouraged an accommodation with the Soviet regime, but they identified themselves first and foremost as Ukrainians, and therefore, Lviv's writers remained close to dissidents and oppositionists. "Establishment intellectuals thus agreed with dissident concerns

about Ukraine's identity. In return, dissidents came to incorporate the agendas of establishment intellectuals to justify more radical change."[7] Pavlychko's poems, for example, were used to legitimize calls for Ukrainian independence. Lviv's intellectuals typified what Risch describes as Western Ukrainians accommodating, but not submitting, to the Soviet system, penning attacks against Ukrainian nationalist groups whilst also condemning Soviet nationality policies and Russification.

Similar to the three Baltic states, communism never established deep roots in Western Ukraine, Lviv never became completely Soviet, and the Soviet regime was viewed as Russian and foreign. John A. Armstrong warned decades earlier that evidence "indicates that the West Ukraine is far from securely incorporated in the Soviet system."[8] Lviv was the first city in the USSR to remove its monument to Lenin in September 1990 seven months after national democrats took power in local elections and 25 years before Lenin was removed in Kharkiv.

Lviv, the largest city in Galicia, together with the three Baltic states were not only centers of dissent, nationalism, and national communism but also from the late 1960s centers of alternative culture and the lifestyles of hippies, rockers, and punks.[9] In Lviv, these people were often the children of Soviet veterans, Central and Eastern Ukrainians (i.e., in the eyes of Galicians, they were Soviet Ukrainians), and people from Russia sent to Sovietize Western Ukraine after World War II. They were from families of Russians, Jews, and Russian speakers from Eastern Ukraine as well as from Russia proper.[10] They lived in a politically unreliable region that had lived through pogroms, genocide, competing nationalisms, and ethnic cleansing. The parents of Alik Olisevych, one of the leaders of Lviv's nonconformist alterative scene, were from Central Ukraine and had been slave laborers in Germany during World War II. Upon returning to the USSR, they were given prison sentences, and his father met Ukrainian nationalists for the first time in the Gulag.

Those involved in Lviv's alternative and Bohemian lifestyle drifted away from communism (as did many people in the USSR during the Brezhnev era), but as largely Russian-speaking outsiders, they did not integrate into local nationalist and democratic opposition groups. Anna Wylegala writes that the Ukrainian ethnic majority in Lviv did not recognize Russians born in the city as "true Ukrainians" because an ethnocultural definition of the nation "rarely allows new members to enter the community if they were not born there."[11] Although they were outsiders, their more "cosmopolitan" ethnic roots facilitated contacts with the Baltic states and Moscow (a city that was viewed as "cool" and the home of the "Patriarch" of Soviet hippies, Allen Ginsberg), and they preferred to read the Soviet *Komsomol* magazine *Rovesnik* rather than the more conservative Soviet Ukrainian *Ranok*. "The Ukrainian *Komsomol* magazine *Ranok* published awkwardly written articles with incompetent criticism of the

Hippies, rockers, and punks in Soviet Lviv, 1987. Alik Olisevych is second from the left. (Taras Kuzio)

development in Western youth culture," Serhiy Zhuk recalled.[12] The Russian language became *modno* (cool) and stylish, and the consumption of Western music in Eastern Ukraine led to Russification. "The official Soviet Ukrainian culture represented the most conservative, backward and anti-Western element in their life," Zhuk writes.[13] This was not the case in Western Ukraine where Risch writes that "The Russian language became the language of communication among hippies and later youth subcultures in Lviv," and Russian was the language of official pop and rock bands in the USSR while Ukrainian was used for folk ensembles.[14] Nevertheless, unlike in Eastern Ukraine, this did not lead to Russification in Lviv: "I would say that the consumption of Western popular culture indeed encouraged some Russification, but also Ukrainianisation. Thus, I argue that the Galician Ukrainian slang and the Ukrainian lyrics in songs by one hippie amateur rock group in Lviv were signs of Ukrainianisation taking place among Russian-speaking youth."[15]

The KGB did not always ignore these alternative groups as they lived in the sensitive-for-Moscow regions of Western Ukraine and the three Baltic states. Olisevych had problems with the KGB and police since the age of 15 after he participated in the burial of Romas Kalanta in Kaunas, who in May 1972 had committed self-immolation as a political protest against the Soviet occupation of Lithuania. His action inspired 13 more people to commit suicide by self-immolation in the Soviet Union and provoked

the largest riots in Soviet Lithuania. An example of how the local Soviet Ukrainian KGB was at a loss how to respond was the annual commemoration of Jimi Hendrix's death on September 18. In 1977, Lviv's alternative, hippie scene organized through in the pre-Internet and pre–mobile phone era of the "gypsy post" (i.e., word of mouth) a mass gathering in their city to commemorate his death. Five hundred Soviet hippies were detained, and initially the local KGB believed it was an anti-Soviet protest against the unification of Western and Eastern Ukraine on September 17, 1939. The local Lviv KGB had no idea who Hendrix was, which was not surprising as one can imagine how provincial KGB officers, used to dealing with ardent nationalists, were at a loss to know how to react to a gathering in honor of an African-American rock music star. Olisevych remembers that each detained hippie was photographed five times for different KGB files in Lviv, Kyiv, Moscow, and the Baltic republics.

In reality, members of the alternative scene were neither anti-Soviet *nor* Soviet because they lived in a gray zone between Western Ukrainian oppositionists and those who joined the Communist Party for material gain or were forced to do so because of professional reasons. Members of the alternative scene did not fight the Soviet system, but neither did they support it, which was just as dangerous in a totalitarian system. They asked to be left alone, and in this request, they were often successful; Olisevych remembers the military taking one look at his clothes and hairstyle and refusing to accept him as a conscript. They had similar experiences with the *Komsomol* because the authorities believed they would become bad examples to others. Being left alone though had drawbacks such as an inability to find employment because of their hairstyles and clothes.[16]

The hippie and alternative culture in the USSR in the 1970s and 1980s was built on strong personal bonds, a sense of freedom, tolerance of alternative viewpoints, and a willingness to assist each other. Travel abroad was impossible, and their "foreign" travels consisted of visits to beaches in Latvia or the Crimea. Each summer, Lviv's hippies traveled to the Baltic republics, which became destinations for hippie gatherings (the author has illustrations of these on a Riga beach in the 1980s). Alternative youth and hippies began gathering in autumn 1975 in the *Holy Garden* (*Sviatyy Sad*) in the Order of Barefoot Carmelites monastery before the KGB broke up these hippie gatherings (described as "sessions" by participants). Earlier beginning in 1970, the first and oldest of Lviv's hippies and alternative scene had met in the Lychakiv cemetery, but the KGB also broke up these "sessions." Another meeting place was the Armenian café, opened in 1979, on Armenian Street, next door to Lviv's old Armenian Cathedral where at any one time there could be upward of 150 gathering. The café and street in Lviv's old town is an area traditionally—and still—known for its Bohemian culture. Armenia (substituted by an Armenian

café) was about as "oriental" as one could achieve for those interested in pursuing a Bohemian lifestyle but unable to travel to far-away Central Asia or outside the Soviet Union.

Zhuk discusses "hard-rock mania" in Soviet Ukraine in the 1970s and believes it contributed to the growth of alternative lifestyles and, therefore, democratization in the following decade when the political climate changed.[17] Lviv's alternative scene worshipped U.S. rock music in the 1960s (which was before Olisevych's time) such as Janis Joplin, Jefferson Airplane, and Hendrix, but by the 1970s it was British rock that dominated their tastes, with Deep Purple in particular highly venerated.[18] As a teenager in the 1970s growing up in Dnipropetrovsk, Yulia Tymoshenko remembered liking hard rock.[19] Russian President Dmitri Medvedev met Deep Purple in Moscow in March 2011 and said he had been their fan for the past 33 years. Whereas jazz was the music of the alternative scene in Prague and Krakow, it was heavy rock that was more influential in the Soviet Union.

Discotheques became very popular in the 1980s where they became an early source of capital for young entrepreneurs who emerged from the *Komsomol* and were tasked with maintaining "ideological control" over young people. Western music was smuggled by Polish and Western tourists to Lviv from where it spread throughout Soviet Ukraine. Zhuk ties the growth in popularity of Western music with interest in religion among young people because heavy rock band members wore crucifixes and Ian Gillan, the lead singer of Deep Purple, acted and sang in the role of Jesus Christ in the 1970 musical album *Jesus Christ Superstar.* In Dnipropetrovsk, growing interest in religion led to the spread of Baptist communities for those who were disaffected with the state-controlled, conservative, and anti-Western Orthodox Church. Oleksandr Turchynov, Tymoshenko's close ally from the mid-1990s to the Euromaidan in the *Batkivshchina* political party, is an ordained Baptist minister.[20]

The alternative, hippie scene in Lviv, the three Baltic states, and Moscow, where it was most prevalent in the USSR, nevertheless represented a challenge to the authorities. Members of Lviv's alternative and Bohemian cultural lifestyle involved far more people than dissidents and especially oppositionists—although never as many as in Eastern European cities such as Prague, a center of Bohemian culture, or in the West. Lviv's alternative and Bohemian cultural lifestyle included hippies such as Olisevych, "motor hippies" (not Hells Angels but hippies who rode Czech Jawa and CZ motor bikes), artists, poets, and writers who did not want to subject their work to Soviet censors.[21] Members of Lviv's alternative and Bohemian cultural groups were not necessarily anti-regime (prior to the Gorbachev era in the USSR) or with middle-class backgrounds, unlike hippies in the United States and Western Europe in the late 1960s. In Western Ukraine, the "mecca of alternative lifestyle in

the Soviet Union," and the three Baltic republics, the participants simply wanted to be left alone and wished to be "free" or as "free" as was at all possible in post-Stalinist Soviet Union. They recalled that their worst experiences were during Yury Andropov's brief leadership of the USSR in 1982–1984 when attacks on them as "anti-Soviet renegades" increased.

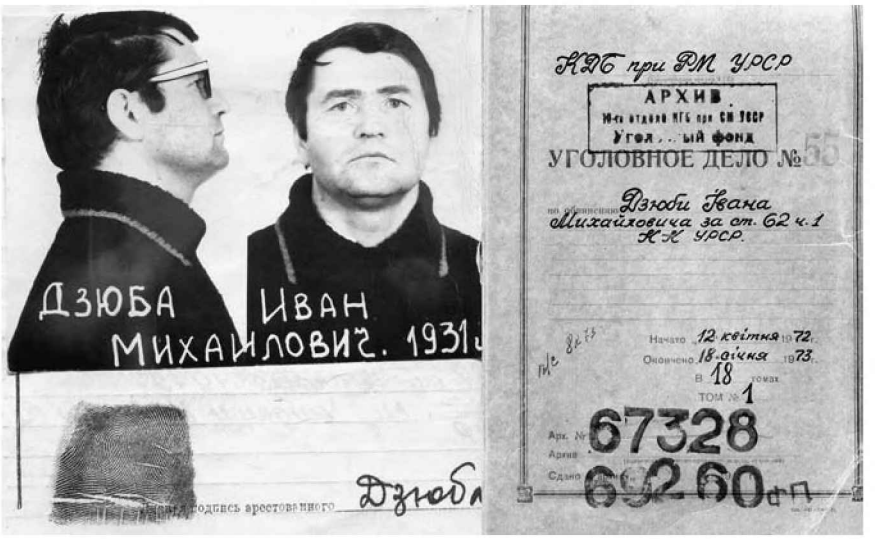
Although Lviv's hippie and alternative culture was not anti-Soviet when public space opened up in the Gorbachev era of the late 1980s, those who lived in the gray zone began to raise demands when the KGB was hamstrung in being unable to implement traditional forms of repression. The first protest organized by Olisevych and his colleagues was in September 1987 when different civic and opposition groups began to emerge in Lviv. This was not surprising as when fear subsided, opportunities arose, and safety in numbers made mass protests possible; a similar process took place during the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan when millions of otherwise usually passive Ukrainians joined hard-core anti-regime activists.

Olisevych and his colleagues, who did not harbor the traditional anti-Russian nationalism found in Galicia, established ties to Russian activists in Moscow and established an Lviv branch of the Group to Establish Trust, an independent peace movement active in the USSR since 1982. The London-based Ukrainian Peace Committee (UPC),[22] led by left-wing members of the British Labour Party, established ties to the Lviv Trust group in December 1988.[23] It was the only Ukrainian émigré group to support Russian-speaking *neformaly* and social democratic groups in Lviv, sending them technical assistance and publications and bringing back to the West their *samvydav* and photographs of them and their protests. The UPC acted as intermediaries between Polish opposition groups such as *Komitet Oporu Społecznego "Solidarność"* (KOS, Committee in Defense of Society) and peace groups such as *Ruch Wolność i Pokój* (WiP, Freedom and Peace) with Lviv's budding peace movement.[24] Russian-speaking *neformaly* (informal) members of unofficial peace and environmental NGOs formed the first social democratic civic groups in Ukraine, published Russian-language *samvydav* publications such as *Na Polnyy Golos* (*The Full Voice*) edited by Yevhen Patrakeyev, and became active in local initiative groups to establish a popular front.[25] Social democratic groups spread to Kyiv and Kharkiv in the early 1990s but did not become popular in Western Ukraine where there was limited political space for Russian-speaking social democrats in a crowded Ukrainian-language and national-democratic political space.

In the post-Stalin era, Dnipropetrovsk, a major industrial city and source of republican elites, experienced a revival of Ukrainian national identity that was also explained by the increase of ethnic Ukrainians living in the city since World War II. Another factor was the arrival of 1,041 former political prisoners of conscience from the Soviet Gulag

banned from returning to live in Western Ukraine.[26] Dnipropetrovsk's local intelligentsia became intermediaries between these former political prisoners and their families in Western Ukraine. Dnipropetrovsk activists were not anti-Soviet "nationalists," as they were in Lviv, but closer to their Kyiv counterparts in being patriots with a naïve faith in the Soviet system and still loyal to Soviet Leninist policies. The willingness to provide the Soviet system with the benefit of the doubt that could be reformed and pressured to return to "Leninist" nationalities policies persisted until the 1972 *pohrom*.

In the 1960s, *samvydav* and émigré publications from organizations such as Prolog-Suchasnist arrived in Dnipropetrovsk via Western Ukraine. Dnipropetrovsk youth showed great interest in Ukrainian history, especially the Cossack period, and the culture and poetry of the *shistdesyatnyky* (generation of the 1960s). Student discussion groups, the most famous of which was the Club of Creative Youth, and other underground groups flourished. Ukrainian blue and yellow national flags were occasionally unfurled in Dnipropetrovsk. The KGB was alarmed at such developments, particularly in a closed (militarized) city[27] such as Dnipropetrovsk, which they blamed on "nationalism" and attacks on the "cult of personality" (Stalin) that led to anti-Soviet feelings. Many students in Dnipropetrovsk supported the revival of the Ukrainian language and were energized by Dzyuba's *Internationalism or Russification?* Moreover, Oles Honchar's 1968 novel *Sobor* (*The Cathedral*) became the most popular book among young intellectuals in Dnipropetrovsk in the late 1960s.



Ivan Dzyuba's KGB Photograph and KGB File after his arrest during the 1972 *pohrom* of Ukrainian dissent and culture, the most extensive crackdown since the Stalin era. (Centre for Research into Liberation Movements, Lviv)

EUROPEAN AND EURASIANIST COMMUNISTS IN SOVIET UKRAINE: SHELEST AND SHCHERBYTSKYY

The power base of the Eurasianist wing in the KPU was the Donbas, Dnipropetrovsk, Odesa, and Crimea, and these regions maintained close relations with the ideological department of the KPU and with the republican and Soviet KGB. Of the 15 republics of the USSR, the highest number of ideological tirades against Zionists, "Cosmopolitans," and "bourgeois nationalists" took place in Soviet Ukraine.[28] Heorhiy Kasyanov writes that the coming to power of Brezhnev in 1964 represented a "gradual ideological and political renaissance of Stalinism"[29] that laid the groundwork for the 1972 *pohrom*. Masha Lipman describes the Brezhnev era as one of "creeping re-Stalinization" that reflected the reemergence of conservative political forces.[30] Nationalist dissident Valentyn Moroz had begun writing his sharply critical *samvydav* in response to "the return to Stalinism" in the 1960s that, he believed, was synonymous with Russian chauvinism.[31]

The question of what constituted the main "threat" to Soviet power divided the national communist and Eurasianist wings of the KPU. For the former, Great Russian chauvinism was the main source of danger and Dzyuba endlessly quoted Lenin in *Internationalism or Russification?* to support his calls for a "return to Leninist principles." For the Eurasianist wing of the KPU, the main threat to Soviet power came from non-Russian "bourgeois nationalism." From January 1934, Great Russian chauvinism became less dangerous than non-Russian nationalism, ethnic Russians had become the first among equals of Soviet peoples, and Soviet historiography had begun to praise Imperial Russian tsars and generals. Attacks on Ukrainian nationalism became central to Eurasianists in the KPU who sought to ingratiate themselves with Moscow by suppressing all vestiges of Ukrainian independent thought. Equating the Euromaidan with "fascism" therefore has its origins in these Soviet attacks on Ukrainian nationalism.

KPU Eurasianists faithfully copied and implemented new directives in Soviet nationality policy that emanated from Moscow. Shcherbytskyy, whom Bohdan Lewytzkyj describes as the "malorus par excellence" (i.e., an extreme case of Little Russianism) had little charisma, feared to deviate from the Communist Party line, was completely servile to Moscow, and cultivated a Little Russian group of cadres who were loyal and subservient. Some of them, such as Kravchuk, rebelled in the late 1980s against Moscow, perhaps because of his Western Ukrainian roots and opportunism, while others backed the August 1991 hard-line putsch in Moscow. Ukrainian writer and political analyst Mykola Ryabchuk defines *Maloros* (Little Russian) with two main attributes depending on the context: "Colloquially, it is used as an insult in the same way as *yanychary* (*janissaries*),

or *khakhly* (a pejorative term for ethnic Ukrainians); that is people with no national consciousness and, implicitly, little human dignity."[32] In scholarly discourse in Ukraine, *Maloros* is used to define a type of local patriotism or regionalism that may at times contradict, but never directly challenge, the overarching, more senior loyalty toward the Russian language and imperial metropolis. During the Shcherbytskyy era, the Soviet Ukrainian media purged nationally conscious writers and national communists from state institutions, and Ukrainians became the largest proportionate group of political prisoners in the Soviet Gulag. "Thanks to Shcherbytskyy and his associates, Moscow has succeeded in cultivating a following of loyal 'Little Russians' in Ukraine, who are willing to subordinate the republic's interests to those of the centre."[33] The concept of Little Russians attests to their servility to a higher culture and belief of one's own culture as belonging to that of a lower class, attitudes that were common to all former colonial peoples assimilated to the culture and language of the former colonial power.

Besides ideology and less critical attitudes to Stalinism, another major difference between the Eurasianist and European wings of the KPU was in their attitudes toward the organization of the Soviet state and whether it was expedient to pursue economic reforms. KPU Eurasianists supported a centralized Soviet state, opposing decentralization and the granting of greater rights to the republic while distrusting economic reforms. KPU Europeanists, in turn, looked with envy at economic reforms in Hungary and Poland. KPU Eurasianists condemned "bourgeois nationalism" among dissidents, Ukrainian émigrés, and other subversive threats from abroad, including from Communist countries in Eastern Europe, and campaigned in support of suppressing liberalizations in Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968), and Poland (1956 and 1968), which they feared could spread into Western and then Eastern Ukraine. Zhuk, who lived in Dnipropetrovsk in the Brezhnev era, recalled the KGB sought to stem the flow of émigré and dissident literature from Lviv into Eastern Ukraine, although usually not very successfully. *Nashe Slovo* and *Nasha Kultura* newspapers and the annual *Ukrayinsky Kalendar*, official organs of Ukrainians living in Communist Poland, published articles and *samvydav* texts banned in Soviet Ukraine. *Duklya* and *Druzhno Vpered* magazines and *Narodnyy Kalendar*, official organs of Ukrainians living in Communist Czechoslovak republic, did the same. Members of the Ukrainian national minority in Poland and Slovakia sent their publications by post to the USSR and brought them during visits to Soviet Ukraine. Władysław A. Serczyk's *Historia Ukrainy*[34] was far better than any history of Ukraine published in the Soviet Union, and this author, then an exchange student between the British and Polish Universities of Sussex and Poznan in the early 1980s, assisted Ukrainian students in Poland in the mass mailing of copies of Serczyk's book to Soviet Ukraine.

KPU Eurasianists and the central authorities in Moscow launched two waves of arrests of the political opposition in 1959–1961 and of cultural activists in 1965. The 20 prominent figures arrested in 1965, documented by Vyacheslav Chornovil in *The Chornovil Papers* published in London two years later,[35] had not been political oppositionists; nevertheless, their incarceration for demanding rights they believed the Soviet Union had promised to uphold transformed them into dissidents and future opposition leaders. Then, and today, Moscow's policies have successfully—but unintentionally—transformed Soviet and pro-Russian loyalists into Ukrainian patriots. The Soviet Gulag became a university for Ukraine's political opposition; Vyacheslav Chornovil emerged from numerous prison terms in 1987 to resume his position as editor of the *Samvydav Ukrayinskyy Visnyk* (Ukrainian Herald) that he had earlier published in 1969–1972.[36] Future *Rukh* leader Vyacheslav Chornovil "highlights the odyssey of a dedicated and idealistic investigative journalist who places his concern for justice and legality above that of personal well-being."[37]

The struggle between the Eurasianist and European wings of the KPU, a product of Ukraine's regional diversity and competition between mutually exclusive and multiple identities, could be seen by contrasting the November 1966 Writers Congress where Shelest defended the Ukrainian language with ideological campaigns against Honchar's novel *Sobor* and Shelest's book *Ukrayina, Nasha Radyanska* (Ukraine, Our Soviet Land).[38] Lewytzkyj wrote that "the forces of the right closed ranks against *Sobor*,"[39] a novel that denounced the destruction of Ukrainian historical buildings in the name of "modernization."[40]

In 1968, the literary magazine *Dnipro* serialized the novel *Sobor* by Honchar that was afterward published in a 100,000 print run by the *Dnipro* publishing house.[41] As secretary of the Writers Union, Honchar symbolized cultural policies pursued under Shelest and wrote some of his speeches.[42] The popularity of the novel was far greater than had been expected, but nevertheless, *Sobor* was savagely condemned by the Eurasianist wing of the Communist Party through its strongholds in Dnipropetrovsk and Donetsk. As *Ukrayinskyy Visnyk* reported, "All the anti-Shelest men were led by Shcherbytskyy."[43] They were supported, in turn, by Communist hard-liners such as Lviv *oblast* ideological secretary Valentyn Malanchuk who was "a well-known Ukrainophobe, a fierce Russian chauvinist, and careerist," according to *Ukrayinskyy Visnyk*.[44] Sitting at the pinnacle of this Eurasianist group was Soviet Ukrainian KGB Chairperson Vitaliy Fedorchuk whose career had been in military counterintelligence, a field that came under the jurisdiction of the Third Directorate of the KGB. Fedorchuk, a close associate of Soviet KGB chairperson and Soviet leader Andropov, was promoted to Soviet interior minister in gratitude for successfully completing the Ukrainian *pohrom*.

The Ukrainian intelligentsia believed the trials and ideological campaign against *Sobor* amounted to the revival of Stalinism, and 139 scientists, writers, and students wrote an open letter in April 1968 protesting against KGB repression. By the early 1970s, "The atmosphere resembled in many respects that of the Stalinist terror," and by the late 1970s, "repression in Ukraine had taken on clear Mafia-like overtones."[45] The *samvydav Ukrayinskyy Visnyk*, reporting on the prevailing atmosphere of the time, wrote that the KGB dramatically increased its informers and agents and had "completely slipped out from under the control of the KPU leadership. The number of KGB men and undercover agents increased sharply."[46]

Shelest's *Ukraine, Our Soviet Land* included much of the tenets of the national communists and KPU Europeanists. The work was remarkable in that it was not well written or particularly interesting, in fact resembling more a programmatic statement than a history of Ukraine. The six main tenets that transformed Shelest into a "nationalist" in the eyes of KPU Eurasianists and Moscow were as follows:

1. Soviet Ukraine was discussed as a state rather than as a member of a union, whether Imperial Russia or the USSR. Soviet historiography since 1934 depicted Ukrainians as incapable of running their own affairs without the "elder brother" and always seeking to "reunite" with Russia. If he were alive today, Shelest would be attacked by Moscow as a Ukrainian "fascist."
2. Ukraine did not necessarily benefit from Russian rule and, for example, Shelest denounced the destruction of the autonomous Ukrainian Cossack state by Tsarist Empress Catherine. Shelest's younger son Vitaliy recalls: "Our family tree is rooted in the Zaporizhzhyan Sich. Our surname is mentioned in the chronicles. My grandfather Yukhym Dmytrovych, who was a Cavalier of the Order of St. George, told him (Petro Shelest) about the Zaporizhzhyans. He had a great respect for this period of Ukrainian history. I would even say that, to him, the Zaporizhzhyan Sich was an ideal civil society. He could not renounce this attitude."[47]
3. Soviet nationality policies were all but ignored.
4. The Ukrainian language was glorified without the usual servile homage to Russian.
5. He ignored and downplayed "fraternal" Russian assistance to Ukraine.
6. The book exuded future optimism about Ukraine as a country in its own right, which, as with Bratun's and Pavlychko's writings and poems, could encourage some Ukrainians to think of their country outside the USSR, in the manner of Communist Poland or Hungary.

Although Shelest wrote his book with these six tenets using communist and Marxist-Leninist dogma, the arguments were nevertheless close in spirit to the writings of the liberal intelligentsia, historians, and cultural activists. The liberal cultural atmosphere of the post-Stalin era "stressed

the reclamation of the Ukrainian past for the spiritual regeneration of the present."[48] In 1957, the Soviet authorities permitted the launch of the journal *Ukrayinskyy Istorychnyy Zhurnal* (*Ukrainian Historical Journal*). The Ukrainian national revival in the post-Stalin era led to the publication of encyclopedias of Soviet Ukrainian history and books on Ukrainian art, literature, language, and cybernetics (see Chapters 4 and 6). When Shelest was leader of the KPU, he ordered the construction of the Ukrayina Palace against the instructions of Moscow, a building that in independent Ukraine became an important state venue for events such as the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

Shelest, a charismatic leader, had popular support throughout Ukraine except in Dnipropetrovsk, the Donbas, and Crimea. The growth of the proportion of ethnic Ukrainians within the KPU's membership could not offset the large party organizations in Dnipropetrovsk and the Donbas as well as their influence in key government ministries, the Politburo, and secretariat. The number of Russians and Jews among KPU members was greater than their proportion in the Soviet Ukrainian population and that of ethnic Ukrainians lower. Russians were especially overrepresented in the upper echelons of KPU congresses and many had been brought in to assist in Sovietizing Western Ukraine after World War II.[49]

Western scholars and the Ukrainian diaspora have traditionally condemned "Little Russian" Shcherbytskyy's 17-year rule of Ukraine by contrasting him with the "pro-Ukrainian" Shelest. In Ukraine, intellectuals have traditionally described Shcherbytskyy's rule as part of the Brezhnev "era of stagnation" and revival of Stalinism. Shcherbytskyy's rule is associated with political repression and spiritual stagnation as well as a determined campaign to russify the Ukrainian language and culture. Roman Szporluk wrote,

> The Brezhnev era is important in the history of Belarus and Ukraine as one during which a comprehensive and systematic attempt was made by Moscow to eradicate the Ukrainian and Belarusian linguistic, cultural and historical identities. These Soviet policies were on a scale incomparable to anything undertaken anywhere else in the Soviet Union. Both Belarus and Ukraine have been the object of a most brutal attempt to obliterate these two East Slavic nations.[50]

The nostalgia felt by Ukraine's post-Soviet ruling elites for Shcherbytskyy betrayed the deep-rootedness of their socialization under him that carried over into independent Ukraine. The former communist elite, including Presidents Kravchuk and Kuchma, looked upon Shcherbytskyy positively during the 85th anniversary of his birth in 2003 while ignoring Shelest's 95th anniversary that same year (see Box 1.1). Ukraine's post-Soviet elite began its rise through the ranks of the KPU during the Shcherbytskyy era, and for them Shelest was a distant memory. Moscow

removed Shelest from power in May 1972 and exiled him to Moscow where he died in 1996, never returning to live in Ukraine.[51] The prestigious Baykiv cemetery in Kyiv is the resting place of both Soviet Ukrainian Communist leaders Shcherbytskyy and Shelest.

The 1972 *pohrom* of dissidents and Ukrainian culture was the second repression by Eurasianists of Ukrainianization since the early 1930s. Magocsi describes the 1970s as an "epochal turning point for Ukrainian society,"[52] and Bohdan Nahaylo, citing the well-known British expert on Soviet Dissent Peter Reddaway, believes it was the "heaviest single KGB assault on any group since Stalin."[53] Dissidents, cultural intellectuals, Communist Party leaders, and academics were expelled from their positions, scholarly institutions were restructured, and many historical publications were curtailed.

SOVIET *PERESTROIKA* TO UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

Although Soviet leader Gorbachev launched policies of *perestroika* (reconstruction) and *glasnost* (openness) in 1985, the KPU conservative leadership under Shcherbytskyy remained in power in Ukraine for another five years, preventing the republic from fully participating in the new era of liberalization. Shcherbytskyy, in the manner of other hard-line Central and Eastern European Communist leaders in Czechoslovakia, Romania, and the GDR, never understood Gorbachev. Shcherbytskyy asked Kravchuk, "Comrade Kravchuk, tell me please, which idiot dreamt up the phrase *perestroika*?" Shcherbytskyy asked this question because he believed "everything is great here! What is there to restructure (*perestroika*)?"[54]

From April 1986, the KPU increasingly came under criticism from opposition civic groups, following an explosion at the Chornobyl nuclear power plant, located North of Kyiv, which caused widespread discharges of radioactive material. Intellectuals and national communists condemned Shcherbytskyy for not cancelling the 1986 May Day parade when the threat of radiation still existed while at the same time sending the children of senior KPU *nomenklatura* outside Kyiv. The KPU in turn blamed Moscow for passing responsibility to Kyiv for the accident. The Chornobyl nuclear accident sparked the growth of a new green movement led by *Zelenyy Svit* (Green World) and the formation of a Green Party, both led by Yuriy Shcherbak, who in independent Ukraine became Ukraine's ambassador to Israel, the United States, and Canada.[55] Shcherbytskyy's recklessness with young Ukrainians' lives increased popular opposition to his rule because it showed him to be out of step with Gorbachev's new policies, even though it had been Moscow that had insisted the parade go ahead as planned.

In 1987–1988, Ukrainian dissidents were released from the Gulag, and they returned to Ukraine to take up the process of democratization that they had championed during the third historic cycle. In championing democratization, they believed they were supporting Gorbachev's policies that could be readily seen in the name given to the *Ukrainian Popular Movement for Restructuring* (*Perestroika*). Released dissidents refounded the Ukrainian Helsinki Group (UHH), which they renamed the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHS), that allied itself with the cultural intelligentsia to launch *Rukh*. The KPU prevented *Rukh* from holding its founding congress until September 1989, the same month that Shcherbytskyy resigned as KPU leader, and he passed away a year later.

All nationalist movements have radical and moderate wings, and Ukraine was no exception to this rule. Pro-democracy dissidents and former prisoners of conscience and cultural activists concerned about Soviet assimilationist policies formed the moderate *Rukh* that became the main group within the Democratic Bloc that fielded candidates in the March 1990 republican elections. Radical nationalists organized the Ukrainian Inter-Party Assembly and other nationalist formations, some with links to the émigré OUNb (the wing of OUN aligned with Bandera), and they boycotted the 1990 Soviet republican parliamentary elections. Describing *Rukh* and national democrats as "moderates" needs to be placed into a comparative perspective because their programs are those typically supported by moderate center-right parties in Europe. At the same time, Russophone Eastern Ukrainians have until the Euromaidan perceived not only nationalists but also Ukraine's national democrats as "nationalists that reflected the deeply ingrained legacy of Soviet tirades against the all-encompassing term of 'bourgeois nationalism."

The Soviet regime suppressed Ukrainian political and civic initiatives organized in support of Gorbachev's policies and prevented *Rukh* from nominating candidates in the USSR's first relatively free elections to the republican parliament in March 1990. Nevertheless, the Democratic Bloc obtained one quarter of the seats in the Soviet Ukrainian parliament that gradually rose to one third of deputies following defections from the Democratic Platform of the KPU (most closely associated with the *Komsomol*). Parliament provided *Rukh* and the opposition with a public platform through the *Narodna Rada* (People's Council) parliamentary coalition to criticize communist rule and absence of sovereignty for Ukraine within the USSR.

In 1989, Ukraine's landscape was fundamentally changed by the inaugural congress of *Rukh* and Shcherbytskyy's replacement as KPU first secretary by Ivashko. At the *Rukh* congress, a delegate pinned a blue and yellow flag lapel badge on Kravchuk's jacket, and being ever the *хитрийлис* (sly fox), he did not remove the still illegal national symbol but took off his jacket and spoke to the congress in his shirt. Donbas

coalminer delegates attended the *Rukh* congress in the same year as strikes spread through their industry, but the atmosphere remained cool between them and *Rukh*. *Solidarność* (Solidarity) delegates such as Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, once reticent in antagonizing the Soviet Union from the Polish underground (see Chapter 4), told *Rukh* that Polish and Ukrainian freedom were inexplicably bound together. Fifteen years later, former *Solidarność* leader and Polish President Lech Wałęsa spoke to Orange Revolution crowds in Kyiv asking what took them so long to arrive at this juncture. Polish leaders joined Yushchenko in Tbilisi in 2008 to support Georgia in the face of Russia's new imperialism, and during the Euromaidan, Polish leaders visited Kyiv and gave their strong support to the revolution.

A year after Shcherbytskyy left office, Kravchuk shifted his power base from the KPU to parliament where he became its chairperson while the KPU remained under conservative control for the final years of its political life under First Secretaries Ivashko and Hurenko. Kravchuk's national communist inclinations increasingly came to the surface as parliament began to show signs of supporting republican sovereignty, and on July 16, 1990, parliament overwhelmingly adopted a Declaration of Ukrainian Sovereignty, which stressed the preeminence of Ukrainian over Soviet legislation in all areas of life, including economic and security policy, stopping short of a Declaration of Independence that would have to wait another 13 months.

The Declaration of Ukrainian Sovereignty laid the foundations for legislation that increased Ukraine's sovereignty at the expense of the central Soviet authorities, beginning the slow process of the disintegration of the USSR. Decades earlier Armstrong had predicted that the Soviet totalitarian regime had not been successful "in producing uniformity even within the ruling nucleus of the regime."[56] In 1990–1991, the combined momentum underpinned by Soviet disintegration, an ineffectual KGB, and growing assertiveness of the democratic and nationalist opposition split the conservative "Group of 239" Communist deputies into three camps. The Democratic Platform, younger in age because of its ties to the *Komsomol*, had already begun to peel away from the KPU in the late 1980s and was the closest group to the liberal opposition. A second group was pragmatic, more cynical, and also willing to cooperate with *Rukh* and the Democratic Bloc. This group, led by Kravchuk, increasingly came to be termed "sovereign communists" because they supported a high degree of Ukrainian sovereignty within a USSR that would be transformed into a confederation of states (they did not support independence until the failed August 1991 putsch). The third group that increasingly lost influence were dubbed "imperial communists" and aligned with hard-liners in Moscow who they supported in the putsch. This group, who came from the Eurasianist wing of the Communist Party in Ukraine and were

Leonid Kravchuk attending the last congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Moscow, July 1990. A year later Kravchuk lead the Ukrainian parliament into its declaration of independence. (Ukrinform)

ensconced in the Donbas and Crimea, became the core members of the post-Soviet KPU and Party of Regions.

All three wings of the KPU have developed their political profile in independent Ukraine. The Democratic Platform and national communist wings of the Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party influenced the establishment of centrist and opposition parties, such as the Party of Democratic Revival of Ukraine (PDVU), People's Democratic Party (NDP), MBR (Inter-Regional Bloc of Reforms), Labour Ukraine party, and *Batkivshchina* who were all led by former *Komsomol* leaders. Political forces supported Kuchma's 1994 election campaign with their origins in the Democratic Platform and national communists. The traditions of the national ("sovereign") and "imperial" communist Eurasianist wings of the KPU were represented in post-Soviet Ukrainian politics through Presidents Kravchuk and Kuchma, in the first instance, and Yanukovych, in the second. Yushchenko was Kuchma's prodigy when he headed the National Bank of Ukraine and government, and he once described his relationship to Kuchma as that of between "father and son." The Party of Regions has always been different to other centrist parties (see Chapter 5), attracting many Ukrainians who had voted for the KPU in the 1990s because of their mutual origins in the Eurasanist wing of the Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party.

Ukrainians protest in huge numbers against the new Union Treaty for the USSR proposed by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, Kyiv, September 1990. (Ukrainian Press Agency)

In autumn 1990, mass protests in Kyiv and a student hunger strike in October that ousted the prime minister opposed Ukraine signing a new Union Treaty. In March 1991, Kravchuk added a second question to Gorbachev's referendum on a renewed Soviet federation who polled Ukrainians if they supported republican sovereignty. The Kravchuk-backed question on sovereignty was endorsed by 80 percent of Ukrainians compared to 70 percent who supported Gorbachev's "renewed federation" question. Moreover, an additional question was introduced in three Galician *oblasts* that asked voters if they supported an independent Ukraine that secured the support of 88 percent of Galician Ukrainians, again providing evidence of the strength of their mutually exclusive identities. In 1991, Kravchuk successfully mobilized and united Ukrainians with mutually exclusive and multiple identities who supported independence, in the first instance, and autonomist sovereignty, in the second, into a movement that enabled Ukraine's peaceful secession from the USSR.

Between 1990 and 1991, the declining influence of the KPU and growing authority of the Supreme Council gave the Ukrainian leadership the legitimacy and backing to drag out discussions initiated by Gorbachev on the replacement of the 1922 Union Treaty that had established the USSR.

Student hunger strikes on October Square (*Maydan*) that became the future site of the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan, in Kyiv, October 1990. (Ukrainian Press Agency)

However, any attempt at transforming the USSR into a new confederation was anathema to hard-line members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, including the KPU's "imperial communists" who supported, like their counterparts in Moscow, the August 1991 putsch. On August 19, 1991, hard-line communists launched a putsch in Moscow that collapsed after only three days because of poor organization and a determined response from Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his democratic, anticommunist allies. The Soviet putsch was amateurish in comparison to the installation of martial law by Polish Communists a decade earlier to crush the Solidarity movement. The response of 13 Soviet republics to the failure of the putsch was to declare independence from the USSR; only Russia and Kazakhstan did not follow suit. On August 24, the Ukrainian parliament voted for the Declaration of Independence by 346 votes to 2 (Albert Korneyev, a KPU member and ethnic Russian from Donetsk, and Volodymyr Hrynyov, a liberal democrat from Kharkiv) to secede from the USSR with five abstentions. Six days later the Soviet Ukrainian parliament banned the KPU.[57] The opposition and all three wings of the KPU provided the overwhelming vote for independence. The parliamentary presidium vote to ban the KPU was opposed by only one deputy, Oleksandr Kotsyuba. The reason why even "imperial communists" voted for the Declaration of Independence was explained by

KPU leader Hurenko who said, "Today, we will vote for Ukrainian independence because if we don't we're in the shit." Both national and "imperial communists" felt threatened by the anticommunist revolution led by Yeltsin in Moscow. The ultimate irony was that the KPU voted for a Declaration of Independence written by long-term prisoner of conscience and nationalist Lukyanenko who, after spending nearly three decades in Soviet captivity, would become Ukraine's first ambassador to Canada.

On December 1, 1991, Ukraine's Declaration of Independence was subject to a national referendum when it was endorsed by 91 percent of Ukrainians. National democrats had initially opposed the holding of a referendum, fearing it would never receive the two-thirds endorsement it required. But Kravchuk placed the KPU's and Soviet Ukrainian state administrative resources behind support for Ukrainian independence. The KPU had been banned four months earlier, and no political forces, therefore, agitated against the "yes" vote; the only reported opposition came from the Romanian national minority in Chernivtsi *oblast*.[58] Belarus, where a national communist tradition remained weak and the Eurasianist wing of the Communist Party has always been more powerful and Soviet Belarusian identity more popular than ethnic Belarusian (as seen by Alyaksandr Lukashenka's grip on power since 1994), never held a referendum on independence.

On the same day as the referendum, Ukraine held its first presidential elections that Kravchuk, the only candidate from the former communist "old guard," won with 61 percent of the vote, winning the contest in the first round. Former political prisoner and one of the leaders of *Rukh*, Vyacheslav Chornovil, was the runner-up and received 23 percent while opposition candidates received a combined third of the total vote. This pattern of a united Ukrainian establishment candidate under Kravchuk, Kuchma, and Yanukovych facing a fractured democratic opposition was repeated in subsequent Ukrainian elections. It would take another 13 years before the opposition would mobilize 52 percent of the vote for Yushchenko to win the presidency. National-democrats success in winning the presidency in 2004 was assisted by the spread of Ukrainian nation building from Western to Central Ukraine during Ukraine's fifth historic cycle. Timothy Garten Ash and Snyder concluded that, "Western Ukraine keeps expanding eastward."[59] Following the Euromaidan, the growth of patriotism and decline of support for pro-Russian political forces is expanding Ukrainian identity into Russian-speaking Eastern and Southern Ukraine. The Russian language was heard as often as Ukrainian on the Euromaidan.

By autumn 1991, the three Baltic republics had *de facto* seceded from the USSR. At the other end of the spectrum, the five Central Asian republics had been passive in the USSR and created no independent nationalist movements seeking secession and, therefore, became independent as a

consequence of "collateral damage" from the dissolution of the USSR. Belarus, which also never created a dissident movement in the USSR, was similar to Central Asia in not having a sizeable nationalist movement. Popular fronts in the three Transcaucasian republics and Moldova were more nationalist than democratic, and their drives to independence led to interethnic conflict. Ukraine, with its competing mutually exclusive and multiple identities, lay between the three Baltic states on the one hand, where mutually exclusive identities are dominant within the titular nation, and Belarus on the other, where multiple identities dominate.

On December 1, 1991, Ukrainians voted overwhelmingly for independence, and eight days later Kravchuk and the leaders of Belarus and Russia met at a hunting lodge in Belarus where, with free-flowing alcohol much in supply,[60] they annulled the 1922 Union Treaty and replaced the USSR with a Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). None of the three leaders wished to make the fateful telephone call to Gorbachev to inform him he had become unemployed because the country he had been president of had disappeared from the map (in fact, President George H. W. Bush was telephoned before President Gorbachev). The CIS was construed as a "civilized divorce" that would prevent the USSR, especially in view of the fact that tactical nuclear weapons were present in most Soviet republics, from following Yugoslavia with a violent breakup.

Most importantly, how far the civilized divorce should proceed was a bone of contention then and to this day. Eastern and Western Ukraine continued to differ over whether relations with the CIS, Eurasia, and Russia should be those between completely foreign countries (the view of Ukrainians with a mutually exclusive identity) or very close because Ukraine is part of the "Near" and not "Far Abroad" (the view of Russians and Ukrainians with multiple identities). In the next quarter of a century, Russia and Ukraine disagreed fundamentally on domestic questions (national identity, historiography, language, Crimea, energy) and foreign policy (CIS institutions, Transatlantic integration, nuclear weapons, and the Black Sea Fleet). As the 2009 open letter from President Dmitry Medvedev to Yushchenko and Russian policies toward the Euromaidan, Crimea and the Donbas showed Moscow's attitudes toward Ukraine remained contemptuous and chauvinistic (see Box 11.1). These disagreements are deeply ingrained and, together with Ukraine's traumatic experience during its quadruple transition, the subject of the following 11 chapters.

CHAPTER 2

Independent Ukraine under Two Leonids (1991–2004)

Murder did not make the nation, but it still conditions their intellectual separation, decades after the end of National Socialism and Stalinism.

Timothy Snyder[1]

In December 1991, the election of Parliamentary Chairperson Kravchuk reflected the inability of nationalist and democratic leaders to obtain majority support from the Ukrainian population, particularly in Russian-speaking Eastern and Southern Ukraine. Although the August 1991 Declaration of Independence and December 1991 referendum on independence would not have been successful without the logistical backing of national communists, it was Western Ukraine that took its revenge on Stalin by leading the drive toward Ukrainian independence.

The KPU had been disintegrating since the second half of the 1980s and Gorbachev's eclectic policies accelerated declining support for the Communist Party. By the Brezhnev era, true Communist believers were in a distinct minority in the Soviet-era KPU and over 90 percent of its members (which in 1985 had been 3.5 million) never rejoined the newly registered KPU in 1993. Presidents Yeltsin and Kravchuk did not betray Communist values they no longer believed in. "Well before the 1980s, ideology had ceased to be the mortar holding that edifice together," and it seems clear that "true believers" among the administrative elite were in the minority.[2] This explains why Soviet elites rushed, using Steven Solnick's phrase, to steal the state as the USSR disintegrated. During the Gorbachev era, senior Communists throughout the USSR, including in Ukraine, began transferring Communist Party property to "private" owners in one of the biggest asset-stripping exercises to have taken place in modern history. Soviet communist elites undertook, "a systematic effort to keep these assets under *nomenklatura* control."[3] Their strategy was

ultimately successful with post-Soviet Ukrainian history resembling a wheel, where high-level political contacts in the Soviet state and the KPU were transformed in the 1990s into possession of economic assets, creating a new business elite who in turn established powerful political parties, such as the Party of Regions, to represent their interests.

WALKING BETWEEN THE RAINDROPS: LEONID KRAVCHUK, 1991–1994

When Kravchuk came to power, Ukraine was a quasi-state with only a minimum number of state institutions required to run an independent country. Soviet republics had fewer powers than an American state or Canadian province. After being banned, the KPU disintegrated, and the president had no political party to help him govern the country; Ukraine was therefore very different from postcolonial countries where national liberation movements and parties came to power after the colonial power had withdrawn. With Ukraine and the Eurasian space an ideologically amorphous terrain, the only political parties that existed at that time were *Rukh* and, from October 1993, a new KPU. Kravchuk was unable to control parliament with which he was in conflict, even though its chairperson, Ivan Plyushch, had been his own appointee. He inherited an economy in free fall with massive *prykhvatyzatsiya* (*grabitization*—as a pun on the word "privatization" and the Ukrainian word for "to grab") while a culture of rapacious individualism was becoming dominant. For four years, independent Ukraine used the Soviet Ukrainian parliament.

After coming to power, Kravchuk and the "sovereign communists" aligned themselves with the *derzhavnyk* (statist) wing of the national democrats, who created the Confederation of National Democratic Forces (KNDS) following the February 1992 split in *Rukh*. Vyacheslav Chornovil, *Rukh* leader, adopted a "constructive opposition" position throughout the 1990s toward Ukraine's first two presidents, Kravchuk and Kuchma. The Democratic Platform of the KPU created the PDVU, which, together with the MBR (Inter-Regional Bloc of Reforms), became centrist alternatives to the national democrats and supported Kuchma in the 1994 elections.

Kravchuk promoted a centrist path of consensus politics that placed greater emphasis on political stability than reform. The Ukrainian anecdote caught this well when Kravchuk's aide asked him if he needed an umbrella after it had begun to rain, to which he replied: "No thank you. I walk between the raindrops." Kravchuk adopted economic and political policies that would not disturb those of his allies among the former Soviet Ukrainian elites who had supported the drive to independence. Another factor was the lack of knowledge about the policies to undertake; how,

after all, was the ideological secretary of the KPU supposed to know the policies to undertake for a successful quadruple transition?

In 1993, the KPU was registered as a new political party in a ruling that meant it had no legal right to possession of former Soviet Communist assets that had been nationalized by the newly independent state three years earlier. Left-wing forces capitalized on the severe socioeconomic crisis in the country, and the KPU remained Ukraine's largest political party (in terms of members) and largest parliamentary force (in terms of deputies) until the 2002 elections. Miners' strikes and regional discontent in Eastern Ukraine in the second half of 1993 led parliament to schedule preterm presidential elections for the following year, before the expiry of Kravchuk's five-year term in office. The strikes were organized by the Donbas *nomenklatura*, rather than being an example of a spontaneous and genuine worker's collective action, and were the first of three attempts at Donetsk seeking to pressure Kyiv (the two others being the November 2004 Syeverodonetsk separatist congress and the Spring 2014 armed separatist revolt).

Ukraine's postcommunist elites had little vision and practice in running an independent state; after all, they had emerged during the Shcherbytskyy "era of stagnation" when the USSR was recentralized and experiments in economic reforms had come to an end. Kravchuk had a support base in Eastern Ukraine while at the same time being distrusted by Western Ukrainians. The overwhelming priority for many former communist *nomenklatura* was *prykhvatyzatsiya*. Kravchuk resembled Yushchenko in his vacillation over key domestic issues, and they both failed to resolve constitutional issues. From this perspective, Presidents Kuchma and Yanukovych were better organized, a reflection of their greater experience of industrial management and because the legacy of Communist Party discipline and unity is stronger in Eastern Ukraine. Western Ukrainians know how to fight for power, whether in the 1940s, late 1980s, 2004, and 2013–2014, but Eastern Ukrainians are more adept at exercising power.

The Kravchuk era was overshadowed by three crucial important questions. The first question was the economy that began collapsing in 1989 throughout the USSR, hyperinflation in 1993, and chaotic and economic protectionist policies (see Chapter 8). The poor state of the economy reduced support for Ukrainian independence in Eastern Ukraine and increased demands for reintegration with Russia and the CIS, sentiments that Kuchma campaigned in support of in the 1994 elections.

The second question was territorial integrity of the newly independent state. Kravchuk did not undertake any aggressive steps in the Crimea where separatist sentiment was growing and, because of his moderation, violence was averted. Nevertheless, agreeing to create the institution of Crimean president was a mistake that went ahead because it was believed

Mykola Bahrov, former communist leader in the Crimea, would win the January 1994 Crimean election. In reality, a separatist, Yuriy Meshkov, was elected Crimea's first and only president, a mistake that Kuchma rectified when he abolished the institution a year later (see Chapter 7). A separatist crisis in the Crimea was averted in a peaceful manner through the combined efforts of two Ukrainian presidents and the SBU, unlike in Moldova, Georgia, and Azerbaijan where local proxies, Russian intervention, and interethnic bloodshed led to frozen conflicts that remain in place to this day. This remained the case until Russia's new imperialism in Ukraine following the Euromaidan.

The third question was the national security of the state in the energy sphere, security forces, Black Sea Fleet, and nuclear weapons. Ukraine and Russia experienced their first gas crisis in 1992–1993 when Russia sought to gain control over strategic assets in exchange for discounted gas, a tactic used continually by Moscow. The task of transforming in a peaceful manner over a million Soviet military and security personnel (three quarters of whom were in the armed forces) into different branches of Ukrainian security forces was a herculean task that Kravchuk successfully accomplished. Kravchuk's one term in office was more successful internationally than domestically, with Ukraine becoming recognized as an independent state and establishing control over its borders; the exception were Romania and Russia, which waited until 1997–1999 to recognize their borders with Ukraine (see Chapters 11 and 12).

THE DEFINING PRESIDENT: LEONID KUCHMA, 1994–2004

Five of Ukraine's six presidential elections has been a close contest between two principle figures. The two main candidates in the 1994 presidential elections were from the Soviet Ukrainian *nomenklatura*: the incumbent Kravchuk and Kuchma, former prime minister and director of the *Pivdenmash*, the southern machine-building plant in Dnipropetrovsk. Following an inconclusive first round of voting in June, a second round was held the following month, in which Kuchma won 52 percent of the votes defeating Kravchuk by 8 percent. A decade later, Yushchenko defeated Yanukovych by the exact same margin; because of regional divisions, Ukrainian presidential elections have never been won by massive landslides—unlike in Georgia and Russia. The exceptions were Kuchma and Poroshenko who won first-round elections.

Both Kravchuk and Yushchenko served only one term, suggesting Western Ukrainian presidents have found it more difficult to sustain their popularity and win a second term in office, surely a warning to Poroshenko. In contrast, Eastern Ukrainian leaders (at least until 2014) have been more adept at maintaining their base of support and preventing

alternatives from emerging through co-option, pressure, mergers, and elite discipline. The 1994 election of Kuchma shifted the political balance toward Eastern Ukraine, which had traditionally ruled the country. Kuchma was never successful in reestablishing the Soviet domination of Ukraine by the "Dnipropetrovsk mafia" (now redescribed as clans), and instead, in the manner of Russian President Yeltsin, he balanced and played off regional groups. In 1994, Kuchma was elected with the claim he would resolve the economic crisis, especially hyperinflation that had gripped Ukraine during his own government, and Ukraine's first reformist program was launched in October 1994 with the support of international financial organizations after Ukraine agreed to give up nuclear weapons. The economy and inflation were brought under tighter control through monetary stabilization; nevertheless, Kuchma's muddled and cautious economic policies prolonged Ukraine's economic crisis until 1999.

The 1994 reform program was plagued by a lack of political will to continue beyond the initial stabilization, conflict between the president and parliament, and frequently changing and incompetent prime ministers, none of whom were economic reformers until Yushchenko's government in 2000–2001. Ukraine's program of privatization transferred the majority of Ukraine's economy to the private sector by the end of the 1990s, creating a new class of oligarchs closely bound to the president while providing limited support to the small and medium business sector, which was the engine of growth in Eastern European postcommunist transitions. Although Ukraine had established the rudiments of a capitalist economy by 2000, the political decision by the United States and EU to recognize it as a "market economy" took place only five years later. Kuchma drew on the national democratic camp for reformers (i.e., Volodymyr Lanovyy, Viktor Pynzenyk, and Yushchenko)—that is, those political forces that went on to support the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan. Future Our Ukraine leader Yuriy Yekhanurov became Ukraine's answer to Russia's Anatoly Chubais in securing Ukraine's privatization in the 1990s. This ensured Yekhanurov remained the oligarch's protégé and visceral opponent of politicians such as Tymoshenko, who called for re-privatization. As chairperson of the State Property Fund in 1994–1997, Yekhanurov had "secured the success of Ukraine's privatisation."[4]

During the 1990s, Ukraine began drawing on assistance programs from international financial organizations, which have never been successfully completed under *any* political administration. Ukraine has had a long but complicated relationship with the IMF, which in 1994–2005 supported six assistance programs. Completion of reviews tended to be difficult, and only 13 of the envisaged 24 reviews were ever completed: "Fund-supported programs had a mixed record in achieving their objectives. While the programs were quite effective in supporting macroeconomic

stability, they did not succeed in accelerating the build-up of more market-friendly institutions."[5]

Stabilization was never followed by structural reforms that would have moved Ukraine from the crossroads of "partial reform transition." The Yushchenko government developed a new reformist program following Kuchma's reelection in November 1999. The presidential administration engineered the ousting of the parliamentary left-wing leadership and assisted in forming a parliamentary coalition drawn from newly formed centrist parties and national democrats. The "velvet revolution," as it became known, was funded by state gas and oil company *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* head Ihor Bakay and his business partner Oleksandr Volkov. The short-lived Yushchenko government proved to be more successful than the five governments during his own presidency but was ousted by a vote of no confidence supported by President Kuchma, centrist parties, and KPU parliamentary factions. This was the last occasion centrist's and national democrats cooperated in government and parliament; five attempts by Our Ukraine (2006, 2007, 2010) and BYuT (Bloc of Yulia Tymoshenko, 2008, 2009) at negotiating grand coalitions with the Party of Regions failed.

The Kuchmagate Crisis and Rise of the Opposition

On November 28, 2000, SPU leader Oleksandr Moroz played a tape recording illicitly produced in Kuchma's office by Major Mykola Melnychenko, who was an officer in the UDO (Directorate on State Protection) that protected senior state officials. Although only a small proportion of his recordings have been released, their authenticity was not in doubt, and European independent laboratories and the FBI verified some of the tapes. Ukrainian politicians, such as Taras Chornovil, came forward and vouched as to their voices being on the tapes. At the same time, Melnychenko has never been honest about the $100,000 he received from exiled Russian oligarch Boris Berezovsky or bribes he has been allegedly offered when Kuchma and Yanukovych have been presidents.[6] Melnychenko's cooperation with the prosecutor general's office in the murder charge against Tymoshenko aroused suspicion he had been bribed, blackmailed, or both to "produce" the correct tape fragment that would incriminate her. His actions over the Tymoshenko case worked in collusion with attempts by the prosecutor's office and interior ministry to obtain falsified information from Vasyl Danyliw, who was falsely detained in summer 2012 and was not released after the Euromaidan revolution took power.[7]

Jaroslav Koshiw's analysis of the Melnychenko tapes found there were two "Kuchmas": one for the public domain and one inside his cabinet. This reflected deeply embedded Soviet political culture within post-Soviet policymaking and politics (see Chapter 9). Kuchma's secret

nonpublic persona showed him meting out punishment to individuals and businesses and taking bribes. Koshiw found Kuchma on the tapes to be petty, spiteful, foulmouthed (at times every third word is a swear word), xenophobic, anti-Semitic, authoritarian, and corrupt. In one episode, then State Tax Administration head Mykola Azarov (Yanukovych's future prime minister) showed Kuchma evidence of corruption, and he decided which individual to punish and who to ignore. Bakay (by then a business partner of gas tycoon Dmytro Firtash) and Volkov were Kuchma's intermediaries to organized crime as well as being facilitators of special operations such as Kuchma's reelection campaign in 1999, the January 2000 "velvet revolution," and the April 2000 referendum on the constitution.

The Melnychenko tapes provided evidence of attacks on the STB television channel and *Radio Kontinent*; smear campaigns against SPU leader Oleksandr Moroz and Yushchenko's Ukrainian-American spouse, Kataryna Chumachenko; and Donetsk Governor Yanukovych's corruption and election rigging. Kuchma's "inner circle" or "kitchen cabinet" included SBU Chairperson Leonid Derkach, Interior Minister Yuriy Kravchenko, Presidential Administration head Volodymyr Lytvyn, Azarov, and Prosecutor General (the equivalent of the attorney general in the United States) Mykhaylo Potebenko. The "outer cabinet" included regional governors Yanukovych (Donetsk), Ruslan Bodelan (Odesa), and others.[8] Additional recordings by Melnychenko were released, which implicated Kuchma in the sale of weapons to Macedonia, after he promised U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice he would halt shipments and illegal sale of advanced *Kolchuha* equipment to Saddam Hussein's Iraq in defiance of UN sanctions. The *Kolchuhas* (the literal translation is chainmail armor) electronic support measure (ESM), often wrongly referred to as a radar, were never found by U.S.-led coalition forces following their 2003 invasion and overthrow of Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein. In July 2000, President Kuchma gave the go ahead to Valeriy Malyev, head of *UkrSpetsEksport*, to sell four *Kolchuhas* to Iraq for $100 million to be hidden in crates from the Kremenchuk Avto Zavod, with SBU officers traveling to Iraq under false passports to install them; they either were never sent or after the U.S.-led invasion were transferred to Syria. With a deeply corrupt and unjust transition and the Melnychenko tape revelations, it is little wonder the majority of Ukrainians believed the most influential group in Ukrainian society was organized crime, as reflected in Table 2.1.

The tape recording that caused the greatest domestic and international consternation linked Kuchma to the disappearance of journalist Georgiy Gongadze, whose beheaded body was found near Kyiv in early November 2000, two months after he had been kidnapped. Kuchma was heard ordering Interior Minister Kravchenko to beat Gongadze so as to desist

Table 2.1

Influential Groups in Ukrainian Society, 1994–2010: "In your opinion, which of the following social groups play a role in the life of Ukrainian society?"

Group	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	Average
Mafia, criminal elements	33.9	37.3	42.7	43.1	38.3	40.2	34	33	32	37.2
Leaders of political parties	No Data (ND)	ND	ND	ND	24.5	25.9	36	37	37	32.1
Entrepreneurs, businesspersons	24.2	21.7	25.4	32.4	28.0	27.0	33	33	32	28.52

Note:
The public survey included 16 categories, of which the 4 most popular social groups are included here. Figures for 1994–2005 are taken from Panina and for 2006–2010 from Vorony and Shulha. To conserve space, I have included survey data for each second year (making a total of 9) of the 17 years during which the annual survey was undertaken by the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences.

Sources:
Natalya Panina, ed., *Ukrainian Society: Sociological Monitoring, 1994–2005* (Kyiv: Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences and Democratic Initiatives, 2005), 24. The Ukrainian-language edition can be found at http://dif.org.ua/modules/pages/files/1337234427_1666.pdf.
V. Vorony and M. Shulhy, eds., *Ukrayinske Suspilstvo 1992–2010: Sotsiolohichnyy Monitoring* (Kyiv: Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences, 2010), 129.

him from writing further critical articles. It remains unclear why Gongadze should have been viewed as a threat because he was then joint publisher of a little-known Internet publication, *Ukrayinska Pravda* (*Ukrainian Truth*), at a time when very few Ukrainians used the World Wide Web. Melnychenko believes that Presidential Administration head Lytvyn lobbied Kuchma "to deal with" Gongadze by showing him critical articles.[9] Olena Prytula had become Gongadze's lover after she had earlier been Lytvyn's protégé and lover[10] when she was a correspondent for Interfax-Ukraine in 1994–1999 with responsibility for covering the president.[11] Gongadze was leaving Prytula's apartment when he was abducted. Melnychenko was arguing, and a U.S. cable implied, that Lytvyn lobbied Kuchma to deal with Gongadze because he had "stolen" his lover. Prytula, although a close friend of Gongadze, has also never been completely honest about how her personnel life affected this tragedy.

On the tape recording, there was no mention of Kuchma ordering the murder of Gongadze that leads to a second unanswered question of why did the policemen go further than merely sending a warning by beating him (as they had beaten—but not murdered—journalist Oleksiy Podolskyy)? That this begins to resemble a conspiracy could be seen when Gongadze's body was buried with the obvious intention for it to be found; after all, if the body had never been found, there would have been no murder scandal. Was somebody trying to conspire to remove Kuchma from power, and were they the same persons who were behind the illicit taping of his office? Those listening to the tapes heard Kuchma order his police chief to organize violence to be undertaken against Gongadze, and they may have wanted to use this evidence to frame Kuchma as a murderer. In 2010, Melnychenko admitted that his actions were part of a "special operation to remove an unlawfully elected President" from power. Melnychenko has never explained on behalf of whom the "special operation" had been undertaken. Most evidence points to Yevhen Marchuk overseeing Melnychenko when he had sought anti-Kuchma *kompromat* (compromising materials) to use in his presidential election campaign.[12] Following the first round of the 1999 elections, Marchuk, in what has become commonplace in Ukraine, was co-opted by Kuchma as National Security and Defense Council (RNBO) secretary. Marchuk asked Melnychenko to stop recording Kuchma's office, but he refused and found a new ally in Oleksandr Moroz[13] who ran Melnychenko from December 1999 until autumn 2000.

Volodymyr Tsvil, who smuggled Melnychenko out of Ukraine, also believes that Marchuk ran him,[14] and interestingly, none of the tape fragments released by Melnychenko have included conversations between Kuchma and Marchuk.[15] In the 1994–1998 parliament, Marchuk led the (anti-Kuchma) Liberal Party's Social Market Choice parliamentary faction financed by assassinated oligarch Yevhen Shcherban (see Chapters 9 and 10).

Long-term former political prisoner and nationalist Levko Lukyanenko and former KGB and SBU Officer Marchuk sign a joint oath of loyalty to Ukraine, July 1996. (Ukrinform)

In 1998, Marchuk was elected to parliament in the Social-Democratic Party of Ukraine united (SDPUo), headed by Viktor Medvedchuk, and a year later challenged Kuchma in the presidential elections. Marchuk and his co-conspirators were seeking to bring down Kuchma and replace him with a strongman who would be himself or possibly Medvedchuk, copying Russian President Yeltsin's preterm resignation and replacement by Vladimir Putin as his strongman successor (see Box 4.2). Kuchma continues to argue the Kuchmagate crisis was a U.S. covert operation to replace him with Yushchenko, when in all likelihood it was a domestic conspiracy by pro-Russian and authoritarian forces.[16]

The Gongadze murder and other disclosures on the tapes discredited Kuchma both domestically and internationally and served to spark Ukraine's biggest opposition movement since the disintegration of the USSR. Although discontent against Kuchma remained widespread, it was only Western and Central Ukrainians who again supported protests (repeating what had taken place in the late 1980s and later in the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan). In July 1991, journalist Ihor Aleksandrov was similarly brutally murdered in Donetsk, but support for Ukraine without Kuchma never emerged in Eastern Ukraine.

Melnychenko fled to the Czech Republic ahead of the release of the tapes where Roman Kupchinsky, head of the Ukrainian service of *Radio Svoboda* (Liberty) based in that city and a long-time acquaintance of Marchuk, assisted him in broadcasting fragments of the tapes to Ukraine.

Kupchinsky became Melnychenko's "press secretary."[17] The Ukrainian authorities demanded an end to the broadcasts, itself a sign that they were authentic, and threatened to close down the Kyiv office of *Radio Svoboda*, then headed by Hanna Herman who became Yanukovych's press secretary in the 2004 elections, was appointed his adviser, and was elected to parliament by the Party of Regions in 2012.[18] Following pressure from the Kuchma administration, the head of *Radio Svoboda* was changed, and Kupchinsky became editor of *RFERL Organized Crime and Terrorism Watch*.[19] Fearing for his life in Prague, Melnychenko fled to the United States in April 2001 where he received political asylum; in the same month, a parliamentary vote of no confidence removed the Yushchenko government from office. Melnychenko returned to Ukraine during Yushchenko's presidency.

The Melnychenko tapes and Kuchmagate crisis showed to what extent the Ukrainian elites protected one another and placed their personal interests above those of the state and upholding the rule of law. The crisis also showed how the Soviet legacy left a far more complicated task of developing the rule of law in Ukraine than was the case in Peru, Egypt, and Pakistan where presidents and prime ministers have been criminally charged (see Box 9.1).

Immediately after coming to power, President Yushchenko promised in a speech to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), "the investigation of Gongadze's murder case will be completed. All cases related to instances of violence against journalists will be investigated. Those guilty will be brought to trial."[20] PACE reminded Yushchenko later that year and again in 2009 of the lack of progress in finding the high-level "organizers" of Gongadze's murder. Three policemen were sentenced in 2008 for participating in the murder of Gongadze, and General Oleksiy Pukach, who admitted to murdering Gongadze, was sentenced to life imprisonment in January 2013. Pukach, who was captured in 2009 after four years hiding in a village in Zhytomyr *oblast* to the West of Kyiv, said at the close of his trial that Kuchma and Lytvyn should be sitting in the dock with him. This is unlikely to happen because in December 2011 charges against Kuchma were dropped; the case has never raised Lytvyn's name.[21] The charges against Pukach only name Kravchenko as the person who gave him the order. President Poroshenko will be unlikely to open criminal charges against Kuchma and Lytvyn as he has been their long-time ally.

UKRAINE WITHOUT KUCHMA[22]

The Melnychenko recordings led to the appearance of the Kyiv-based Ukraine without Kuchma civic movement and Lviv-based NGO *Za Pravdu* (For Truth). Leaders of seven political parties who supported the

removal of Kuchma (through impeachment or in another manner) established the National Salvation Forum (FNS) dominated by BYuT and the SPU. Kuchma could have been removed from office if Yushchenko and his parliamentary supporters had aligned with Tymoshenko, the SPU, and the Ukraine without Kuchma movement. But, he never supported Tymoshenko after she was arrested and refused to back the protests or demand for Kuchma's impeachment. Yushchenko, together with President Kuchma and Parliamentary Chairperson Ivan Plyushch, signed a disgraceful letter that condemned the protestors (see Box 2.1). Ivan Plyushch blocked investigation into the Gongadze murder and, similar to many national democrats, believed the Kuchmagate crisis was an external Russian plot to subvert Ukrainian independence. Yushchenko categorically refused to support the protests and said he "will not join any forces that advocate a 'destructive approach' or (forces) that seek to destroy somebody," a clear reference to demands for the president's impeachment.[23]

By spring 2001, Kuchma's position again appeared to be secure due to public apathy in Eastern Ukraine while public opinion turned against the opposition after violence at a March rally that led to the arrest of 20 nationalists. In addition, continued support for the president from centrist parties and their parliamentary factions, together with neutrality from Yushchenko, saved Kuchma from being removed from office. "Because of Yushchenko the planned revolution by (Oleksandr) Moroz never took place," Tsvil commented.[24]

Many of the opposition leaders from the Kuchmagate crisis became well-known figures such as Lutsenko who became interior minister under two Tymoshenko governments and one of the first opposition leaders to be arrested by the Yanukovych administration. Kuchma received a short-term pyrrhic victory with the dismissal of the Yushchenko government in April 2001, following a no confidence vote supported by centrist and KPU factions. This served unintentionally to push Yushchenko into the opposition; it is highly likely that if Yushchenko had remained prime minister until the end of Kuchma's second term in office, he could have become his anointed successor;[25] Yushchenko, in contrast to Tymoshenko, always felt uncomfortable in opposition.

Parliamentary elections were held on three occasions during Kuchma's decade-long rule of Ukraine. The 1994 elections had used a single mandate (first-past-the-post) system, similar to that used in Britain and Canada, whereas in 1998 and 2002 a mixed single mandate and proportional system was used. Large numbers of virtual parties contested each parliamentary election, but on average only five managed to cross the 4 percent threshold to enter parliament. The severity of the socioeconomic crisis experienced by Ukraine in the 1990s gave left-wing parties high levels of popularity, and combined they received more than 40 percent of the vote.

Box 2.1 The Motherland Is in Danger: Joint Appeal by President Leonid Kuchma, Prime Minister Viktor Yushchenko, and Parliamentary Chairperson Ivan Plyushch

Although issued in February 2001 promising a full investigation of the murder of Gongadze, Ukraine still awaits closure. Bold emphasis added by the author.

We just began to overcome the long economic crisis, when the people have real hope for an improvement of their lives.

We have to call things by their real name, as this is an unprecedented political campaign that includes psychological warfare against our state.

Ukraine and the world will eventually know the names of those who ordered, masterminded and carried out—in other words, the moving forces—behind this provocation. However, all now see the involvement of those Ukrainian politicians and political forces that pursue nothing but personal interests and ambitions, egotistical aspirations and expectations. They are instigating an atmosphere of hysteria and, having lost contact with the real world, hope to destroy a natural balance between legitimate state institutions and, in the process, take power at any cost.

This time, the disappearance of journalist Georgy Gongadze and the so-called tape scandal has been used to foment social instability. Later, far-fetched statements followed that condemned (official) pressure on the press and democracy in Ukraine. The organisers of the current protests themselves have acknowledged that they would have found other reasons if they did not use these.

We deeply and sincerely sympathise with the (Gongadze) family that has been undergoing enduring difficulties and apologise for some of the actions undertaken by law enforcement bodies. Following the procedural requirements that are required under current legislation these should not come into conflict with an appreciation of human sorrow. There are obvious and regrettable instances of unprofessional conduct in the investigation into the Gongadze case. **Now, all measures are being implemented to complete the investigation as soon as possible. The results of the analysis of all the circumstances (in the case) will lead to the most serious conclusions (for those involved).**

On the other hand, we strongly disagree and will never accept the turning of this tragedy into a card that can be manipulated through cynical political speculations as well as using it in order to defame our country in the eyes of the Ukrainian and international community. These include the dissemination of unverified or falsified information received by illegal means (a reference to the illicit taping of Kuchma's office), (political) games undertaken under the camouflage of democratic slogans that put the very existence of Ukraine, its territorial integrity and social peace at stake; and pressing for scenarios that will lead to destructive consequences and further difficulties for our people.

(*continued*)

In a democratic society, everyone has the right to hold his (or her) own beliefs and to express them publicly. However, no one, under any circumstances, should cross a fine line. **This is the law and everybody will be responsible for his or her actions.**

Dirty (political) technologies are commonplace in the contemporary world that is characterised by the use of tough strategies in political struggles. But, even knowing this, current events in Ukraine stand out in their cynicism and disrespect for moral norms through their attempts at discrediting state officials, politicians and political forces, blackmailing state organs and manipulating public opinion.

Today's unconcealed provocations aim to misinform ordinary people. Because the absolute majority of the Ukrainian people do not respond to these provocative calls by professional revolutionaries, they have no other option but to appeal to extremist forces and emotions in crowds in order to use them as a battering ram and as a means to threaten ordinary people with alarmist scenarios. **It is enough to observe their symbols and slogans and the attributes they use in their theatrical political shows in order to understand we are facing a Ukrainian version of National Socialism.**

Recently, the launch of a National Salvation Forum with unknown foundations has received wide publicity. The leaders of this multi-varied conglomerate of people, who are resentful of their political losses and failures, are indeed looking for salvation, not for the state and the nation, but for themselves from political bankruptcy and for some of them to escape from criminal responsibility.

Each of us, esteemed compatriots, has to understand that the only hope of these petty politicians, who have already burnt their bridges, is that the sparks of enmity, irreconcilability and bitterness will spread throughout the whole of our society, enter our homes and our individual fates. Attempting to kindle the threat of a large-scale civil conflict, which the Ukrainian state has managed to avoid during the most difficult stages of its development, they hope that during a chaotic and uncertain situation and in the absence of power and order, they will manage to stay afloat. Such saviors do not see in their narrow-mindedness, or do not want to see, the potential pitfalls their unconsidered and reckless actions will lead to (for Ukraine).

Of course, we should not over-dramatise the situation. None of the above will be permitted to define Ukraine's future and it represents nothing more than a sideshow, a current anomaly, for all of society and its daily concerns.

However, at the same time we must not overlook the fact that, attempts to provoke street protests by using blatant provocations to deepen divisions in society and provoke the authorities to use force, create a real threat to the national security of the state.

We should not forget the lessons of history. You will recall how fascism began.

We forcefully warn that such attempts will meet an active and resolute response by all means envisaged under the law and in the interest of citizens, society and the state. No one should have any illusions with regard to this course of action.

Anarchy, arbitrary actions and unlawfulness will never be permitted!

The state's leadership remains open for political dialogue and is continuously in the forefront of this dialogue—but only with those who really seek a dialogue, who are capable of dialogue and who consider it to be the only correct and possible way of resolving differences and disagreements, strengthening social stability, speeding up the resolution of economic and social problems and improving people's lives. All of this is a priority and a central question for us at this moment.

Dear compatriots, we are doing everything we can to develop democracy, to ensure accord in society and to focus our efforts on constructive and creative objectives, for which we are counting on your understanding, assistance and support. This has been the Ukrainian people's most powerful resource during the years when we established our country. It is now a vital necessity in order to, among other things rebuff anti-state forces regardless of which flags these political forces are flying.

We shall keep focusing the efforts of the authorities, and all of the branches and structures of law enforcement agencies, on ensuring a peaceful and without rancour present-day as well as a clear, predictable future for Ukraine. This statement is further evidence of the unity of our position and approach, which is aimed at decisively rebuffing those forces that are promoting destructive politics.

Note:

This text was broadcast by State Television Channel UT-1 on February 13, 2001, the same day Deputy Prime Minister Tymoshenko was arrested.

Sources:

http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2001/02/14/2981881/ and http://www.kyivpost.com/news/nation/detail/7476/.

With between 80 and 120 out of 450 deputies, the KPU possessed the largest parliamentary faction until the 2002 elections, and therefore, parliamentary chairpersons were drawn from left-wing parties.

In both the 2002 parliamentary and the 2004 presidential elections, the authorities faced for the first time a credible and popular noncommunist challenger, Our Ukraine and Yushchenko, respectively. One manner in which they dealt with this was to fall back on the Soviet legacy of antinationalist discourse (see Chapters 6 and 7). In 2002, the KPU came second to Yushchenko's Our Ukraine, which received a quarter of the vote to the KPU's 20 percent, and the KPU elected in only half of the seats they had received four years earlier. The defeat of KPU leader Petro

Symonenko in the 1999 elections and the removal of parliament's left-wing leadership a year later began a process of decline for the communists who had dominated Ukrainian politics in the previous decade and then becoming a junior satellite of the Party of Regions (see Box 5.1). The KPU (CPU in English abbreviation) was jokingly referred to as the Capitalist Party of Ukraine. In the next four parliamentary elections, the KPU fell initially to second (2002), fourth (2007, 2012), and fifth place (2006). The popularity of KPU leader Symonenko similarly dropped to fourth, fifth, and ninth place in the 2004, 2010, and 2014 presidential elections, respectively.

The For a United Ukraine (ZYU) bloc led by Lytvyn served as the main pro-presidential force in the 2002 elections and included four centrist political parties and the Party of Regions. It performed poorly in the elections receiving only 12 percent of the vote, but candidates in single-mandate constituencies added an additional number of deputies that enabled Kuchma to establish a slim parliamentary coalition. The SDPUo received 6 percent and joined the pro-presidential coalition, and its leader Medvedchuk was appointed chief of staff (head of the presidential administration). Opposition groups that successfully entered parliament included Our Ukraine, BYuT, and the SPU with a combined opposition vote of 38 percent in the proportional lists, more than double the combined 18 percent received by ZYU and the SDPUo.

Although regional divisions had been evident in nearly every Ukrainian election, they became more pronounced following the 2002 elections, peaked in 2004 when there was a threat of interregional conflict, and continued to deepen during the next decade that opened a window of opportunity for Russia to inflame violent separatism in the Donbas following the Euromaidan revolution. The 2002 elections confirmed the pattern for subsequent elections with Western and Central Ukraine, expressing greater support for the democratic opposition, and these two regions became the heartland of the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan. Ukraine's Eastern and Southern regions largely supported centrist and leftist parties, and following the 2006 elections, the Party of Regions dominated Russian-speaking Eastern and Southern Ukraine until it imploded in spring 2014.

In November 2002, Donetsk Governor Yanukovych was appointed prime minister, bringing the Donetsk clan for the first time into national politics and government. Earlier examples of the Donetsk clan in Kyiv had been the Yufym Zvyahilskyy's 1993–1994 government and Liberal Party's Social Market Choice faction in the 1994–1998 parliament, but these had taken place before the consolidation of the Donetsk clan. Yanukovych's appointment as prime minister was in gratitude for producing two good election results for Kuchma in 1999 when he defeated Symonenko in Donetsk *oblast* and 2002 when ZYU received its only first place

plurality in Donetsk. In spring 2004, following the failure of constitutional reform, Yanukovych automatically became the official presidential candidate that year. As time was to tell, Kuchma was never enthusiastic about Yanukovych as a candidate—either in 2004 or in 2010.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHAMELEONS

After four years of negotiations and a year under an interim constitution, Ukraine became the last Soviet republic on June 28, 1996, to adopt a post-Soviet constitution; the day was designated as a national holiday. Two years later, on October 21, 1998, the Crimean Autonomous Republic adopted its own constitution, recognizing the peninsula as an integral component of Ukraine. Kuchma's reelection in 1999 gave rise to Ukraine's first non-left parliamentary majority, and he sought to complete the process he had been unable to in the mid-1990s of introducing a super-presidential constitution. Four questions were put to a referendum in April 2000, and they were approved by a suspiciously high percent of votes. These were (1) do you agree to give the president the right to disband parliament if it failed to create a coalition or adopt a budget within set time frames; (2) limit the immunity of parliamentary deputies; (3) decrease the number of deputies from 450 to 300; and (4) introduce a new upper house senate that would represent Ukraine's regions. Kuchma's plans were undermined by the onset of the Kuchmagate crisis in November of that year.

Ukrainian politicians traditionally approached constitutional and, indeed, the majority of other issues, from the standpoint not of national interests, but how they would personally benefit. Following the 2002 parliamentary elections, Kuchma shifted 180 degrees from his support for a super-presidential constitution toward supporting a parliamentary system where the president would continue to be elected in national elections. The architect of this strategy, which had two objectives, was Chief of Staff Medvedchuk. The first objective was to disarm Yushchenko by splitting the opposition, persuading the SPU and KPU, perennial supporters of parliamentarism, to back constitutional reforms. The second objective was to strip popular opposition presidential candidate Yushchenko, if he was to be elected, of the extensive presidential powers enshrined in the 1996 constitution.

The first vote for the new "Medvedchuk–Symonenko" parliamentary constitution was adopted in December 2003 by a slim majority, but the second vote in April 2004 failed to receive a required constitutional majority.[26] Some pro-presidential centrists rebelled in protest at the change earlier that month of the election law from mixed to fully proportional system, a change that had been a condition of support the left had

demanded in exchange for backing constitutional reforms. Ironically, the constitutional reforms adopted on December 8, 2004, as part of a compromise package were identical to those rejected eight months earlier, and BYuT was the only parliamentary force to vote against them.

After he was elected president, Yushchenko complained about, but failed to repeal, the constitutional reforms. Our Ukraine never supported BYuT's call to invoke the October 2005 constitutional court ruling that constitutional reforms required a national referendum, a policy on which it campaigned in the 2006 and 2007 elections. At the same time, in a speech Tymoshenko gave to PACE in April 2008, she shifted her support from presidentialism to a parliamentary system. Yushchenko, perennially late, established a National Constitutional Council only in December 2007, and it did not get round to presenting constitutional reform proposals until March 2009, less than a year before the end of his first term. With Yushchenko seeking to undermine Tymoshenko at every opportunity, it was not surprising that BYuT never joined the council. Likewise, the Party of Regions remained bitter at having been betrayed by Yushchenko in 2007 when he had agreed to support a grand coalition in exchange for them agreeing to preterm elections.

Adopted in haste against a backdrop of million-strong people power protests in the winter of 2004, the Orange Revolution constitutional compromise escaped serious scrutiny at the time largely because attention was focused on the political crisis itself. However, the legality of the changes then adopted became a thorn of contention between rival factions within the country's broad-based Orange political camp, and opponents of the changes argued they were adopted in an unconstitutional manner. Instead of the two separate parliamentary votes required by the country's constitution (a parliamentary majority of 226 or more votes followed by a 300 or more constitutional majority vote), the 2006 constitution was adopted by a single parliamentary vote without a national referendum. During the 2010 elections, some Ukrainians feared Tymoshenko's autocratic streak greater than that of Yanukovych and believed she would return Ukraine to a presidential system because of her promise to hold a national referendum on the constitutional question early in her presidency. In fact, during the Yushchenko presidency, *both* leaders had raised the question of annulling constitutional reforms through a referendum. In 2010, many feared that because Medvedchuk, who had written an opinion article in *Korrespondent* magazine that the constitutional reforms had been a mistake (a rare admission for a Ukrainian politician), was backing Tymoshenko, this was somehow evidence she would return Ukraine to a presidential system. In fact, although Yanukovych never campaigned on a platform of changing the constitution, which would have ruined his election chances, in September 2010 the constitutional

court was pressured to rule in favor of returning Ukraine to the 1996 constitution. Exaggerated fears of Tymoshenko overshadowed the real threat to Ukraine's democracy and sovereignty from an unreformed Yanukovych, which few Western policymakers believed to be the case.

Ukraine's political leaders have *all* been chameleons on the constitutional question. Kuchma supported a presidential and super-presidential system in 1996 and 2000, respectively, while backing a parliamentary system in 2004. Yanukovych twice supported presidential systems in 2000 and 2010 and a parliamentary system in 2004 but then changed the constitution to a presidential system after he came to power. Yushchenko, like most national democrats, supported presidentialism in 1996 and 2000, switched to parliamentarism in 2004 (after opposing it in the previous two years), and unsuccessfully strove to return to presidentialism during his presidency. Yushchenko never accepted the parameters of parliamentarism and strove to take back power from the prime minister and parliament, as following the April 2007 dissolution of parliament. Tymoshenko opposed presidentialism in 2000 while opposing *and* supporting parliamentarism in 2004 and 2008, respectively.

The 1996 and 2006 constitutions were compromises, and neither was a full (i.e., super) presidential or full parliamentary (i.e., where the president would be elected by parliament) system. Yanukovych's four-year rule so thoroughly discredited presidentialism that one of the first acts of the Euromaidan leadership was to return Ukraine to the 2004 parliamentary constitution. Western experts and scholars believe that parliamentarianism would provide the country with the institutional framework needed to integrate into European structures and to promote national integration of the country. Since the late 1990s, the 27 postcommunist states of the former Soviet Bloc have divided into two groups, with those in Central-Eastern Europe adopting parliamentary systems and those in Eurasia largely adopting presidential systems. The only parliamentary systems in the CIS were to be found in Ukraine and Moldova, with Georgia changing its system to parliamentarism in 2010 during President Mikhail Saaakashvili's last term in office. Parliamentarianism assisted Central-Eastern Europe in its democratization and eventual integration into NATO and the EU, and in moving toward parliamentarianism, Ukraine would therefore be demonstrably moving toward a European future. Presidential elections have also historically been the venue for widespread interregional conflict because the second round was traditionally a contest between Eastern and Western Ukraine, leading to the defeated side feeling it had lost out in a culture of winners take all. Eastern–Southern Ukraine won the 1994 and 2010 elections while Western–Central Ukraine won them in 2004 and 2014; 1999 was the exception to the rule when both candidates were from Eastern Ukraine.

FRAUD, POISON, AND ORANGE REVOLUTION: THE 2004 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Following the failure of parliament to adopt constitutional changes, President Kuchma nominated Prime Minister Yanukovych as his candidate for the 2004 presidential elections. When asked why he had chosen such an odious candidate, Kuchma replied that he had first asked Serhiy Tihipko, who had refused.[27] Tihipko, and even more so Lytvyn, would never have been able to mobilize as many voters because their political forces (Labour Ukraine party and the Peoples [Agrarian] Party, respectively) were far less popular than the Party of Regions, and neither of their political parties dominated a Ukrainian region. Although Kuchma claimed after the 2004 elections he had not known Yanukovych's full biography, this was a case of ignoring what he had in fact known very well and coupled with very poor intelligence work on the part of the SBU; Yanukovych's biography seemed to be of secondary importance to preventing Yushchenko taking power. As far back as 1997, police General and first Deputy Prime Minister Vasyl Durdynets shouted, "what are you doing! He is a bandit!" when he saw Kuchma signing the decree appointing Yanukovych as Donetsk governor.[28] On November 22, 2004, the first day that crowds began to gather in Kyiv after the second round of the elections, Kuchma reportedly telephoned Putin, then on an official visit to Brazil, to ask for advice as to how to respond to the protests that would grow into the Orange Revolution. Putin replied that the choice Kuchma was faced with was to either impose a state of emergency or transfer power to Yanukovych. Kuchma's response was indicative: "well, how on earth can I hand over power to him, Vladimir Vladimirovych? He is just a Donetsk bandit."[29] These words and the fears of Yushchenko's voters and Orange Revolution protesters were proven to be correct as seen during Yanukovych's violent kleptocracy.

In 2004, as in most Ukrainian presidential elections, two candidates have traditionally dominated the campaign. The 2004 elections became the most fraudulent in Ukraine's history with widespread abuse of state and administrative resources in support of Yanukovych's candidacy. The state-owned media failed to provide free and balanced coverage, persistently presenting Yushchenko as an extremist nationalist who would prioritize U.S. national interests. Russian political technologists, who worked on many of the strategies used against Yushchenko during the campaign, were coordinated by an unofficial election campaign team led by Andriy Kluyev separate from Yanukovych's official campaign managed by Tihipko. "All the key decisions were made by the 'shadow' headquarters led by Andriy Kluyev,"[30] and the official headquarters led by Tihipko "did not decide anything," Taras Chornovil said. Medvedchuk, who controlled *oblast* governors, also operated an unofficial

election campaign (see Box 4.2).[31] Russian political technologists Vladimir Granovsky, Dmitri Kulykov, and Tymofiy Sergeytsev worked on the dirty tricks such as the anti-Yushchenko and anti-American election posters (see Illustration 7.5).[32]

Humor became an important vehicle used by the opposition to reduce apathy and overcome fear among voters. As Dmytro Chekalkin explained, "For us it was a principled issue to assist people in overcoming their apathy." Therefore, "it was our little exercise using humour to help people. It is well known that people lose their inhibitions through laughter."[33] Yanukovych proved to be an easy target of such humor because of his semi-literacy and past prison convictions. Journalists remembered how as prime minister he had mixed up "GDP" and "VAT," promising to increase the latter when he had meant the former.[34] In his official submission to be a presidential candidate, he signed himself "Proffessor Yanukovych" based on the fact he allegedly earned a PhD in Economics.[35] Use of the phrase "Proffessor Yanukovych" became a hugely popular source of amusement that poked fun at what was seen as his illiteracy.[36] *Бриллиантовая рука* (*Brlliantovaya ruka*), a Soviet-eccentric comedy film produced in 1968 that became one of the most popular films in the history of Soviet film, was redubbed as *Operation ProFFessor* and became easily recognizable to Ukrainians who had grown up in the Soviet Union.[37] On the *Khreshchatyk*, Kyiv's main street that is usually closed to traffic at weekends, youth activists from NGOs *Pora* (Its Time) and *Znayu* (I Know) marched in prison uniforms pretending to campaign for Yanukovych. Passers-by believed prisoners had been given weekend passes to election campaign for *svoyi* (one of their own), former prisoner Yanukovych.

When Yanukovych, who was wearing a bullet-proof vest under his coat, fell down in Ivano-Frankivsk, the plan was for him to have been shot by a blank in a staged "assassination" that was to be blamed on "nationalists," deflecting attention from the poisoning of Yushchenko earlier that month.[38] Instead, before the operation could unfold, the plan backfired when a student threw an egg, and Yanukovych, believing this was the blank shot, fell over.[39] That this was a staged operation could be seen from the manner in which Yanukovych fell, the scripted interviews given on cue to television channels by members of his election campaign team, and statements immediately published in newspapers by political parties that supported his candidacy who condemned "nationalists" (i.e., Yushchenko's campaign team). Newspaper headlines prepared beforehand allegedly written by "workers collectives," as in Soviet times, warned that "extremist forces" were preparing to "transform Ukraine into a Chechnya" and demanded the public give a resounding "No to the actions of extremists."[40] The staged and botched "assassination" of Yanukovych by an egg went viral on the Internet and was repeatedly shown on Poroshenko's Channel 5.[41] A group of computer programers developed

the cartoon sketch *Veseli Yaytsi* (Merry Eggs), in which two eggs sang songs, joked, and poked fun at Yanukovych.

President Putin visited Ukraine prior to the first round of voting and again before the (subsequently annulled) second round where he openly expressed support for Yanukovych; in total he made seven visits to Ukraine during the 2004 elections. These visits may have backfired by increasing Yushchenko's popularity in Kyiv and support for the Orange Revolution; in contrast, the city had not warmed to the spring 2001 Ukraine without Kuchma protests. Following the second round, Putin recognized Yanukovych's election as president a day *before* the Central Election Commission had declared the official results. No other postcommunist country experienced such blatant intervention by Russia into its elections (a relative mild forerunner of 2014), and Russian political technologist Sergey Markov, who worked for the Yanukovych election campaign, admitted to the BBC that "our work in Ukraine was neither legal nor proper."[42]

Ukraine's 2004 election campaign witnessed two acts of violence committed against Yushchenko. In early September, he became seriously ill, seemingly following a meal with senior SBU officers, and was taken to a private clinic in Vienna for treatment. As a result of this illness, Yushchenko's face was badly disfigured while his enforced confinement for medical treatment had effectively cost him a month away from the election campaign. By December, Western medical experts had concluded that Yushchenko had been poisoned, principally with dioxins, but it has never been resolved and has never led to criminal charges. More confusingly, President Yushchenko never showed much determination by keeping on top of the case and never showed his displeasure at the foot dragging by the prosecutor general's office. The poisoning by lethal polonium-210-induced acute radiation syndrome resembled the 2006 assassination of Alexandr Litvinenko who worked for Berezovsky in London. Litvinenko died an agonizing death over two weeks rather than dying instantly because he had not drunk the entire cup of tea (perhaps Yushchenko's small intake of poisoned food was the same reason he had not died instantly).[43] England and Wales Criminal Prosecution Service (CPS) proved to be more efficient in investigating the Litvinenko case than Ukraine's prosecutor general's office in investigating Yushchenko's poisoning. The CPS accused Andrey Lugovoy, a former officer of the Russian Federal Protective Service (FSO), of undertaking the murder (the FSO and UDO are Russia and Ukraine's equivalents of the U.S. Secret Service). Lugovoy was elected to the State *Duma* in 2007 as a candidate from the (pro-Putin) Liberal Democratic Party and, therefore, has immunity from prosecution. The case was reopened by Britain in 2014.

The poisoning was not the only attempt to assassinate Yushchenko. A second planned violent attack against Yushchenko was unveiled after two Russian citizens, Mikhail Shugai and Marat Moskvitin holding counterfeit Russian and Ukrainian passports, were arrested outside Yushchenko's election campaign headquarters with hexogen-based plastic explosives in their car. Both were sentenced to four- and six-year prison terms, respectively, in June 2006 in a little publicized case.[44] If they had been successful in blowing up Yushchenko's headquarters, the U.S. ambassador's residence, which is very close by, would have also been damaged.

The first round of the election, held on October 31, 2004, was inconclusive, because no candidate obtained more than one half of the vote; Yushchenko obtained 40 percent of the votes cast compared with a suspiciously close 39 percent for Yanukovych. The legitimacy of the results was cast into suspicion by the delay in their publication and the closeness of the results; reliable exit polls had given Yushchenko 45 percent to Yanukovych's 37 percent. SPU leader Oleksandr Moroz came in third place with 6 percent of the votes; for KPU leader Symonenko, the first time a socialist candidate had defeated a communist in a Ukrainian presidential election. Many hitherto KPU voters, concentrated in Russian-speaking Eastern Ukraine, had defected to Yanukovych in a process leading to the Party of Regions outflanking the KPU as the dominant political party in Eastern and Southern Ukraine.

Exit polls conducted during the second round of voting on November 21, 2004, showed that Yushchenko had obtained significantly more votes than Yanukovych. Nevertheless, the official election results presented a very different picture attributing to Yanukovych 49.5 percent of the votes cast, a 3 percent margin of victory over Yushchenko.[45] Election fraud in Donetsk was blatant: when the polls closed, turnout was 79 percent, which increased to 97 percent showing election results commonly found in authoritarian Central Asia—and a fraud surprisingly similar to that committed in the March 2014 Crimean referendum. In every election held in Ukraine until 2002, turnout in Donetsk *oblast* had always been in the 60s.

Tapes made illicitly by SBU officers in Yanukovych's election headquarters were passed to Oleh Rybachuk, which showed the authorities meticulously planned Yanukovych's second round "victory" by a 3 percent margin.[46] The fate of these tapes remains a mystery because neither Yushchenko nor Ryabchuk lobbied the prosecutor general's office to use them as the basis for criminal charges. Falsification of the election results brought millions of Ukrainians to the streets of Kyiv in what become known as the Orange Revolution, named after the color adopted by the Yushchenko election campaign. Anatoliy Bondarenko[47] thought up

Protesters' tents dominating Kyiv's *Khreshchatyk* street closed during the 17-day Orange Revolution. (Jaroslaw Martyniuk)

the phrase *Разом нас багато, нас не подолати* (Together we are many! We cannot be defeated!) sung by the hip-hop band *Ґринджоли* (Greenjolly), which became the unofficial anthem of the Orange Revolution.[48] Supporters of Yushchenko from Kyiv and primarily from Western and Central Ukraine established tents throughout the central area of the capital, notably in *Maydan Nezalezhnosti* (Independence Square) and along the city's principal thoroughfare, *Khreshchatyk*, as well as blockading state and government buildings. Yushchenko and especially Tymoshenko with her fiery rhetoric mobilized millions of Ukrainians to protest against the stolen election.

Orange Revolution protestors included student and NGO youth groups trained by the Serbian *Otpor*, Belarusian *Zubr* (Bison), and Georgian *Kmara!* (Enough!) and swelled by millions of Ukrainians, many of whom had previously not taken an active interest in politics. One in five Ukrainians participated in the Orange Revolution, making it one of the largest protest movements in postwar Europe, a similar level of participation as in the Euromaidan.[49] The protests lasted 17 days, far longer than the 2000 Serbian Bulldozer and 2003 Georgian Rose Revolutions but far less than the 93-day Euromaidan a decade later.

Although the Central Election Commission recognized Yanukovych as elected president on November 24, 2004, the OSCE, Council of Europe,

NATO, and EU and European, Canadian, and U.S. governments refused to recognize the official results. This served to embolden the protesters and gave confidence to officials who began to defect to Yushchenko, particularly from the security forces. The Supreme Court ordered the official results to be suspended while it investigated allegations of electoral fraud that it eventually condemned on December 3. Six days following the second round, parliament voted to not recognize the official results and approved a vote of no confidence in the Yanukovych government. Three roundtables overseen by the EU that brought together moderates in the authorities and opposition brokered a compromise to hold a rerun second round. They also agreed to vote on a compromise package in parliament to replace the odious Serhiy Kivalov as chairperson of the Central Election Commission and introduce constitutional reforms transforming Ukraine into a parliamentary system in 2006.

Hard-liners in the Yanukovych election team lobbied President Kuchma to initiate a state of emergency to unblock government buildings by forcibly removing protesters from the central area of Kyiv. At the November 27 emergency session of the RNBO, Kuchma and Yanukovych argued over who should take responsibility for the decision to dispatch police special force units to the *Maydan*. Kuchma taunted Yanukovych that he had a right as prime minister to issue the order himself to which Yanukovych replied: "Leonid Danylovych gathered here are members of the government who fulfilled your instructions. We won the presidential elections—the aim of yourself and that of your team which they fulfilled. Why then are you being indecisive? Have you betrayed our team? If you have 'dumped' us then say so!"[50] Yanukovych felt betrayed by Kuchma, Lytvyn, Medvedchuk, and Tihipko (as he in fact had been).

On November 28, Prime Minister Yanukovych gave a verbal order to Interior Minister Mykola Bilokin, authorizing the deployment of Interior Ministry (MVS) Internal Troops *Bars* special forces to the central area of Kyiv to unblock government buildings.[51] *Bars* special forces were turned back after the military warned they would defend Orange Revolution protesters. The *Bars* base near Kyiv became a major training ground and launching point a decade later for National Guard battalions drawn from Euromaidan self-defense units, to fight against Donbas separatists. The SBU and military intelligence also worked to avoid bloodshed by providing intelligence to the Yushchenko campaign. Taxi drivers abandoned their vehicles in roads leading to central Kyiv to slow down the movement of police special forces.

This represented the second failed occasion when Yanukovych sought to use force against the Orange Revolution. He had earlier brought 30,000–40,000 coalminers and sportsmen vigilantes to Kyiv basing them just outside Kyiv, but Kuchma prevented them being brought into the

center of the city. Romanian President Ion Iliescu on three occasions in the 1990s sent coalminers as unofficial paramilitaries to disperse and attack pro-democracy protestors in Bucharest.[52] Kuchma told the BBC he had used his influence among those who paid the coalminers wages to send them back to Donetsk.[53] Yanukovych told the Party of Regions congress, "They simply awaited the signal to defend our choice. With regret I called upon them to return home but I told them we would soon return."[54] He heeded his own words by unleashing vigilantes against the Euromaidan in Kyiv and elsewhere.

U.S. intervention through Ambassador John Herbst also assisted in reaching a peaceful outcome to the political crisis. In addition, U.S. State Department secretary officials Eugene Fishel and David Kramer[55] prepared the key text read out by Secretary of State Colin Powell on November 24 where the United States refused to recognize the official results. In Ukraine, Herbst adopted a pro-democracy position that was at variants with his previous position as ambassador to Uzbekistan where he had poor relations with British Ambassador Craig Murray because of the latter's unwillingness to cover up human rights abuses; Murray resigned in protest from the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office.[56] Ukrainian-American Orest Deychakiwsky at the U.S. Helsinki Commission had been actively engaged in pressing the Ukrainian authorities to live up to their OSCE human rights and democracy commitments (see Box 4.1).

The Yanukovych campaign sought to ineptly influence and lobby its case in Washington, DC. U.S. Department of Justice FARA (Foreign Agents Registration Act) records indicate that Jefferson Waterman International (JWI), a consulting firm led by former CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) officers, was retained by Eduard Prutnik in 2004 to "provide various professional, strategic counsel, government relations, and public relations services." Prutnik, a close adviser to Yanukovych during Ukraine's 2004 presidential election, became a trusted surrogate spokesperson for the campaign in Ukraine as well as the United States. Despite Yanukovych initially retaining the services of other public relations consultants and lobbyists in Washington to spin his record and enhance his image, JWI, a firm focused on business intelligence, was inexplicably tasked with arranging a press conference for Prutnik during his November 2004 Washington visit to discuss the results of the first round of voting. With little advance notice to the other Yanukovych public relations consultants, Prutnik's National Press Club press conference descended into a farce and has become part of the election's lore among the Ukrainian-American diaspora (attended by this author). Perhaps due to little experience with holding press conferences, JWI failed to arrange a trained English translator for Prutnik's discussion or adequately screen press conference attendees. With cameras rolling from Radio Liberty and Voice of America, Prutnik deviated from his agreed-upon talking points

during the press conference and panicked; Prutnik's translator quickly switched roles, transitioning from interpreting Prutnik's remarks to answering media questions when Prutnik inadequately covered issues asked of him by journalists. U.S. State Department official Fishel and Myroslava Gongadze, widow of murdered journalist Gongadze, hurled questions that went unanswered, and the remainder of the press conference spiraled out of control once other attendees shouted down the translator for adding spin doctoring to his translation services.[57]

In the rerun election held on December 26, Yushchenko obtained 52 percent of the votes cast compared with 44 percent for Yanukovych. The votes demonstrated a clear split where Yushchenko dominated Western and Central Ukraine and the capital city of Kyiv and Yanukovych dominated Eastern and Southern Ukraine and the Crimea, as in 2010 between Tymoshenko and Yanukovych, respectively. Yushchenko was inaugurated Ukraine's fourth president on January 25, 2005.

Ukraine's 2004 presidential elections were not only a contest about the future direction of Ukraine but also a contest between mutually exclusive and multiple identities in a regionally divided country. The Orange Revolution had led to widespread expectations of change while the defeat of Yanukovych led to anger at being "cheated" of victory, and he has always believed he had won the elections. Chapter 3 analyzes how Yushchenko failed to become Ukraine's "George Washington" and why Yanukovych succeeded in extracting revenge and ushering in Ukraine's sixth historic cycle to be removed before the end of his first term in office by the Euromaidan.

CHAPTER 3

Independent Ukraine between Two Viktors (2004–2014)

We need to live in a new way!

Petro Poroshenko's 2014 election slogan

Poroshenko's most important achievement was to not let Vitaliy Klitschko become president.

Ukrainian political consultant

Yushchenko, an Eastern Ukrainian married to a Ukrainian American, was prime minister for 18 months during which time he was the first head of government who thought more about the country than amassing personal fortunes. Yushchenko's patriotism made him a natural ally of European-oriented national democrats, and he presided over the economic breakthrough that transformed Ukraine into a market economy. At the same time, Prime Minister Yushchenko's good record in government was quite different to the domination of Yushchenko's presidency by internecine rivalry and corruption. When Yushchenko and Tymoshenko were close allies, as in government and the Orange Revolution, they were a formidable force, but when they were in conflict, as during Yushchenko's presidency, they undermined themselves and the country. Orange political divisions ultimately facilitated the political demise of Yushchenko, election of Yanukovych as president, imprisonment of Tymoshenko, and Euromaidan.

"ORANGE" UKRAINE

On February 4, 2005, Tymoshenko became prime minister in the first of two governments she headed under Yushchenko. The broadness of Yushchenko's Orange coalition proved to be both an asset and a liability. The positive aspect was that a broad political coalition could command

widespread public support for its stated policies of uprooting corruption and expanding democratic reforms and the rule of law and such a broad coalition could also effectively ward off opposition. The negative side was that it was inevitably divided between political forces that supported a greater degree of state intervention in the economy and supporters of free market policies. The significance of these divisions was to become increasingly apparent over the course of Yushchenko's presidency as debate ensued over several key issues, including economic reform, re-privatization, energy price controls, the adoption of legislation for Ukraine's membership of the WTO, and NATO membership.

Centrist parties that had supported Kuchma emerged from their 2004 election defeat in a demoralized condition and pro-Kuchma elites and oligarchs feared the Yushchenko administration would implement the election campaign slogan of "Bandits to Prison!" Senior Ukrainian officials fled to Russia, Monaco, and the United States, and a few committed suicide. Taras Chornovil recalled being asked by a wealthy businessperson in Yanukovych's election headquarters: "Tell me—will there be *pohroms*?"[1] Yushchenko failed to use the enormous power he possessed in the first quarter of 2005 to effect rapid change, including halting the manner in which Ukrainian elites operated with impunity and without accountability.

Yushchenko did not lay out new terms of engagement with oligarchs because not only a large proportion of his backers were closely tied to them (e.g., Yekhanurov) but millionaires (e.g., Poroshenko) were envious and wanted to themselves become billionaires. The most important factor was that Yushchenko had no program and team and, therefore, lacked any strategy after coming to power, a fact that was very different to Yanukovych who came to power in 2010 with a team and program that he quickly and ruthlessly implemented. Such a comparison flies in the face of traditional analyses of ideologically driven national democrats and nonideological centrists. Yushchenko admitted privately to President Kuchma he had never intended to implement the populist "Bandits to Prison!" aspect of his program. Kuchma recalled in his memoirs:

> I remember the election speeches of Yushchenko and his team at numerous meetings. Even on television advertisements. They all began and ended with the same thing: the authorities are bandits, away with the authorities! But, Yushchenko told me during the presidential campaign: "Do not listen to what I say about you and about the authorities at meetings. Do not give it any significance. Do not take it to heart. This is politics." I did not respond to this but felt that the whole thing was rather comical.[2]

Kuchma believed that Yushchenko used "revolutionary demagogy" in a "cynical manner." After once shouting "Away with this regime!" he apologized, Kuchma recalled.[3]

When new presidents are elected, oligarchs seek to ingratiate them with the country's new leader. *Prinosheniye* (bringing to) is the Russian and Soviet tradition of bringing valuable gifts as tribute to the new ruler and superiors to ingratiate oneself, which was immortalized by Hohol in his novel *The Inspector's General*.[4] The Melnychenko tapes recorded Governor Yanukovych giving a gift to President Kuchma of a Holland & Holland, one of the most expensive hand guns in the world valued at $100,000—many times more than his declared state salary. Odesa Governor Bodelan gave Kuchma a statue made from one ounce of gold while Volodymyr Shcherban offered shares in industries that were to be privatized.[5] An initiative to build Ukraine's first modern children's hospital was launched by First Lady Kataryna Yushchenko, who headed the Ukraine 3000 international charity to which the majority of Ukraine's oligarchs provided large donations. These included $15 million from the Industrial Union of Donbas (ISD), $12.8 million by Rinat Akhmetov, $10 million by Viktor Pinchuk, $1.5 million by Borys Kolesnikov, and others who donated smaller amounts. Although the hospital has never been completed, Ukraine's donors have never requested a criminal investigation into misuse of the funds, suggesting they probably believed their donations constituted a kind of *prinosheniye*, a "retirement fund" for Yushchenko.[6] Former first deputy head of the Parliamentary Committee on Fighting Organized Crime and Corruption, Hennadiy Moskal, believed Yushchenko used the threat of sending "bandits" to prison as a "psychological attack on oligarchs with the aim of forcing them to give him money."[7] "Ukraine 3000" fund headed by First Lady Yushchenko was donated $15–17 million; in light of the fact that the modern children's hospital for which the funds were allegedly donated was never built.[8]

Ideological tensions in the Orange coalition ran between those who supported free market reforms who were closer to President Yushchenko and political forces more supportive of social market policies that were closer to Prime Minister Tymoshenko and the SPU. Tymoshenko was caught between the hammer and the anvil as she sought to implement Yushchenko's 2004 populist election program. The only renationalization Yushchenko supported was of the *Kryvorizhstal* plant that had been privatized by two Ukrainian oligarchs for $800 million in 2004 after they had blocked bids from foreign investors. *Kryvorizhstal* was taken back into state ownership and re-tendered in October 2005, when it was acquired by Mittal Steel (of the Netherlands) for the sum of $4.8 billion or six times more than what it had been sold to oligarchs Akhmetov and Pinchuk.

The creation of an alternative government by RNBO secretary Poroshenko contributed to a dysfunctional and openly warring Orange administration that came to dominate Yushchenko's presidency. Poroshenko implemented into practice the visceral dislike he had always had for Tymoshenko.[9] In September 2005, the Tymoshenko government was

removed amid mutual mudslinging over allegations of corruption, effectively sealing the fate of the Orange coalition less than a year into its existence and opening the way for Yanukovych and the Party of Regions to return to the center of Ukrainian politics. The September 2005 crisis also irrevocably damaged Yushchenko's popularity after he signed a "memorandum of non-aggression" (as Kuchma[10] described it) with Yanukovych in a bid to seek his parliamentary support for the appointment of Our Ukraine leader Yekhanurov as prime minister; the first vote had failed to receive the required number of votes. The perception that President Yushchenko was retreating from "Orange values" was further reinforced by the increasingly close relationship between Prime Minister Yekhanurov and what he described as the "national bourgeoisie" (i.e., oligarchs). Both Firtash and Akhmetov told U.S. Ambassador William Taylor they had very close and warm relations with Yushchenko.[11] Ambassador Taylor reported that "Akhmetov complimented Yushchenko."[12] Akhmetov told U.S. Ambassador Taylor he supported a grand coalition of the Party of Regions with Yushchenko/Our Ukraine.[13] The Yekhanurov government was never secure during its brief period in office and was defeated in a January 2006 parliamentary vote of no confidence after it signed the first of two bad gas contracts with Russia during Yushchenko's presidency (the second signed by Tymoshenko in 2009). Yushchenko's (and therefore Our Ukraine's) popularity continued to plummet during the next four years during which BYuT came second in two parliamentary elections pushing Our Ukraine into third place.

VIKTOR YANUKOVYCH RETURNS FROM THE WILDERNESS

Tymoshenko expected to return as prime minister following the 2006 elections if BYuT performed better than Our Ukraine receiving the right to propose its candidate for that position. Our Ukraine received only 14 percent compared with 24 percent it had obtained four years earlier, while BYuT increased its share of the votes threefold to 22 percent, showing how Tymoshenko's rhetoric was more in tune with Orange Revolution supporters. Of the former pro-Kuchma centrist parties, only the Party of Regions entered parliament with 32 percent of the vote. The left were represented by the SPU and KPU who obtained 6 and 4 percent, respectively. The Party of Regions and BYuT dominated parliaments elected in 2006 and 2007 with votes from their respective regional strongholds of Eastern and Western Ukraine, respectively.

Following the 2006 elections, three months of negotiations between Our Ukraine, BYuT, and the SPU eventually established a reunited Orange coalition with Tymoshenko as prime minister. However, quarrelling over

who would receive the position of parliamentary chairperson (Poroshenko or Oleksandr Moroz) led the SPU to withdraw from the agreement, and it realigned with the Party of Regions and KPU to establish the Anti-Crisis coalition. SPU leading members Mykola Rudkovsky and Yaroslav Mendus negotiated Oleksandr Moroz's deal with the Party of Regions, and on August 4, the Anti-Crisis coalition endorsed the appointment of Yanukovych as prime minister.

The 2006–2007 Yanukovych government set a precedent in becoming the first to include communists, a step that was repeated in the 2010–2012 Stability and Reforms coalition. This was an unusual relationship between the Party of Regions, the political face of Ukraine's oligarchs who had become fabulously wealthy at the expense of the country and the majority of Ukrainians, and the KPU, which claimed to represent the downtrodden proletariat (see Box 5.2). In 2006–2007, relations between President Yushchenko and Prime Minister Yanukovych steadily deteriorated, and the ensuing crisis was exacerbated by a constant theme that was repeated during the last four years of Yushchenko's presidency—namely, the lack of clarity in the 2006 parliamentary constitution concerning the division of responsibilities between the executive and legislature. The Anti-Crisis coalition attempted to remove regional governors whose appointment remained a presidential prerogative. Yushchenko, in turn, refused to coordinate the appointment of governors with any government, including that headed by Tymoshenko in which Our Ukraine was given cabinet positions. Legal and constitutional nihilism prevailed on both sides of Ukraine's political divide.

Grand Coalitions

Yushchenko had opened the door to Our Ukraine potentially working with the Party of Regions in his September 2005 memorandum with Yanukovych, which put an end to prosecutions for election fraud (a reason why the tapes made in his election headquarters were never used) and closed the question of re-privatizations. In 2006 and 2007, Our Ukraine held negotiations with the Party of Regions, but Yushchenko's mercurial personality undermined both attempts. In 2008 and 2009, BYuT held negotiations on two occasions with the Party of Regions for grand coalitions that were undermined by anti-Tymoshenko oligarchs Firtash and Akhmetov. Where political cynicism is rampant and mutual trust widespread, it is not surprising that the negotiations failed. Grand coalitions represent a threat to young democracies such as Ukraine where there is limited rule of law, civil society is weak, and there is little external pressure from international organizations. Grand coalitions usually exclude outsiders, and both Our Ukraine and BYuT held negotiations to outflank their ostensible Orange allies.

A day after the 2006 elections, Yushchenko sent Yekhanurov and Poroshenko acting "on behalf of the President"[14] to negotiate with Party of Regions' representatives Azarov and Rayisa Bohatyryova. Our Ukraine, although receiving half the votes of the Party of Regions, demanded the position of prime minister for Yekhanurov (which they did not object to), and the Party of Regions would receive the position of parliamentary chairperson. Yekhanurov, a well-known critic of Tymoshenko, admitted that Our Ukraine's position on the economy coincided in three quarters of areas with that of the Party of Regions.[15] Our Ukraine pragmatists such as Yekhanurov emphasized the similarities of Party of Regions and Our Ukraine programs compared to those of BYuT and the SPU.[16] On June 20, 2006, a majority of the Our Ukraine parliamentary faction voted to support the grand coalition.

Simultaneously, Yushchenko also sent Roman Besmertnyy to negotiate an Orange coalition with Tymoshenko where the atmosphere was more strained because of poor personal chemistry and because BYuT demanded the position of prime minister for Tymoshenko (as per their preelection agreement). The position of parliamentary chairperson would be chosen from either Our Ukraine (Poroshenko) or the SPU (Oleksandr Moroz).[17] Yushchenko came down in the end in support of an Orange coalition after the grand coalition was allegedly nipped in the bud by U.S. intervention,[18] confirming in the eyes of the Party of Regions that Yushchenko could not be trusted to keep his word. The drawn-out negotiations prevented a June 2006 visit to Ukraine by U.S. President George W. Bush that had been timed to support Ukraine's bid for an MAP (Membership Action Plan) at the NATO summit in Riga in November of that year (see Chapter 11).

Neither of the two coalitions eventually succeeded because of Oleksandr Moroz's defection, and the formation of the Anti-Crisis coalition opened the way for Yanukovych to triumphantly return to politics as prime minister. Thirty out of 80 Our Ukraine deputies supported the August 4, 2006, vote confirming Yanukovych as prime minister, including Tretyakov, Poroshenko, Petro Yushchenko (the president's brother), Besmertnyy, and surprisingly, *Rukh* leader Borys Tarasyuk and Roman Zvarych. By the end of 2006, tension between Yanukovych and Yushchenko/Our Ukraine led to the reforging of an opposition alliance with BYuT in February 2007.[19]

Chief of Staff Viktor Baloha and Minister of Defense Anatoliy Hrytsenko revealed that during the spring 2007 negotiations to escape the political crisis, Yushchenko had promised the Party of Regions he would support a grand coalition in return for agreeing to preterm elections. Yushchenko bribed Yanukovych into agreeing to support re-term elections by issuing a secret decree that gave him control over the *Mezhyhirya* palace, which became a symbol of corruption during his later presidency.

"Subsequent events were part of the scenario of the agreed compromise placing figures into positions of power so that Yanukovych in the final analysis was able to win the presidential elections," Baloha said.[20] Yanukovych admitted to U.S. Ambassador Taylor that Yushchenko had made the offer of a grand coalition in return for the Party of Regions agreeing to preterm elections, but he, on a second occasion, betrayed his promise to the Party of Regions. As an alternative, in December 2007, Party of Regions parliamentary faction leader Bohatyryova was appointed secretary of the RNBO in a second attempt at creating a counterweight to the Tymoshenko government (Anatoliy Kinakh and Ivan Plyushch, NRBO secretaries in 2005–2007, had also been anti-Tymoshenko).

Baloha became a lobbyist for the Party of Regions and a major opponent of Tymoshenko. The U.S. embassy in Kyiv reported that Baloha had lobbied Yushchenko to cooperate more closely with the Party of Regions with whom he had close contacts. Baloha's animosity to and fear of Tymoshenko would lead him to support Yanukovych in the 2010 and Poroshenko in the 2014 presidential elections.[21] If Tymoshenko had won the 2010 elections, her political ally, Mayor of Uzhorod Serhiy Ratushnyak, would have most likely expanded his control of Transcarpathia at the expense of Baloha.

Baloha's role in Yushchenko's administration was largely negative, and when Yushchenko was asked publicly about him, he categorically replied "Baloha? This is me!" Who then was Baloha? He emerged as a business leader in the border *oblast* of Transcarpathia, where smuggling was an integral and central component of economic activity; indeed, former mayor of Uzhorod Ratushnyak openly admitted to a visiting Canadian businessperson that the main source of income for his city was smuggling.[22] Baloha had first aligned with Transcarpathia's party of power, the SDPUo (Social Democratic united Party), joined Our Ukraine in 2002, became a Party of Regions agent of influence in 2007, and a year later established the United Center party and in 2010 entered into an alliance with the Party of Regions with whom United Centre shared control over Transcarpathia. The United Centre party, launched only two months after the formation of the second Tymoshenko government, opened up divisions within Our Ukraine–People's Self-Defense (NUNS) and set the party at loggerheads with the People's Union–Our Ukraine party (established in March 2005 as Yushchenko's budding party of power). Baloha, in other words, was similar to Poroshenko in being a consummate pragmatist who excelled in multi-vector politics and was loyal only to him. In Baloha's case, this was also a reflection of Transcarpathia's identity as a pragmatic region where local elites are keen to be on good terms with whoever is in power in Kyiv (see Chapter 7).[23] In other words, Transcarpathia's pragmatic exceptionalism is very different to ideologically driven Galicia.

Political Crisis, Instability, and Orange Implosion

Following Yushchenko's dissolution of parliament, preterm elections were rescheduled for September 30, 2007. In July, the Our Ukraine bloc was reconstituted as the unwieldy NUNS with nine largely virtual parties. The Party of Regions slightly increased its vote to 34 percent while BYuT fared best when it expanded its support outside Western and Central Ukraine by increasing its vote to 31 percent. NUNS received the same result as Our Ukraine had received the year before winning only one region of Transcarpathia that not coincidentally was Baloha's home region. The KPU vote grew to 5 percent while the Lytvyn bloc entered parliament by replacing the SPU that Orange voters had deserted.

The election results pointed to Ukraine possessing politically astute Orange voters who use elections to punish politicians and Party of Regions voters who were willing to vote for the party regardless of what steps it took or what scandals its deputies became embroiled in. This dichotomy was because many Party of Regions and KPU voters prioritized economics and stability over democracy and viewed the only alternative to be "anti-Russian fascists" (see Chapter 10). "He was a bandit, but he was our bandit" was how many in the Donbas viewed Yanukovych. Journalist Roman Cheremskyy spent five months in separatist captivity and found to his astonishment that although imprisoned locals were treated badly, they continued to pledge their allegiance to the separatists. "The rebels beat them up, take away their cars, rob them, and they still root for the LNR (Luhansk People's Republic). It's a paradox I hadn't expected," Cheremskyy said.[24]

The election results again showed that national democratic political forces had an approximate 55:45 lead over the Party of Regions and KPU when full proportional elections were held (which was why they were replaced by a mixed system in 2012). Tymoshenko and NUNS leader Lutsenko signed a coalition agreement establishing a narrow parliamentary majority of 228 deputies (with the minimum requirement of 226). The U.S. embassy in Kyiv reported there was always a significant minority of NUNS leaders hostile to Tymoshenko and open to a grand coalition. With a significant section of NUNS antagonistic to Tymoshenko, the coalition was never stable, and the government therefore had difficulties in mobilizing sufficient votes to adopt legislation. Although BYuT had received twice as many votes as NUNS, ministerial portfolios were equally divided between them; the government was therefore as much Yushchenko's as it was Tymoshenko's. Bizarrely, this failed to influence President Yushchenko who sought at every opportunity to undermine the Tymoshenko government.

The extensive demands made to Tymoshenko by President Yushchenko following the 2007 preterm elections show a president unwilling to accept

the constraints of a parliamentary system (which implied cohabitation) and an attempt to accumulate maximum power without any program at the same time.[25] Yushchenko demanded control over all law enforcement forces, both those he controlled under the parliamentary constitution—Ministry of Defense, the SBU, and the prosecutor general's office—and those that should go under the government under this constitution—Interior Ministry, the State Tax Administration, and the Customs Service. In addition, he sought at a minimum to circumvent the constitution by changing the law on the Cabinet of Ministers placing it under the president and RNBO while the president should appoint governors (not jointly with the prime minister) and they in turn must approve local government representatives. These steps sought to undermine the parliamentary constitution with Yushchenko's ultimate objective returning Ukraine to a presidential system. But, he went further, demanding to alone choose the next mayoral candidate in Kyiv and prevent Tymoshenko standing in the 2010 elections when the decision as to which Orange candidate would be chosen should depend on who had the highest public support. Yushchenko also sought to impose his nationalistic and pro-NATO policies on Tymoshenko when Our Ukraine had received far fewer votes in the 2006 and 2007 elections.

With the division between Yushchenko and Tymoshenko dominating Ukrainian politics, the governing coalition never functioned, limiting the ability of the government to deal with the global financial crisis that severely hit Ukraine shrinking GDP by 15 percent in 2009. The establishment of United Centre and Front for Change (*Front Zmin*) parties headed by Baloha and Arseniy Yatsenyuk in 2008 and 2009, respectively, who were both antagonistic to Tymoshenko, exacerbated the ineffectiveness of the Orange coalition. The stagnation and decline of NUNS was clearly evident in preterm Kyiv elections in May 2008 when Our Ukraine failed to cross the 3 percent threshold[26] in the city that had been the cradle of the Orange Revolution. NUNS stagnated alongside Yushchenko during his final years in power, with its original 9 parties splintering into 14 and Our Ukraine becoming a marginal political force and its niche was replaced by UDAR (Ukrainian Democratic Alliance of Reforms).

In September 2008, the Orange coalition again disintegrated after NUNS voted by a slim majority to withdraw in protest at BYuT voting with the Party of Regions on a new law on the Cabinet of Ministers that further stripped powers from the president. Parliamentary parties failed to agree on a new coalition within 30 days as stipulated in the constitution and Yushchenko officially dissolved parliament scheduling preterm legislative elections for December 7. These were blocked by the government refusing to finance them, through court decisions and by international opprobrium at the idea of Ukraine again holding elections so soon and during the middle of the global financial crisis.[27] NUNS, BYuT, and the

Lytvyn bloc formed a new Orange coalition in early December 2008, but it never could act as a united political force.

Negotiations with Yanukovych undermined Tymoshenko's election chances in 2010 in three ways. First, the secretive manner in which they had been undertaken increased the view of her as a "cynic" and "chameleon." Democratic initiatives think tank President Ilko Kucheriv believed that with Yanukovych you knew what you were getting, but with Tymoshenko, it was more uncertain because she constantly changed her views. Kucheriv said what some Ukrainians felt during the 2010 elections: "If we have Yanukovych as President it will be shameful for Ukraine. However, he is not as cynical as Yuliya. Our parliamentary democracy has weaknesses but it is fundamentally better than the alternatives."[28] Although Kucheriv is correct up to a point about Tymoshenko, he ignores the fact, as this book demonstrates on many occasions, that Soviet political culture has made the majority of Ukrainian politicians into chameleons.

Second, the negotiations undermined her image as a crusader against oligarchs. Third, coming only six months after her gas contract with Russian Prime Minister Putin, the negotiations made Ukrainian nationalists suspicious of Tymoshenko's patriotism, and spurious allegations of "treason" made against Tymoshenko the year before by the presidential secretariat added to suspicion about her alleged behind-the-scenes deal with Putin. President Yushchenko doubted her Ukrainian patriotism by indirectly fuelling speculation about her ethnic roots. His call for Ukraine to find a "Ukrainian government" indicated he did not believe Tymoshenko's government was truly "Ukrainian." Yushchenko told political technologist Dmitri Vydryn: "I will not be able to make Yuliya into a Ukrainian (patriot) but I will do so with Yanukovych."[29] Yushchenko never explained why he believed Yanukovych, who in a similar manner to Tymoshenko has no ethnic Ukrainian roots and was more likely than her to evolve into a Ukrainian patriot. Counterrevolutionary policies during Ukraine's sixth historic cycle show how far Yushchenko was misinformed, his views were clouded by personal antagonism toward Tymoshenko, and *kompromat* was being used against him and his family.

UKRAINE WITHOUT VIKTOR YUSHCHENKO

Eighteen candidates fought the 2010 presidential elections with the two favorites (Yanukovych and Tymoshenko) entering the second round. With the Orange vote divided between five candidates, it was inevitable that Yanukovych would win the first round and Tymoshenko came in second with 25 percent to Yanukovych's 35 percent. The third and fourth candidates, Tihipko and Yatsenyuk, who together received 20 percent of the vote, represented a new middle-class vote.[30] The Orange Revolution was a product of many factors, one of which was that it was a middle-class

revolution—although neither Tihipko (who had fled the country as it was unfolding) nor his National Bank assistant Yatsenyuk had supported the Orange Revolution. The left suffered their worst defeat in any of Ukraine's presidential elections with KPU leader Symonenko coming sixth with 3.5 percent of the vote while SPU leader Oleksandr Moroz came in eleventh place with less than 1 percent. Six years earlier Oleksandr Moroz had been in the ascendancy.

Yanukovych received fewer votes than he had received in 2004; he won only 10 of Ukraine's 27 administrative regions and was elected with less than half of the votes. A higher than expected turnout in Western Ukraine contributed to Tymoshenko's surge from 25 to 45 percent, and many of these were negative voters; that is, they voted *against* Yanukovych rather than *for* Tymoshenko. Tymoshenko received over 3 million fewer votes than Yushchenko in December 2004 because disillusioned Orange young and middle-class voters and Ukrainian nationalists did not support her. The deep level of disillusionment with Orange politicians and the failure of the Yushchenko presidency was brought home beautifully in the song by the Ukrainian rock band **Скрябін** (Skryabin) titled "**Кинули**" ("Dumped") released on the *Моя еволюція* (My Evolution) album in December 2009, just ahead of the following years elections. "Dude, I guess we have been cheated" and "now, there is something frightening happening, I stopped loving it (Ukraine)" because the ruling elites "did their business deals and flushed us, you and me down the toilet. They simply flushed us away."[31] It took another four years for this disillusionment to boil over into anger at the kleptocratic Yanukovych regime.

Some Orange voters believed Yushchenko's spurious claim that both candidates were as bad as each other while a large number were disillusioned with *all* Ukrainian politicians. If all of Yushchenko's 1 million voters had backed Tymoshenko in the second round, it would have been sufficient for Tymoshenko to win the 2010 elections as she was defeated in the second round of the 2010 elections by a 3.48 percent margin. Minister of Internal Affairs Lutsenko takes credit for the narrow election victory, claiming he had issued orders to the police to prevent election fraud in Donetsk and other Party of Regions strongholds.[32] The narrow election victory shocked Yanukovych and his election team and deepened his paranoia and fear of Tymoshenko; the Yanukovych election campaign had expected a 10 percent or more margin of victory.[33]

UKRAINE'S NEW MIDDLE CLASS

Ukraine's private sector is not uniform throughout the country with large enterprises dominating Eastern Ukraine while small and medium businesses dominate Western and Central Ukraine. In Western Ukraine,

the share of small and medium businesses in the economy is higher than in Eastern Ukraine, reaching as high as 20 percent in Galicia, Transcarparthia, and Chernivtsi and falling to as little as 5 percent in Donetsk, Luhansk, and Zaporizhzhya.[34] Ukraine's middle class, small, and medium businesspersons are a central component of the country's civil society who have made themselves heard on five occasions: (1) in the Orange Revolution; (2) through their voting for Tihipko and Yatsenyuk in the 2010 elections; (3) in the spontaneous antitax code protests that year; (4) during the Euromaidan; and (5) in lieu of a weak and financially hamstrung state, providing massive support to Ukraine's army and volunteer battalions of the National Guard without which they would have been unable to defeat the separatists until Russia's invasion in summer 2014.[35]

The first occasion Ukraine's middle class entered the Ukrainian stage was during the 2004 Orange Revolution, where a large number of its participants were from the burgeoning middle class who were tired of state pressure and weak rule of law and fearing that a Yanukovych presidency would bring domination by big business.[36] Sociologist O. Symonchuk found the main social base of the Orange Revolution was Ukraine's middle class.[37]

The second occasion Ukraine's middle class showed its power became the 2010 elections when 5 million Ukrainians voted for Tihipko and Yatsenyuk.[38] Large numbers of Ukraine's urban middle and younger generation professionals and businesspersons seeking a "new face" in Ukrainian politics had backed Tihipko and Yatsenyuk. Tihipko's ability to convince voters he was a "new face" had more to do with a public relations exercise and disillusioned voters than reality as he was born in the same year as Tymoshenko and had entered Ukrainian politics at the same time as her. Tihipko aligned himself with Yanukovych after the elections and merged *Silna Ukrayina* with the Party of Regions and supported President Yanukovych through to when he fled from Ukraine. Tymoshenko offered Tihipko the position of prime minister if he agreed to support her in the second round, but he refused. This proved to be a major lost opportunity for Ukraine's democratic development; if Tihipko had agreed to the proposal, Ukraine would have broken the decade-long conflict between centrists and national democrats. "That is, for the first time, two Dnipropetrovsk natives with rather similar *Komsomol* backgrounds would have politically represented the two parts of divided Ukraine without mutual aggression, the exploitation of myths, and enmity, and they could have calmly come to an agreement to work together," Lutsenko believed.[39] Yanukovych, having lost a second presidential election, would have left politics and the Party of Regions would have chosen a new leader, perhaps muses Lutsenko, it could have been Tihipko. Yatsenyuk may have agreed to join a Tihipko government in the position of first deputy prime minister, making it similar in composition to the 1999–2001 Yushchenko

reformist government in which Tihipko had been briefly minister of economics. A Tymoshenko–Tihipko tandem would have reduced tension with Russia without threatening Ukrainian sovereignty and would have successfully integrated Ukraine into the EU Association Agreement.

The third and fourth occasions Ukraine's middle class took the political stage was during Yanukovych presidency. In the first instance in autumn 2010, 50,000 small and medium businesspersons from all regions of Ukraine (banners from Donetsk and Crimea were visible) protested in Kyiv against the unpopular tax code adopted in November 2010 that pushed 1 million of them into the shadow economy. Ukrainians who had voted for Tihipko felt betrayed by his agreement to join the first Azarov government, and his popularity plummeted. The Euromaidan's foot soldiers and infrastructure was organized and built by young and middle-class Ukrainians for whom the government decision to no longer seek an association agreement with the EU was the straw that broke the camel's back, bringing years of tension and anger to the surface. Kyiv's churches, monasteries, hostels, and private apartments opened their doors for accommodation, and food were provided by restaurants and shops.[40] Yaryna Klyuchkovska described support provided by middle-class Ukrainians individually or from their businesses:

> But what really touched my heart is how people from all walks of life selflessly contributed and showed their support. Andriy Logvin, CEO of a popular online fashion store *ModnaKasta*, circulated a call to join the demonstration on Euromaidan through the massive database of its customers, raising crucial awareness. While most media channeled the official government position, Katerina Venzhyk, editor-in-chief of business news website Delo.ua, used her media outlet to inform the public of Maidan-related news. Now she is organizing a makeshift press center on Maidan where reporters can access the Internet or recharge their phones. Ad man Andriy Fedoriv created Strike Poster, a Facebook community where graphic designers can share their Maidan-themed creations for users to print and use as signs and posters. Restaurateur Dmitry Borisov provides free tea, coffee and hot broth to protesters in his numerous cafés around Independence Square. A group of big-firm lawyers offer free legal services to victims of police violence. Thousands of others perform not-so-random acts of kindness, volunteering to provide shelter, food, and professional services to Maidan protesters.[41]

Another report found that "About a hundred of the cars were provided by Sergei Koba, a popular local drag-racer. One was driven by Ruslana, a vivacious singer whose Eurovision Song Contest win in 2004 remains one of independent Ukraine's most cherished triumphs." Furthermore, "Doctors offered free emergency medical care for protesters and lawyers volunteered their services pro bono for anyone beaten by police. In Chashka, a café in one of the smarter streets, the owner, Igor Sukhomlyn, said he had sent free coffee beans for at least a thousand cups to the

protest frontline."[42] The Automaidan became highly popular, and judging by the type of cars their owners drove proves they were wealthy members of Ukraine's middle class. In the Donbas, Slovyansk is the only city to hold a weekly Automaidan on Sunday, and its members are in the forefront of promoting lustration in the region.

These examples showed to what degree Ukraine's emerging middle class wished to live in a rule of law–based European country.

UKRAINE'S CURIOUS ELECTION

The 2010 presidential elections were different to earlier presidential elections for a number of important reasons. The first factor was that the Tymoshenko election campaign did not have the dynamic energy found in her previous campaigns, possibly due to fatigue at being in government where she had been faced by daily attacks from the Yushchenko administration. The head of her campaign, Turchynov, did not act as determined to win as he had in previous campaigns. Bohdan Hubskyy, deputy head of the Tymoshenko campaign, recalled that Turchynov rarely called for meetings of Tymoshenko's central election team organized on a weekly basis in round one and only twice during the entire three weeks of the second round. Hubskyy remembered that during the 2006 and 2007 elections, the BYuT central election campaign team had met once or twice a day. The same lack of new ideas and approaches was to be found in *Batkivshchina*'s 2014 election campaign.

Tymoshenko faced not only a formidable candidate—Yanukovych—bent on seeking revenge for his humiliation in 2004 but also a large group of *protyvsikh* (against all) voters with Yushchenko leading the call for a double "No" vote in the second round. The U.S. embassy in Ukraine reported that while Yushchenko had spent most of his presidency attacking Tymoshenko, his relations with Yanukovych were civil.[43] Yuriy Lukanov, chairperson of the Independent Media Trade Union of Ukraine, who had been a *Rukh* activist during the August 1991 Declaration of Independence and Orange Revolution, explained his decision to be a *protyvsikh*:

> The *protyvsikh* were the most critical group of those who supported the Orange Revolution but did not vote in 2010 for either candidate. They had not received what they had expected from the Orange Revolution and they were disappointed in the leaders of the Orange Revolution, including Tymoshenko who they had been able to observe in power. If her efforts had developed and implemented a program of reforms these might have been successful, rather than returning 1,000 *hryvnya* (approximately $125) to those who had lost savings in the former Soviet Savings Bank. *Protyvsikh* were convinced that Tymoshenko was an integral part of the system that she herself criticised and she was never going to change the system in a radical manner and was not very different from her opponents.

Protyvsvikh were the critical mass that prevented Tymoshenko from defeating Yanukovych in the 2010 presidential elections.[44]

With hindsight, some *protyvsvikh* voters have had second thoughts about their decision. Two years into the Yanukovych administration, the head of the Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences, Yevhen Holovakha, admitted he was wrong to have voted against both candidates in the second round of the 2010 elections. His admission came after the SBU without precedent called the entire Academic Council of the Institute of Sociology for interviews.[45] At the same time, although many Orange voters and members of the Ukrainian diaspora became quickly opposed to the Yanukovych administration, this turned into passivity rather than action until the Euromaidan. Demonstrations, pickets, and meetings to free Ukrainian political prisoners were small in Ukraine *and* in North America. On October 11, 2011, the day a Kyiv court sentenced Tymoshenko; there were a larger number of *Berkut* (Eagle) riot police than protestors.

Yushchenko attacked Tymoshenko incessantly in 2008–2009 and during the 2010 elections while ignoring Yanukovych, leading to speculation they had struck a deal. Billboards from the front cover of the weekly *Komentarii* magazine showing Yanukovych and Yushchenko kissing in a pose reminiscent of Soviet and GDR leaders Gorbachev and Eric Honecker with the caption "Yushchenko has negotiated the seat of Prime Minister" were taken down following strong protests from the presidential secretariat. In November 2009, the U.S. embassy in Kyiv issued a cable claiming a deal had been done.[46] Yushchenko's campaign for Ukrainians to vote against both "Russian projects" in the second round hurt only Tymoshenko because Eastern Ukrainian voters would have not listened to his advice. His last press conference in the week leading up to round one turned into an embarrassing diatribe against Tymoshenko.

Between the first and second rounds of the 2010 elections, a decree was issued honoring nationalist leader Stepan Bandera, which assisted Yanukovych in mobilizing Eastern Ukrainians against candidates with whom "Ukrainian nationalism" is associated. Yushchenko could have issued the decree prior to round one to assist his own campaign or at any time in the last five years; indeed, in 2007, he had signed a decree honoring UPA commander Roman Shukhevych.[47] The timing was odd to say the least, as was the decision by his grandson to publicly accept the award.

At the end of his presidency, Yushchenko had fallen into the same corruption conundrum as Kuchma in 2004 when they had to choose which candidate was most likely to win and provide them with immunity from prosecution.[48] In the late 1990s, Russian President Yeltsin also signed a deal with strongman Putin in return for immunity and in the process destroyed his democratic legacy. In 2004, Kuchma placed his hopes initially upon Yanukovych but then betrayed him and did a deal with

Yushchenko. In 2010, Yushchenko's visceral hatred for Tymoshenko pushed him toward doing a deal with Yanukovych; evidence for this is the targeted repression by the Yanukovych administration against BYuT and Tymoshenko with Yushchenko and Our Ukraine remained untouched.[49]

Two other unusual aspects of the 2010 elections were myths surrounding the Yanukovych election campaign and Yatsenyuk's inept campaign. Yanukovych convinced a sizeable number of Ukrainian voters and foreign experts and journalists that he was a "new man" who was committed to Ukraine's democratic future and no longer an election fraudster. Much of this was due to the liberal desire to give him a second chance, but it was also the successful product of millions of dollars spent on U.S. political consultants. Some Western observers and policymakers therefore mistakenly believed Yanukovych would become a "second Kuchma," who, like him, would be mildly authoritarian and support a multi-vector foreign policy.[50] Some current and former U.S. ambassadors naïvely believed Yanukovych was eager to overcome his authoritarian and corrupt image and wanted respect, would protect Ukrainian sovereignty, and was supposedly aware that good relations with the West strengthened his hand in negotiations with Russia.[51] None of these predictions proved to be correct, showing how this wishful thinking had no basis in reality.[52] Naïve views of Yanukovych reflected similar naïve views of Putin as a modernizer when he first came to power. Meanwhile, President Barack Obama compounded his weak leadership in international affairs with a lack of knowledge about strategically important regions asking his advisers in summer 2014 after the annexation of the Crimea and beginning of the Donbas conflict as to why Ukraine is important? Post-Soviet elites who emerged from the opaque, Byzantine nature of Soviet politics were experts in fashioning Potemkin-like virtual realities for Western audiences who were often eager to believe them.

Yatsenyuk's first presidential election campaign became an unmitigated disaster following the replacement of Ukrainian by Russian political consultants Iskander Valitov, Semion Uralov, and Vladimir Petrov in June 2009. They had widespread notoriety for the posters (e.g., the one dividing Ukrainians into three types with Eastern Ukrainians depicted as the lowest category) that had been created as part of the anti-Yushchenko black op(eration)s in the 2004 elections. They also worked for notorious Russian nationalist Ihor Markov's 2012 election campaign in Odesa. Rostyslav Pawlenko, then head of the Yatsenyuk 2010 election campaign team who was one of the Ukrainians replaced by Russian political technologists, explained what happened:[53]

> Pinchuk was the facilitator. In May 2009, he came unannounced to our campaign headquarters, called for a meeting with Yatsenyuk and his entourage that included his childhood friends and a few senior team members, but excluding Ukrainian political consultants, and on the next day Russian political

technologists were already running the campaign. They had been attempting to persuade Yatsenyuk for some time but he had hesitated. Pinchuk pressed the issue telling Yatsenyuk that "the big bosses" had decided he should work with the Russian team of consultants. Yatsenyuk came across as cautious and too willing to accommodate those who were in power and was using an office owned by one of Akhmetov's business partners, Leonid Yurushev.[54]

Yatsenyuk's election campaign under Russian guidance sent confused messages to voters, such as his shift from support for joining NATO and the EU in 2008 to a new "Kyiv Rus" union of East Slavic states three years later. This was a stupendous flip-flop! Meanwhile, his militaristic Soviet style billboards became a laughing stock—even to his ardent supporters, and indeed, in some *oblasts* Yatsenyuk election campaigners took down the billboards believing they were a "provocation" until told by headquarters they were authentic. Yatsenyuk's disastrous election campaign was a product of Russian lack of knowledge of Ukrainian specifics or, worse, possibly a deliberate attempt to undermine Yatsenyuk to ensure that Tymoshenko entered the second round to face Yanukovych.

In early June 2009, negotiations for a grand coalition had collapsed and Tymoshenko uttered the famous words off cue on television *vse propalo* (everything has collapsed).[55] In spring 2009, Yatsenyuk was only a few percent points behind Tymoshenko and polls showed that in a second round contest only he, *not* Tymoshenko, could defeat Yanukovych. In the second round, Yatsenyuk would attract the majority of the 5 million middle-class voters who backed Tihipko and himself in the first round, as well as Tymoshenko and Yushchenko's voters, which together would be sufficient to defeat Yanukovych. The majority of the 3 million Orange voters who stayed at home rather than vote for Tymoshenko would have come out to vote for Yatsenyuk. The Yanukovych campaign understood that of the two Orange candidates, Tymoshenko and Yatsenyuk, it was preferable to have him face Tymoshenko in round two.

YANUKOVYCH'S KLEPTOCRACY, EUROMAIDAN, AND REGIME CHANGE

Yanukovych was elected president with a ready-made team and action program, unlike Yushchenko in 2004, because the Donetsk clan were more disciplined and were more adept at exercising power. Yanukovych's administration acted quickly to seize control of all state institutions, in particular government, parliament, and the judiciary. In 2010, when the opposition were in disarray, defections were rife, and the public mood despondent, the Yanukovych administration launched a counterrevolution against Ukraine's democracy by undermining parliament, media freedom, and a constitutional putsch that returned Ukraine to a presidential

constitution.[56] Yaroslav Hrytsak writes that Yanukovych came to power in 2010 on a wave of disillusionment with Orange leaders and the failure of the 2004 Orange Revolution to change the lives of Ukrainians.[57] Parliament became a rubber-stamp body for the first time in its history.[58] "Piano voting"; that is, voting for other deputies became a massive phenomenon challenging the legitimacy of adopted legislative acts. Party of Regions deputy Mikhail Chechetov (who facing criminal charges committed suicide in February 2015) does not see "piano voting" as a problem: "What matters is that decisions that the country needs get passed," he said, adding then "You go relax, find girls, and go and dance."[59] Lack of attendance was another major problem that spanned the political spectrum. Yatsenyuk was one of a number of deputies who held a record in being absent from parliamentary sessions, but the biggest absentee deputy was Akhmetov who only needed a parliamentary seat for the immunity it provided.[60]

Media freedom has always been precarious in Ukraine, and the fourth estate became one of the first areas to suffer from the rollback of Ukraine's democracy. In spring 2010, the closure of the National Commission on Free Speech under the president mobilized 600 journalists to establish the NGO Stop Censorship!

Members of NGO Stop Censorship! hold placards protesting against censorship during President Viktor Yanukoych's speech to the World Newspaper Forum, Kyiv, September 2012. (UNIAN)

The main institution involved in censorship again became the presidential administration—as it was during Kuchma's second term in office. Russian citizen Igor Shuvalov returned to head media policy in the presidential administration and acted as an "advisor" to Inter television channel. Ukraine fell an alarming 42 points on the press freedom list compiled by the Paris-based watchdog Reporters without Borders dropping from 89th position in 2009, the last year of the Orange administration, to 126th place in 2013 on the eve of the Euromaidan.[61] Media freedom progressively declined every year under Yanukovych,[62] and in autumn 2014 Ukraine was ranked fourth out of six Eastern Partnership countries in

Table 3.1

Media Freedom in the Former USSR (2014)

Country	Ranking
EU	
Estonia	11
Lithuania	32
Latvia	37
CIS	
Moldova	56
Armenia	78
Georgia	84
Kyrgyzstan	97
Tajikistan	115
Ukraine	**127**
Russia	148
Azerbaijan	160
Belarus	157
Kazakhstan	161
Uzbekistan	164 (2013)
Turkmenistan	178

Note:
Ukraine has dropped each year in the rankings of media freedom from 89th in 2009 to 127th in 2014. Three Eastern Partnership members have greater media freedom than Ukraine—Moldova, which is reaching the level of EU member Latvia, Georgia, and CIS Customs Union member Armenia. Meanwhile, two Central Asian states—Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan—have greater media freedom than Ukraine.

Source:
"2013 World Press Freedom Index," *Reporters without Borders*, http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-index-2013,1054.html.

media freedom with CIS Customs Union member Armenia higher and six former Soviet republics below.[63]

Oligarchs, most of whom financed the Yanukovych election campaign, facilitate censorship through their ownership of Ukraine's television channels. Big businesspersons seek to ingratiate themselves with the authorities because corporate raiding is common, pressure on business is the norm, and business and politics are closely integrated. In parliament, NUNS and BYuT businesspersons, such as Davyd Zhvannya and Hubskyy, respectively, were the first to defect from the Orange camp to the Stability and Reforms coalition. Oligarchs seek to prove their loyalty to the new regime by "managing" favorable coverage of those in power, forcing journalists to decide between self-censorship or protesting and possibly losing their jobs.

Under Kuchma, oligarchs and big business had to remain loyal to the president, but at the same time there was a permitted degree of pluralism and they continued to finance opposition parties, including Yushchenko in the 2004 elections. Whereas oligarchs could choose to comply or ignore *temnyky* (censorship instructions sent by the presidential administration to television channels), the question of censorship under Yanukovych was not open to negotiation and control over news and political discussion shows delivered by television channels dramatically grew under him. Although President Yanukovych routinely said that Ukrainian mass media played an important role in establishing democratic society, this was in contradiction with an overall decline in media freedom in Ukraine.

In Ukraine and other Eurasian states, the target for state censorship has been television, because it is the most widely used form of media. The rapacious appetite of new oligarchs associated with "The Family" (see later) led to the redistribution of media empires that included influential print magazines such as *Korrespondent* and *Forbes Ukraine* from which editors and journalists resigned in protest at new editorial policies.[64] In addition, black PR against influential online publications such as *Ukrayinska Pravda* grew with the launch of the clone *Ukrayinska Kryvda* (*Ukrainian Lies*) website.[65] When oligarchs attempted to increase media pluralism—as undertaken by Valeriy Ihor Khoroshkovskyy and Pinchuk during the 2012 elections—the authorities halted the process. In January 2013, Khoroshkovskyy under pressure sold *Inter* Channel to Firtash and Serhiy Lyovochkin (i.e., the gas lobby).

In summer–autumn 2010, the authorities began to press criminal charges against Tymoshenko and Lutsenko in a well-thought-out strategy that the Yanukovych team had prepared before coming to power; Tymoshenko's path to imprisonment began three years earlier under Yushchenko in 2008–2009 when there had been accusations of "treason" made against her.[66] Yushchenko purged himself during her trial when he misled the court by denying he had interfered into the gas negotiations when he had in fact been working on behalf of *RosUkrEnergo* (RUE) gas intermediary. Providing evidence at her trial was the low point of a failed

presidential and political career. In August 2008, the presidential secretariat had issued a 300-page dossier of her alleged seven counts of "treason" prepared by deputy head of the presidential secretariat Andriy Kyslynskyy, which led to his promotion to deputy chairperson of the SBU.[67] Kyslynskyy did not stay long at the SBU after he was forced to resign because of his forged university degrees, itself throwing doubt on the quality level of the dossier. The research was so poorly prepared that the prosecutor general's office did not use it to open up criminal charges against Tymoshenko. Nevertheless, many of its arguments were incorporated into the March 2012 parliamentary temporary commission report into the 2009 gas contract. A month after the 2009 gas contract was signed, the RNBO issued a lengthy *rishennya* (decision) that was incorporated within a presidential decree outlining steps to be taken to launch a criminal investigation.[68] Yushchenko's actions over the course of 2008–2009 prepared the research for Yanukovych's team to use in preparing the incarceration of Tymoshenko.

The October 2011 sentencing of Tymoshenko aimed to remove her from Ukrainian politics and thereby neutralize the main threat to the monopolization of power by the Party of Regions. Her sentence of seven-year imprisonment and three-year ban from public office prevented her from participating in the next three parliamentary (2012, 2016, and 2020) and two presidential elections (2015 and 2020). In 2013, the charge of accessory to murder (see Chapter 9) would, if it had been successfully prosecuted, led to a life sentence; in Ukraine, 95–99 percent of those who are accused of crimes receive guilty sentences,

Lutsenko received a four-year prison sentence and three-year ban from holding public office on trumped-up charges of spending $37,500 of stage budget money to celebrate Police Day in 2008 and 2009 and promoting his driver Leonid Prystuplyuk to qualify him for a higher pension. He was amnestied in April 2013. Political asylum in the Czech Republic was granted to former Economics Minister Bohdan Danylyshyn, Oleksandr Tymoshenko, and parliamentary deputy Andriy Shkil. Future Interior Minister Arsen Avakov was forced to flee to Italy.

The return to the practice of election fraud, following three democratic elections held between 2006 and 2010, became evident in the October 2010 local elections and October 2012 parliamentary elections. In the local elections, *Batkivshchina* party candidates could not stand for election in Kyiv and Lviv, two of its popular strongholds. With the support of some opposition deputies, parliament voted to amend the election law from a full proportional system, used in 2006 and 2007, to a mixed system used in the 1998 and 2002 elections. If the 2012 elections had used the old proportional election law, the outcome would have been similar to 2006 and 2007 when the opposition won slim majorities. When Ukraine has used mixed election systems, a majority of the deputies elected in single-mandate districts have

joined the pro-presidential coalition, who together with pro-regime deputies elected in the proportional lists have given the president a parliamentary majority.

The results in the proportional half of the 2012 elections resembled those in two previous elections, with the Party of Regions receiving a plurality of 30 percent followed by *Batkivshchina* with a quarter of the vote and UDAR receiving third place and 14 percent. The Party of Regions lost between a quarter to 40 percent of its voters in the Donbas, Crimea, Sevastopol, and Odesa and nearly 40 percent of its support in Zapirozhzhya and Kharkiv, a sign of the weak support given to separatists in these regions (outside the Crimea and Donbas) in spring 2014. The nationalist *Svoboda* party was the biggest surprise of the 2012 election when it won fifth place with 10 percent, the first time it had entered parliament, with a strong showing in Kyiv where it came third with 17.33 percent. Homegrown nationalist *Svoboda*'s electoral success in 2012 was in stark contrast to the failure of the émigré-backed KUN (Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists), which had been a member of the National Front bloc in the 1998 elections.

The 2012 election results stabilized Ukraine's political system into a four- or five-party system with the country split between more entrenched mutually exclusive and multiple identities. Eastern and Southern Ukrainian political forces (Party of Regions and KPU) together received nearly 9 million votes compared to a combined 10 million votes for three opposition parties in primarily Western and Central Ukraine. The Euromaidan and subsequent annexation of the Crimea and violent separatism in the Donbas brought forward by a year the looming conflict that was inevitable because of two factors. First, the Yanukovych team expected, almost as a matter of divine right, to win a second term in office because they represented the industrial heartland of Ukraine and believed they were a vast improvement on the "Orange chaos" under Yushchenko. Second, and more importantly, their policies of political repression, widespread corruption, and constitutional and legal nihilism closed the door on the possibility of them losing power. The Yanukovych team would have to stay in power because of the developments they had themselves set in motion since 2010; if they lost power, political prisoners would be released by the opposition and there would be demands that the president, prime minister, some oligarchs, senior representatives of the prosecutor general's office, and judges be held accountable for widespread abuse of office and selective use of justice.

Yanukovych's abrupt turning away from the EU Association Agreement led to mass protests that became known as the Euromaidan (and also called Ukraine's Dignity Revolution echoing the Arab Spring). Initially pro-European, the protests quickly widened after the November 30 brutal beatings of students and following the January 16 adoption of

Euromaidan protests in Kyiv, December 2013. (UNIAN)

antidemocratic legislation to include those angry with corruption and abuse of power, demeaning attitude of Ukraine's rulers toward the population and their Soviet political culture and Ukrainophobia. Beginning with the Euromaidan and continuing throughout 2014, culminating in the tallest in Kharkiv in September 2014, over 500 Lenin monuments were dismantled in Central and Eastern Ukraine, reflecting the anti-Soviet/communist nature of the protest movement. The Euromaidan was fundamentally different to the Orange Revolution in that it was organized by civil society rather than the opposition; by 2014, Ukrainians trusted neither the opposition nor the regime. "People awaited a leader but nobody showed up," Olesya Zhukovska recalled.[69]

Ukraine's middle class played an even bigger role in the Euromaidan than the Orange Revolution: "Even though my business has done very well under Yanukovych's rule, I can't bear taking anymore what he is doing to this country."[70] Another difference was both sides were involved in a war to the bitter end where one side had to capitulate; as Lutsenko said, "we only have two options: either we win or we go to jail together." Yanukovych never understood the Euromaidan and was convinced early on that its participants were "extremists" and "fascists," as a Western ambassador told me in Kyiv in December 2013.[71]

The bloodshed that took place on the Euromaidan and subsequently in the Donbas can only be understood within the context of developments in Russia that went back to 2008–2009 when Putin's new Russian

Monument to Kyiv Rus during the Euromaidan, January–February 2014. (Taras Kuzio)

imperialism toward Ukraine began to take shape. This was a time when Ukraine and Georgia were energetically seeking NATO membership, and both countries had deteriorating relations with Russia. In April 2008, Putin told the NATO-Russia Council at the Bucharest NATO summit that Ukraine was an "artificial state"; he began to conflate Russian speakers as Russians and questioned Ukraine's right to control Eastern and Southern Ukrainian territories. Later that year, Russia invaded Georgia and nearly drove on Tbilisi to effect regime change. Russia had always opposed NATO enlargement into the CIS, but from the launch of the Eastern Partnership in 2009 it also opposed EU enlargement. The relatively poor performance of Russian armed forces in the 2008 conflict with Georgia led to investment in German technology for the training of Russian elite special forces, who became known as "green men" (Russian military intelligence [GRU]), during the invasion of the Crimea and Donbas because they lack country insignia on their uniforms.[72]

A large number of novels begin to be published in Russia with foreboding titles such as *Battleground Ukraine: The Broken Trident*, *Russo-Ukrainian Wars*, *War 2010: The Ukrainian Front* and *Red Star over the Maidan* with an eerily similar script of an uprising by "fascists" followed by civil war and Russian intervention in support of Russian-speaking separatists.

Homemade catapult and bazooka used by protesters and different bullet rounds shot by *Berkut* special forces on the Euromaidan. (Taras Kuzio)

Two of the authors were future Donetsk separatist leaders Yuriy Savitskyy and Fedor Berezin. Putin's plans to annex parts of Ukraine were long-standing, and Lukashenka, for example, claimed to have seen them in May 2013.

As the 2010 elections approached, Yanukovych's allies planned to take no chances; they feared they would be again denied the presidency through a Western-backed protest similar to the Orange Revolution. Yanukovych was traumatized by his defeat in 2004, but he always believed he won those elections fairly and was denied the presidency through a conspiracy by the West and Ukrainian leaders in Kyiv.[73] Yanukovych's fears were deepened after losing power a second time when President Yushchenko removed his government in spring 2007 leading to preterm elections. Although Yanukovych won the 2010 elections, paramilitary training continued in preparation for the 2015 elections to ensure that he received a second term in office, but these plans were undermined by the Euromaidan, which threatened regime change and strategic defeat for Putin's new Russian imperialism.

Besides paramilitary training, pro-Russian NGOs were registered with greater frequency; Kharkiv political scientist Yulia Bidenko has collected data on a big spike in the registration of pro-Russian organizations in

Ukraine from 2009. Leading members of the Donetsk Republic NGO (e.g., future Donetsk Peoples Republic leaders Andriy Purigin and Oleh Frolov) participated in summer camps as early as 2006, and a year later the organization was banned in Ukraine. The training and ideological camps were organized by the Eurasian Youth Union with speakers including Eurasianist ideologue Aleksandr Dugin and deputy head of the presidential administration and Putin ideologue Vladislav Surkov. Paramilitary training held in the Russian and Donetsk camps included weapons, explosives, and guerrilla tactics.

From 2010, pro-Russian vigilante groups became more active. In Kharkiv, the *Oplot* (Bastion) paramilitary vigilante group was established by Party of Regions deputy Oleksandr Bobkov and operated as paramilitaries for Mayor Hennadiy Kernes; it went on to form the *Vostok* Battalion in the DNR (Donetsk People's Republic). Avakov, a bitter foe of Kernes after election fraud had denied him victory in the city's 2010 mayoral election and he was forced to flee from Ukraine, and drew on nationalist groups such as *Patriot Ukrainy* (Patriots of Ukraine) who went on to form the Azov battalion in 2014. Kernes, a staunch supporter of Yanukovych, walked a fine line between supporting pro-Russian groups and opposing separatism; in other words, he positioned himself between Ihor Kolomoyskyy's pro-Ukrainian and Akhmetov's initial pro-separatist positions. Kernes's relationship with *Oplot* deteriorated after he struck a deal allowing *Pravyy Sektor* gunmen to leave the building where two *Oplot* members had been killed in a March 15, 2014 assault. Kernes went personally to the battle site, clearly afraid the situation was spiraling out of control in Kharkiv, and said to *Oplot* members incensed with him "Don't fucking wind up the crowds." In the next few days, pro-Russian vigilante's roamed the city beating up anybody wearing pro-Ukrainian symbols, and on April 28 *Oplot* shot Kernes; he was very lucky to survive after an operation in Israel.[74]

In Odesa, the *Rodina* (Motherland) local political party was Ukrainophobic, received financing from covert Russian sources and local criminal activities, and from 2010 cooperated with the Party of Regions. *Oplot* and *Rodina* promoted a cult of strength, upheld common Eastern Slavic roots, and therefore opposed Ukraine's European integration, backed Putin's conservative values project (including homophobia), and were hostile to Western Ukrainian "fascism" as represented by the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan. *Oplot* and *Rodina*, similar to other Russian nationalists and *Berkut* officers, espoused anti-Semitic views that drew upon Soviet anti-Zionism and earlier forms of pre-Soviet anti-Semitism.[75]

According to SBU Chairperson Valentyn Nalyvaychenko,[76] GRU agents established well-organized networks during Yanukovych's presidency, and former GRU officer Igor Bezler (nicknamed *Bes* [demon]) who moved to Horlivka in 2012 was an example of sleepers ("illegals"); he was

activated three years later when he took control of the local police force during the separatist conflict. Needless to say, Horlivka—with whom he had no family ties—is not a town noted for those seeking a retirement destination. Earlier, Russia had undertaken a strategy of introducing sleepers into Georgia of infiltrating the government, derailing pro-Western foreign policy, and fomenting separatism and political instability.[77] In the summer of 2009, two Russian diplomats were expelled from Ukraine because of their support for separatism and radical pro-Russian groups in the Crimea and Odesa. In summer 2009, President Medvedev wrote an undiplomatic open letter to Ukrainian President Yushchenko that demanded Ukraine's next president introduces radical changes to the country's domestic and foreign policies. The U.S. embassy in Ukraine reported during the 2010 election campaign that a Yanukovych presidency would be willing to abide by most of these Russian demands that it did in the course of 2010.

During the Yanukovych presidency, Russia controlled the leadership of the presidential guards (Viacheslav Zanevskyi), SBU (Igor Kalinin and Aleksandr Yakimenko), and ministry of defense (Yuriy Boriskin, Pavel Lebedev, and Dmitri Salamatin), while "The Family" controlled the prosecutor general's office (Viktor Pshonka) and ministry of interior (Vitaliy Zakharchenko).[78] Funding for the military was depleted from its already low levels under previous presidents while cooperation with NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) program was curtailed. Following the "Kharkiv Accords" extension of the Black Sea Fleet basing agreement, a new era of cooperation between the SBU and FSB deepened in the Crimea and elsewhere, counter-espionage activities against Russia were curtailed, and separatist and pro-Russian extremist groups were no longer kept under surveillance.

Putin's emerging Russian nationalism became evident in July 2013 during a visit to Ukraine to celebrate the baptism of Kyiv Rus where he outlined his Eastern Slavic ideological premise of Ukraine and Russia having a common past and future "common destiny" as a single people. For Putin, Ukraine could only follow one civilization choice of integration into Eurasia—not into Europe and the West vilified through his conservative values project by state-controlled television. A second plank was Putin's vision of the Crimea and *NovoRossiya* (New Russia) in Eastern and Southern Ukraine as lying outside Ukraine with an alleged proposal (similar to what was contained in the 1921 Treaty of Riga) to the Polish government to divide Ukraine between them, with the "nationalist" and "fascist" West and Centre going to Poland and the "(Little) Russian" East and South going to Russia (the bizarre proposal has been confirmed by many other sources).[79] The offer was a reflection of how Russians divided Ukrainians into those who supported them (i.e., subservient "Little Russians") and those who opposed them (i.e., anti-Russian and pro-Western "fascists"). Russian nationalist Dugin said, "We should clean up

Ukraine from the idiots" and "The genocide of these cretins is due and inevitable . . . I can't believe these are Ukrainians. Ukrainians are wonderful Slavonic people. And this is a race of bastards that emerged from the sewer manholes." Speaking about pro-Western and anti-Russian Ukrainians, Dugin said they "must be killed, killed, killed."[80] A third plank of Russian nationalist ideology was a rehashed Soviet-era "antifascism," which Yanukovych and Putin began to use on a broader scale from 2013 and which has become emblematic of the Putin regime's attacks on the Euromaidan. In May 2013, vigilante's protecting an "antifascist" (Party of Regions) rally in Kyiv attacked journalists.

In summer 2013, Russia launched a trade war with Ukraine to pressure Yanukovych to back away from signing an Association Agreement with the EU. Putin offered bribes and threatened *kompromat* on Yanukovych going back decades, according to Ukrainian investigative journalist Leshchenko and former Polish Foreign Minister Radek Sikorski.[81] Putin held two key meetings with Yanukovych in Sochi (October 2013) and Valdai (January 2014) where he pressured him to drop the EU Association Agreement in the first instance and introduce tough, repressive legislation against the Euromaidan protesters in the second. The Sochi meeting visibly shook Yanukovych after he was personally threatened and told that Ukraine's economy would be subjected to a massive trade war. Antidemocratic laws were adopted on January 16, 2014, and the Euromaidan descended into violence with the first murders of protesters by vigilantes.

Violence was inevitable as Yanukovych was not at the end of his second term (unlike Kuchma in 2004), while he was "a corrupt, cowardly and thuggish president,"[82] who had waited a long time for what he thought was owed to him, and he was not going to give power away without a fight. Yanukovych refused to replace RNBO Secretary and Chief of Staff Andriy Kluyev, who was widely blamed for the first barbaric violence against students on November 30, or Interior Minister Zakharchenko because "The Cardinal rule of Soviet jail life was: show no weakness."[83] Pro-regime vigilantes abducted, tortured, and murdered protesters in collusion with the Berkut and the SBU. Euromaidan activists Ihor Lutsenko and Yuriy Verbytskyy were abducted from hospitals, and the latter was found murdered; most likely because of the two only he was from Western Ukraine. *Oplot* were blamed for the vigilante violence. The first murders by snipers began on January 19 (when five protesters were killed) and over a hundred on February 18 and 20, who have been immortalized as the *Nebesna Sotnya* (Heavenly Hundred).[84] Google reported that the most searched item in Ukraine in 2014 was "Molotov cocktail" followed by Easter bread and pizza.[85]

The Donetsk clan had used vigilantes since the 1990s, but the *Berkut* riot police had never acted in such an aggressive manner as during the Euromaidan. *Berkut* shot rubber bullets, stun grenades, buckshot, antitire bullets, and other weapons before using live rounds (these were later

Shrines to unarmed Euromaidan protesters murdered by security forces and vigilantes in January and February 2014 in central Kyiv. (Taras Kuzio)

put on display in a makeshift museum on Khreshchatyk street. See p.101). A Western journalist heard from a number of sources that some of the snipers were from Russia: "One source from the presidential administration told me several times in December through February that Yanukovych had brought in mercenaries from Russia and had them based somewhere in central Kyiv, adding that it was not sure what the arrangement was and whether Putin had a direct role in providing them, but it was clear they were ready to shoot at the protestors if needed." The role of "The Family" was also a factor in the snipers and later in the violence in the Donbas: "After the sniper shootings took place, this source said he heard from good sources that Yanukovych's elder son gave the de facto orders to shoot. A second oligarch source said Yanukovych's eldest son 'Sasha' gave the orders to shoot as he was sitting in the situation room." On leaked intercepts of police radio traffic, the words "Sasha, Sasha" are audible. The Western journalist who had investigated law enforcement officers asked who the snipers in black were, but the interior ministry and SBU claimed they were not their men and they did not know who they were. Soldiers from elite Russian airborne and special forces units were disguised as some of the Ukrainian *Berkut* officers during the Euromaidan, and one of these was later wounded fighting alongside separatists.

Directed by Putin's ideological adviser Vladislav Surkov, according to Ukrainian investigations, explosives, specialist weapons, and crowd control equipment arrived in Kyiv on December 26, 2013, and January 6, 2014, and FSB officers were based in Kyiv assisting in drawing up "Operation Boomerang" to destroy the protests through the use of overwhelming force. The SBU's Anti-Terrorist Centre planned the "Operation Boomerang's" "operational steps to neutralise extremist activities by protest members" that would draw on 10,000 internal troops, 12,000 *militsia* (police), and 2,000 *Berkut*. As these units sealed off the *Maydan*, Interior Ministry *Sokil* spetsnaz and SBU Alpha snipers would target key protesters while other SBU Alpha units would storm surrounding buildings. Yanukovych half-heartedly implemented "Operation Boomerang" because there was insufficient support within the security forces for a larger bloodbath that would have run into the thousands and support within the Party of Regions began to crumble. The Ukrainian military, which has cooperated with NATO's PfP program since 1994, refused to become involved in plans for repression as it also had refused during the Orange Revolution. Ukraine's police forces were also insufficient in number for the task of suppressing a mass protest movement.

Putin had nothing but loathing for Yanukovych because of his wavering and criminal background, as a U.S. cable from 2009 reported (see Chapter 11), and Leshchenko believes Putin was never convinced Yanukovych had the willpower to use all means necessary to remain in power.

Yanukovych failed to keep his resolve in the face of a popular protest radicalized by the killing of the "Heavenly Hundred," and Putin admitted that Russia assisted in him fleeing from Kyiv. The resolve of Euromaidan protesters and willingness to die for their beliefs was echoed by Volodymyr Parasyuk who said "I was morally ready to go to death. To go to the end."[86] Parasyuk became famous when he called on protesters to march on *Mezhyhirya* after Euromaidan protestors rejected the compromise deal struck at the last set of round table negotiations.[87]

On Thursday, a day before Yanukovych fled, parliament condemned the murders and ordered a halt to further action by the security forces. By the evening and during the following day, the security forces were returning to their barracks fearing they would be held accountable following parliament's demand to investigate the shooting of protesters. Yanukovych, perhaps unlike Putin if he were to face a similar mass protest movement in Russia, refused to take responsibility for ordering security forces to use live rounds against unarmed protesters. Police chiefs said, "We were all worried about being hung out to dry" and "We understood that all the crimes we were going to commit clearing the square, in the last breath of the old government, would all be blamed on us."[88] The withdrawal of security forces and the threat of 1,200 stolen police weapons in Lviv making their way to the Euromaidan in Kyiv made Yanukovych feel unprotected and personally bitter at having been betrayed as he had not given an order for their withdrawal, and that evening he fled from Kyiv. A *Berkut* commander from Donetsk stationed at the Euromaidan said, "It was already an armed uprising' and 'We understood why the weapons were taken, to bring them to Kyiv."[89] Seventeen *Berkut* and Internal Troops officers died during the Euromaidan, some from gunshot wounds.[90] Two days later, the Party of Regions denounced Yanukovych in a strongly worded statement,[91] and parliament voted to remove him from power by a vote of 328 to 0. Sikorski (see Box 4.1), who had been in Kyiv attending round-table negotiations between Yanukovych and the opposition, said, "the police were left without the power to shoot, so they were afraid of the Maidan, so they left."[92]

Yanukovych presented his arrival to Kharkiv Governor Mykhaylo Dobkin as a working tour and asked for factory visits to be organized, but local enterprise directors wanted nothing to do with him. The plan worked out with the Russian leadership was for Yanukovych to address the founding congress of the Ukrainian Front founded on February 1, 2014, in Kharkiv by *Oplot*, pro-Russian politicians, former police *Berkut* special forces (embittered at the deaths of their colleagues in the Euromaidan), and Night Wolves hells angels. The congress should have brought together delegates from Russian-speaking Eastern and Southern Ukraine who planned to declare Kharkiv the capitol of a new autonomous entity of *NovoRossiya* with Yanukovych as "president" who would proceed to

invite Russian forces to intervene to "protect" Ukraine's Russian speakers. Kharkiv is important symbolically as it was the first capitol of Soviet Ukraine from 1922 to 1934. The Kharkiv congress was to resemble the November 2004 separatist congress in Syeverodonetsk except that conditions were more critical as, unlike the Orange Revolution, the Euromaidan was not taking place during an election cycle and had turned violent.[93] The Kharkiv congress did not attract sufficient delegates, and Yanukovych failed to attend after being advised by Donetsk oligarch Akhmetov and Kharkiv Governor Dobkin that they would not support him. By then, Akhmetov was looking to *Oplot* and others in Donetsk to apply pressure as a means to protect his interest's vis-à-vis Kyiv.

Yanukovych fled to Donetsk, then to Crimea, and finally to Russia from where he called for Russian intervention from exile on March 4, 2014, just after Russian "green men" began to take control of the Crimean peninsula. According to Russia's ambassador to the United Nations, Yanukovych called for Russia "to establish legitimacy, peace, law and order, stability and defending the people of Ukraine."[94] The Russian state medal "For the Return of the Crimea" was given for supporting the region's annexation from February 20 to March 18, 2014; that is, beginning while Yanukovych was still in power. Putin later that year again showed his poor grasp of history when he described the Crimea and Sevastopol as "having invaluable civilizational and even sacred importance for Russia" because Grand Prince Volodymyr had been allegedly baptized on the peninsula and then brought Christianity to Kyiv Rus. Even if true, what had Kyiv Rus to do with Russia when even Muscovy, Russia's predecessor, did not then exist?

Yanukovych gave three choreographed press conferences from Rostov-on-Don, Russia, on February 28, March 11, and April 14, 2014, with the purpose of preparing the ground for being returned to power with Russian assistance. Yanukovych's last conference took place not coincidentally following separatists establishing the DNR on April 7 and Russian "green men" taking control of Slovyansk and Kramatorsk in Donetsk *oblast* six days later. A referendum was held by the DNR and LNR on May 11, 2014. In a conversation wiretapped by the SBU and held five days before the referendum between Russian National Unity party leader Aleksandr Barkashov and Orthodox Donbas leader Dmitriy Boytsov, the former advises the latter "Write something like 99 percent down" for the referendum results and then adds "well not 99 percent. Let's say 89 percent voted for the Donetsk Republic and that's it."[95] The referendum proclaimed suspiciously high official results of 96.2 and 89.1 percent, respectively, in the LNR and DNR, with the latter an exact repeat of the suggested figure in the wiretapped conversation.

Ukrainians did not fight for the Crimea, and its annexation did not elicit the same patriotic response as the fight against the Russian-backed separatist revolt in the Donbas. Whereas 63 percent of Ukrainians supported the fight for the Donbas, only 18 percent thought the same for the Crimea.[96] Pro-Russian separatism took hold in the Donbas (unlike six other Russian-speaking regions) for seven reasons. First, relatively high levels of 30 percent support for separatism compared to less than 10 or 5 in other Russian-speaking regions. Second, the Donbas was the home base of the Party of Regions, and the overthrow of Yanukovych was viewed as a personal affront. Third, according to a survey by Democratic Initiatives, 72 percent of Donbas residents believed the Euromaidan regime change was an illegitimate "state coup" (in the South and East, the figures were 34 and 40 percent, respectively). Almost 51 percent in the Donbas believed the West, a narrative fully in line with Russian political leaders and media, backed the "state coup."[97] This view of a "state coup" was reflected in a poll that found only 3.2 percent in Donetsk who viewed the Euromaidan as a struggle by citizens for their rights compared to 70 and 48 percent in the West and Centre of Ukraine, respectively.[98] Fourth, some Russian speakers in the region believed the Euromaidan revolutionary regime would after annulling the July 2012 law on languages discriminate against the Russian language. Fifth, large numbers of Donbas residents (as in the Crimea) possess a Soviet identity and subscribe to the tenets of describing Orange Revolution and Euromaidan political opponents as "fascists." Sixth, there was a sizeable group of people who had received paramilitary training, and using stolen and Russian-supplied weapons, they could quickly transform into separatist insurgents. Seventh, the SBU and ministry of interior, including embittered *Berkut* and other police forces that had been stationed in Kyiv, and security forces controlled locally by the Donetsk clan defected nearly *en masse* to the separatists; the only other region where this happened was in the Crimea. *Berkut* officers were welcomed as heroes in these two regions, and they joined local separatist units. Serhiy Zdrilyuk ("Abver"), a former SBU officer who had received training in the Crimea, assisted in the separatist takeover of Donetsk and became commander of DNR paramilitary forces.

Separatists received support from an eclectic mix of five groups. First, some Party of Regions supporters provided resources. The LNR is a "project" of former Luhansk governor and Party of Regions faction leader Oleksandr Yefremov,[99] while Akhmetov has a close working relationship with DNR Prime Minister Aleksandr Zakharchenko and *Oplot*, an elite DNR paramilitary unit (see Chapter 10). Second, the belief that the standard of living is better in Russia where per capita income is four times higher than Ukraine. Separatists attracted "losers," and people marginalized in the post-Soviet transition susceptible to populist and even

anti-oligarch slogans. As I witnessed at a December 2014 meeting of the Slovyansk Rotary Club, middle-class businesspersons and professionals had no time for separatism and were skeptical of Russia.

Third, some Ukrainian (Russian) Orthodox Church priests in the Donbas had over a number of years assisted in providing facilities such as summer camps for paramilitary training of believers who would later join the Russian Orthodox Army, one of a number of separatist units fighting for the "Orthodox faith," revival of the Tsarist Empire, and the *Russkii Mir*. Igor Girkin (*Strelkov* [Shooter]), who led the Russian capture of Slovyansk in April 2014, was an example of the Russian nationalists who have sympathies to pro-Tsarist and extremist Orthodox groups in Russia. Describing themselves as "Russian Orthodox monarchists" and "Orthodox nationalists" who are supporters of the revival of the Tsarist Empire, they reject the very existence of the Ukrainian state and Ukrainian people and talk of going to defend "Russians" in the Donbas. The recruiting poster of the Russian Imperial Movement in St. Petersburg, with calls to "Help Russians in New Russia," has recruited thousands of volunteers to fight with the separatists.[100]

Orthodox Church priests, sympathetic to pro-Russian groups, transported weapons from the Crimea hidden inside coffins.[101] Protestant Pastor Serhiy Demidovych described this as an "Orthodox jihad,"[102] where there would be no place for Ukrainian Protestant, Orthodox, Jewish, Catholic, and other religions with the Russian Orthodox Church acting as the DNR state church. Russian Orthodox priests expropriated Protestant churches, and separatists used their grounds for target practice and training.[103] Pastor Demidovych recalled separatist fighters during the occupation of Slovyansk seeking advice from a priest of the Russian Orthodox priest whether to execute or release a protestant pastor.[104] Russian occupation forces tortured and murdered four members of the Slovyansk Evangelical Church of the Transformation: two deacons Viktor Brodarskyy and Volodymyr Velychko and two sons of Pastor Aleksandr Pavenko. In Poltava, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church–Kyiv Patriarch assisted civil society groups collecting supplies for Ukrainian forces while the Ukrainian (Russian) Orthodox Church remained passive.[105] Forty Ukrainian Orthodox Church–Kyiv Patriarch priests have volunteered to work alongside Ukrainian forces.

Fourth, hitherto members of pan-Slavic and pro-Russian groups such as the Donetsk Republic, Russia Bloc, and Kiev Rus used the political vacuum with the implosion of the Party of Regions that had monopolized power in the Donbas to become influential with separatist leaders. The November 2014 elections were won by the Donetsk Republic (68.53 percent) and Free Donbas (31.65 percent) in the DNR while Peace for Luhansk Region (63 percent), Luhansk Economic Union (15 percent), and People's Union (10.1 percent) won in the LNR; they were the only five

"parties" permitted to stand. Russian nationalism never previously had strong support in the Donbas and Crimea and only appeared in 2014 imported from Russia when separatists received support from Russian neo-Nazis such as the Russian Party of National Unity who use a modified swastika as their party symbol and Dugin's Eurasianist movement. The paramilitaries of both of these and other Russian nationalist groups are fighting alongside separatists.[106] The September 2014 edition of *Khadashot*, a Jewish-Ukrainian newspaper, devoted an entire page to Western European fascists and Russian nationalists fighting alongside separatists with photographs showing them giving Nazi-style salutes and reproducing copies of their anti-Semitic cartoons. As a BBC correspondent found, "Moscow could easily—if it chose—prevent rank-and-file volunteers" from Russian Orthodox extremist and Russian neo-Nazi groups travelling to Ukraine. "But, for now, it chooses not to hinder them. It interferes neither with the nationalist websites that recruit volunteers, or with their paramilitary training camps—like one I visited on the outskirts of St Petersburg which trains them in the handling of firearms, survival techniques, battlefield first-aid and basic discipline. Perhaps, secretly, it even encourages such activities."[107]

Finally, low-level criminals who sought to gain financially during a period of chaos. Vyacheslav Ponomaryov who was "People's Mayor" during the four-month Russian occupation of Slovyansk in April–July 2014 has a criminal past, as do some of the DNR and LNR leaders such as Denis Pushilin who was a leading organizer of the MMM pyramid scheme and has a reputation in Ukraine's criminal underworld. Mark Galeotti has pointed out that "Crime, especially organized crime, has been at the heart of the events in Ukraine from the start" and Russian and Ukrainian political leaders have a long record of collaboration with organized crime figures in the post-Soviet era.[108] Criminal separatist groups have targeted cars and property of pro-Ukrainians who had fled the occupation. One family told the BBC they had been threatened by a separatist gang if they did not give up their car their son would be killed: "The people who came here think we are not really human. They want to wipe us out."[109] The atmosphere resembled a return to the law of the jungle in Donetsk during the mid-1980s through mid-1990s.

Zhurzhenko believes this eclectic alliance laid the seeds for the Donbas conflict because the Party of Regions—unlike centrist parties under President Kuchma—found common cause with the KPU, Natalia Vitrenko's national Bolshevik Progressive Socialist Party, Soviet veterans associations, Russian Cossacks, and Orthodox Brotherhoods who "created a heterogeneous yet active, even aggressive milieu. In 2014 this became the breeding ground for pro-Russian separatism."[110]

In April 2014, Ukraine's Anti-Terrorist Operation (ATO) was launched, which by August was on the verge of defeating the separatists who were

only saved by Russia's overt invasion of Eastern Ukraine. Putin failed in his objectives of establishing a *NovoRossiya* in Ukraine's eight Russian-speaking regions. These eight regions are different and can be divided into three groups. The most pro-Russian and Soviet in their identity are Donetsk and Luhansk (Donbas) that were the home bases of the Party of Regions, KPU, and hitherto marginal Russian nationalists. By the September 2014 cease-fire, pro-Russian separatists controlled a third of the Donbas, with Luhansk split between a pro-Ukrainian agricultural and forested north and LNR in the industrial south.

The second group of regions are Kharkiv and Odesa, which are the swing regions that could have gone either way in spring 2014; both had active and aggressive Russian nationalist groups—*Oplot* in Kharkiv and *Rodina* in Odesa—whose extremists sought to incite civil war. Russian intelligence trained and paid for vigilantes to go to Kharkiv, close to the Russian border, and from Russian-controlled Transdniestr to Odesa. "Igor," a vigilante in Kharkiv, said he had met Russian intelligence agents who were covertly operating in Eastern Ukraine, and the supervisors who trained them "were from the Russian military and intelligence agencies." He admitted to being paid by these Russian agents $40 per hour "to beat up 'fascists.' "[111] Of the 70 arrested by police *spetsnaz* in Kharkiv's state administration building in April 2014, the majority were members of *Oplot*; these and Russian political tourists constituted the bulk of the 300 detained separatists in Kharkiv. After pro-Ukrainian forces, with the help of Interior Minister Avakov who is from the city, secured the upper hand, the *Oplot* paramilitary organization moved to the DNR where it formed an elite unit led by DNR Prime Minister and *Oplot* officer Zakharchenko. In December 2014, *Oplot* was one of a number of separatist organizations sanctioned by the U.S. government.[112] In Odesa on May 2, 2014, *Rodina* members shot six pro-Ukrainian activists, three of who died, who had been peacefully marching, and video footage clearly showed *Rodina* shooting at the Ukrainian marchers from behind police lines.[113] The remainder of the marchers, infuriated by the shootings, chased Russian nationalists inside the *oblast* Trade Union building where 32 died, 23 from carbon monoxide poisoning and 8 leaping from windows to try and escape from the fire. Kharkiv and Odesa are student cities, including many foreign students, with a large small and medium business sector and without the dominant rapacious clans and oligarchs found in the Donbas. Ukrainian patriots, including Kharkiv *Metalist* "ultra" football fans who had coined the hugely popular song "Putin Khuylo!" (Putin is a Dickhead),[114] far outnumbered Russian nationalists on the streets. The least pro-Russian of Ukraine's eight Russian-speaking regions are Dnipropetrovsk and Zaporizhzhya, the former was the home of Soviet Ukrainian elites and the latter has historic links to the Zaporozhzhian Cossacks who—unlike Russian Cossack supporters of the empire—are

grounded in freedom loving and anti-imperial discourse. Kherson, bordering-occupied Crimea, and Mykolayiv are also not pro-Russian.

An unstable cease-fire was signed in Minsk on September 4, 2014, that was infringed on countless occasions and never implemented by Putin and the separatists. A second cease-fire signed in February 2015 could also collapse because Putin and the separatists have not achieved their strategic goals.[115] On November 2, 2014, the DNR and LNR held an election where *Vostok* commander and *Oplot* leader Zakharchenko was elected prime minister of the DNR by 79 percent and Ihor Plotnitskyy was elected LNR president by 63 percent in farcical elections. "The campaign billboards in this city (of Donetsk) suggested a tight race between Aleksandr Zakarchenko and Aleksandr Zakharchenko."[116] Ukraine and the West did not recognize the elections that, according to the September Minsk accords, should have been undertaken under Kyiv's supervision on December 7, 2014. In response to the election, Ukraine applied an economic and financial blockade of the DNR and LNR by halting payments of state salaries, social welfare, and pensions. The severe impact of Western sanctions, the Russian rouble losing its value and collapsing oil price, as well as limited support for separatism and Ukrainian military resolve led to the *NovoRossiya* project being folded up. Russia would continue to supply military equipment to the DNR and LNR and establish a unified military command and political institutions. Russian plans are to establish a unified DNR–LNR force consisting of seven infantry brigades, one artillery and one tank brigade, and a special forces battalion. Moscow would also continue to sow political instability in Ukraine by training and supplying terrorists operating outside the Donbas region.

Yanukovych had twice provoked revolutions against him on November 21, 2004, and on November 21, 2013, and on both occasions he believed he had been betrayed by his close allies. Choosing to annul the signing of the EU Association Agreement on the anniversary of the Orange Revolution as a pathetic joke backfired in a way he could never have believed would be imaginable. Yanukovych made five strategic mistakes: (1) imprisoned opposition leaders; (2) ordered a savage beating of students on November 30, 2013; (3) refused to replace Prime Minister Azarov and Police Chief Zakharchenko the following month; (4) ordered the use of live rounds that led to the murder of unarmed protesters; and (5) invited Russian forces into the Crimea opening him up to accusations of treason after fleeing from Kyiv. Yanukovych was a fusion of mafia leader Vito Corleone and British KGB spy Kim Philby. As Euromaidan protester Serhiy Poryakov said, "The idiotism of our opponents was our main weapon. We counted on Yanukovych, Medvedev, and Zakharchenko as being clinically stupid idiots and on every occasion they fulfilled our expectations."[117] History returned to haunt Yanukovych; 43 years after completing his second criminal sentence in the USSR, he became an international fugitive wanted by Interpol.[118]

Ukrainians woke up on February 22, 2014, to find they had no president, a bankrupt country, and a vitriolic Russian president possibly contemplating invading Ukraine. After the creation of an interim government and the shock of the annexation of the Crimea, a priority was to elect a new president to replace Turchynov, who in his position as parliamentary chairperson acted as head of state. In the May 2014 preterm presidential elections, there were 10 candidates from the former regime, of whom 7 were from the Party of Regions reflecting internal divisions that had opened up. The other 3 included Communist Party leader Symonenko, a former disgraced Socialist Party leader, and a Jewish-Ukrainian oligarch. The Euromaidan failed to lead to unity in the democratic or nationalist camp, and they put forward eight candidates, including three from marginal nationalist parties, *Svoboda* leader Tyahnybok, former Defense Minister Hrytsenko, Olha Bohomolets, Poroshenko, and Tymoshenko. The opaque funding of elections from Ukraine's large shadow economy and offshore tax havens was patently evident in marginal candidates (*Pravyy Sektor* [Right Sector], *Rukh*, and Ukrainian People's Party leaders) and officials (Renat Kuzmin, Yuriy Boyko, Dobkin), each paying a 2.5 million *hryvnya* (quarter of million dollars) deposit, which they knew would be lost because their unpopularity foreclosed them entering the second round. The influence of the gas lobby was also evident in its support given to candidates who came first and third (Poroshenko and Oleh Lyashko, respectively), who together received nearly two-thirds of the votes. Lyashko, leader of the virtual Radical Party, attracted anti-elite populist and nationalist votes from Tymoshenko and Tyahnybok.

Poroshenko won the preterm presidential elections in the first round by a landslide victory of 55 percent, with Tymoshenko trailing in second place with only 13, better than Yushchenko in 2010, but nevertheless still a personal disaster.[119] These elections resembled those held in 1991 as a candidate winning in the first round because in both instances the key question was Ukraine's national security, independence, and territorial integrity. In 2014, the pro-Russian vote was reduced because voting was impossible in the Crimea and to all intents in the Donbas where Yanukovych had received 89–90 percent of the vote in 2010. Turnout was also low, especially in Eastern and Southern Ukraine.

Poroshenko was born in Bolhrad in Odesa *oblast* on the border with Moldova, and his family moved to Kyiv in 1992 where he launched business projects and entered politics seven years later (see Chapter 5). In 2014, Poroshenko was in the right place at the right time deserting Yanukovych early in the Euromaidan when its victory was uncertain, arriving on the Euromaidan when opposition leaders were discredited or after they had emerged from prison. Tymoshenko's amateur dramatics were especially in poor taste; after speaking to the Euromaidan in Saturday in a wheelchair, she was seen the day after walking normally. Poroshenko's association with compromise and moderation was also more in

tune with the public mood than Tymoshenko's radicalism because voters were tired of eight months of upheaval. His election campaign tuned in to the public demand that the elections be over quickly, leading to many Ukrainians strategically voting for him to ensure that there would be only one round. Poroshenko is therefore a situational president who is unlikely to be reelected for a second term; in the next elections, there will be a host of young challengers.

Ukraine's electoral map fundamentally changed when Ukraine elected its first pro-European parliament in the October 2014 preterm parliamentary elections. Elections did not take place in 12 districts of Crimea, 9 out of 21 districts in Donetsk *oblast*, and 6 out of 11 districts in Luhansk *oblast*, meaning 4 million voters who would have traditionally voted pro-Russian were unable to do so opening the way for the creation of a pro-European parliamentary majority. The Poroshenko bloc (150 deputies), Yatsenyuk's Popular Front (82), Lviv Mayor Andriy Sadovyy's *Samopomych* ([32] Self-Reliance), Radical Party (22) and *Batkivshchina* (19) together with *Svoboda*, *Pravyy Sektor*, and independent deputies elected in single-mandate districts (*Volya Narodu* [Power to the People] and *Vidrodzhennya* [Renaissance] which together control 41 deputies) have a constitutional majority of 302 seats. The Opposition Bloc includes 40 deputies who were primarily former Party of Regions members of parliament, including former "children's ombudsman" in the Azarov government, Yuriy Pawlenko whose Youth Party of Ukraine merged with Our Ukraine and Solidarity to establish Yushchenko's presidential party, the Peoples Union–Our Ukraine in spring 2005. Sixty-four of the elected deputies voted for the January 16, 2014, dictatorship laws, 54 of who were elected as independents (including one from the Poroshenko bloc) and 10 from the Opposition Bloc.

Yatsenyuk remained prime minister after his hastily created Popular Front received similar support in the seats elected in the proportional half of the elections to the Poroshenko bloc. The only new political force is *Samopomych* that attracted middle-class businesspersons and professionals in Western and Central Ukraine although one of its leading candidates was Russian-speaking Semen Semenchenko, commander of the Donbas volunteer battalion. *Samopomych* won Kyiv showing to what degree Ukraine's capital city is pro-European. Other new faces—journalists, civil society leaders, and military commanders—were elected inside established political forces.

Ukrainian voters rejected the extreme left and right on the same day they received high levels of support in European parliamentary elections. The Party of Regions, wisely, did not stand in the elections. The KPU that had long ago given up being a party of the downtrodden proletariat and become a satellite of the party of wealthy tycoons for the first time is no longer represented in the Ukrainian parliament. Tihipko should have not been so disdainful to his voters, and his revived Strong Ukraine party also failed to cross the 5 percent threshold.

With the election of a pro-European president and parliamentary majority, there are fewer political obstacles to implementing long overdue reforms and fighting high-level abuse of office and corruption. President Poroshenko speaking after the elections called for a "purification of the authorities" saying "It's time to complete a full reset of power." Ukraine's civil society, as witnessed during the Euromaidan revolution through its massive support to the armed forces and National Guard, is more politically mature than the country's ruling elites and will demand action rather than traditional vacuous rhetoric.

Poroshenko has a fourfold uphill task to fulfill Ukrainian expectations. First, radical reforms will be difficult to implement as he has no team and draws upon figures from former Party of Regions, Our Ukraine, and Leonid Chernovetsky bloc members and the gas lobby. Former stalwarts of Ukraine's three previous presidents rallied to him, but this was hardly testimony to his election slogan of "We should live in a New Way." His election program was vague and after being rehashed was used by the Poroshenko bloc in the parliamentary elections. The president has no political party: "Poroshenko's Solidarity does not exist; there is no site, the telephone or address is not known to which one can refer to become a member of Solidarity."[120] Second, it remains unclear if Poroshenko would provide the political will to lead the fight against high-level corruption. Firtash convinced Klitschko to drop out of the elections in favor of Poroshenko during his March 2014 visit to Vienna where the gas tycoon is on bail awaiting deportation to the United States to face criminal charges of him and his codefendants paying $18.5 million in bribes to Indian officials to provide approval to the DF Group to launch titanium projects in India. The bail, the largest in Austrian history at $170 million, was paid by Russian oligarch Vasily Anisimov on behalf of official Russian structures, showing the close connection Firtash continues to have with Moscow. Third, there needs to be an end to the cozy relationship between big business and politics, elites should be accountable to the law, and Ukrainians should be treated as European citizens, not Eurasian subjects. Fourth, the highly corrupt judiciary needs to be completely lustrated while the prosecutor general's office cannot be reformed and should be replaced; it has nothing to do with the rule of law instead protecting senior elites and assisting them in not being accountable.

President Poroshenko and his parliamentary allies have a limited window to fulfill Ukrainian and Western expectations. Chapters 4–12 in the thematic section of the book analyzes seven areas that impact on Ukraine's quadruple transition from Soviet totalitarianism and colonialism to an independent national state, democracy, and market economy. Only a successful quadruple transition can facilitate Ukraine's integration into Europe and that requires Poroshenko and Yatsenyuk to not follow the same path as the Orange Revolution.

PART II

Thematic History

CHAPTER 4

Ukrainian Dissent, Opposition, and Religion in the USSR

Are you unable to understand that soon you will be dealing with a mass social movement?

Valentyn Moroz, *Report from the Beria Reserve*, 1967

Dissent and opposition to the Soviet regime primarily took place in 7 out of the 15 Soviet republics: Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Armenia, and Georgia. Six of the passive eight republics were Islamic with no dissent (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Azerbaijan), and the other two were Belarus, where a Soviet Belarusian has remained more popular than an ethnic Belarusian identity, and Moldova, which is divided between Romanian, Moldovan, and Eastern Slavic identities. Dissent and opposition in the USSR can be readily divided between liberal dissidents in Russia and national democratic (i.e., they sought *both* national and democratic rights) dissidents in the six non-Russian republics. Russian nationalists, that is, those who sought the independence of the Russian SFSR from the USSR, were in a small minority among Russian dissidents because the majority limited their demands to the democratization of the USSR. More importantly, few Russian dissidents sympathized with or understood the cultural and national demands of the non-Russian peoples—a factor that continues to exist to this day. Russian dissidents who called for Russia's independence from the USSR, such as Andrey Amalrik and Vladimir Bukovsky, were in a small minority and would never have described themselves as "nationalists." Nationalists in the non-Russian republics were separatists while the so-called nationalists in Russia called for the transformation of the USSR into a new Russian empire, rather than the independence of the Soviet Russian republic. Alexander J. Motyl wrote that Russian nationalists, in the sense of a political movement seeking an independent

state, were therefore a "myth."[1] Russian and English "nationalists" have always sought to subsume their country within larger entities, whether it was the USSR or the United Kingdom, and have not supported independent states (the rise of English nationalism is a recent phenomenon and a reaction to the rise of Scottish nationalism and the decline of British identity). Following the failed August 1991 putsch, Russia did not declare independence from the USSR, and Russia Day (the name of the holiday since 2002) is celebrated each year to commemorate the adoption of the Declaration of Sovereignty of the Russian SFSR on June 12, 1990. Ukraine declared sovereignty in June 1990 *and* independence in August 1991 and celebrates its anniversary of independence each year on August 24.

Dissent and opposition in Ukraine, from the late 1950s through to the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan, has largely been based in Western and Central Ukraine. Eastern-Southern Ukrainians and ethnic Russians did not participate in dissent and opposition against Soviet power while Jews and Crimean Tatars were more active within Soviet Ukrainian dissident groups than ethnic Russians. Eastern Ukrainians did not support the drive to independence in the late 1980s (while at the same time not opposing it), and in independent Ukraine they did not give their mass support to the Ukraine without Kuchma movement, the Orange Revolution, or Euromaidan. National minorities in Bulgaria, Romania, and Slovakia were in the vanguard of their democratic revolutions because they viewed democratization as synonymous with European integration; this was not the case in Ukraine where they have largely been counterrevolutionaries. Historically therefore, Eastern Ukrainians have only participated in political mobilization through the Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party and its successor parties, the KPU and Party of Regions.

Post-Stalin repression of dissent in Soviet Ukraine took place during two waves of arrests in 1965 and 1972, pushing many Communist Party insiders in Central and Eastern Ukraine who had sought to reform the Soviet system into the dissident movement. Ukrainian nationalists, primarily based in Western Ukraine, had no illusions to shatter about the Soviet system. The *shistdesyatnyky* cultural intelligentsia and activists evolved into the democratic movement of the 1970s and 1980s, becoming oppositionists outside the system in the *visimdesyatnyky* (generation of the 1980s). *Shistdesyatnyky* Vitaliy Korotych was appointed by Soviet leader Gorbachev to be editor of the pro-*perestroika Ogonyok* magazine, Ivan Drach became *Rukh*'s first leader, and Dzyuba became Ukraine's first minister of culture and editor of the émigré journal *Suchasnist* after it had moved its publication office to Ukraine in 1992. Religious dissent, primarily based in the underground Greek Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, had adherents in both the nationalist and the democratic movements. Finally, in Eastern Ukraine the workers movement and

independent trade unions were the weak chain in the dissident movement, as they were in Russia and throughout the USSR.

THE EMERGENCE OF DIFFERENT STRANDS OF DISSENT IN THE POST-STALIN ERA

Ukraine's post-Stalin third historic cycle opened up political space for Ukrainians to campaign, lobby, pressure, and protest against official Soviet nationality policies. From Stalin's death in 1953 until KPU leader Shelest's ouster in 1972, Ukrainian reformist communist elites and dissidents put forward demands that resembled those in the 1920s and in the Gorbachev era. Dissident Vyacheslav Chornovil pointed out that the only difference between him and Kravchuk, his main presidential opponent in the December 1991 elections, was that he was electioneering on slogans that the *shistdesyatnyky* had campaigned on three decades earlier. There was a strong similarity in Ukrainian political, economic, national, and cultural demands that had been raised during historic cycles of Soviet liberalization in the 1920s, 1960s, and late 1980s. The rapid loss of control over events by the Communist Party in the Gorbachev era confirmed fears by the Communist Party and KGB in earlier historic cycles of liberalization that Ukrainian cultural demands, if permitted to mobilize and garner support, would inevitably coalesce into political demands for greater autonomy and eventually independence. Dissenters in the immediate post-Stalin era initially remained loyal to the Soviet regime and their evolution into a political opposition, "which implies political organisation and the formulation of political programs" would come after the 1972 *pohrom*.[2] By the late 1980s, the Soviet political and economic crisis, following decades of stagnation of communist ideology and implosion of the inner and outer Soviet empires, radicalized Ukrainian political and cultural activists as well as members of the KPU.

Jaroslaw Bilocerkowycz divides Ukrainian dissidents into two models, disillusionment and suspicions-confirmed.[3] Those he includes in the *Disillusionment Model* had initially supported the KPU and its values but were shocked by Soviet leader Khrushchev's revelations of Stalinist crimes in his 1956 "secret speech" because it "created feelings of guilt, betrayal, and concern among these individuals." A political opposition emerged in the late 1950s and early 1960s, but it was not large and was quickly repressed. The first known Ukrainian *samvydav* text was an open letter to the U.N. Human Rights Commission written by 13 Ukrainian political prisoners; nevertheless, the Ukrainian opposition even at this stage numbered in the thousands and was therefore large by Soviet standards. Their petitions, such as the Letter from the Creative Youth of Dnipropetrovsk by 300 Ukrainians, were often signed by a large number of

people. Central and Eastern Ukrainian dissidents and cultural activists were patriots, rather than nationalists, and they were therefore similar to Ukrainian patriots who had sought Ukrainian autonomy and confederation in 1917 before supporting independence a year later. These Ukrainian patriots had been ideologically committed communists and *Komsomol* leaders who sincerely believed Soviet Ukraine could return to the "Leninist" nationalities policy of Ukrainianization followed by the Soviet regime in the 1920s.

The second model, *suspicions-confirmed*, was primarily found among Western Ukrainians who were less shocked by revelations of Stalinist crimes and tended to be more anticommunist from the outset and more hardline in their opposition to Soviet rule. Alexander Solzhenitsyn devoted an entire chapter in his *Gulag Archipelago* to uprisings in the Gulag in 1953–1954, many of which were led by battle-hardened former OUN and UPA members. Western Ukrainians were *both* anti-Soviet and anti-Russian nationalists, and for historical reasons, the majority of dissident and opposition movements seeking Ukraine's independence originated in this region of the country. In the late 1980s, the drive to independence originated in Western Ukraine before moving to Kyiv in 1990–1991.

Calls for de-Stalinization made in the third and fifth historic cycles became a central demand put forward by Ukrainian writers and cultural activists, and they included the complete exposure of crimes committed by the Soviet dictator. It is therefore not surprising that de-Stalinization also became a central theme of nation building in independent Ukraine. De-Stalinization was opposed in every historic cycle by the Eurasianist wing of the Communist Party of Ukraine and by the KPU and Party of Regions. Ukrainian cultural figures, journalists, *Komsomol* activists, and national communist leaders supported Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin. A mass movement in defense of the Ukrainian language emerged in the late 1950s and early 1960s, grouped around a regional cross-section of Ukrainians.

Another central demand during the first, third, and fifth historic cycles was the rewriting of Ukrainian history. In 1957, pressure and lobbying by the Soviet Ukrainian intelligentsia gave permission for the Academy of Sciences to publish *Ukrayinskyy Istorychnyy Zhurnal* (*Ukrainian Historical Journal*). In 1959–1965, a 16-volume *Ukrayinska Radyanska Entsyklopediya* (*Soviet Ukrainian Encyclopedia*) was published two decades later than planned,[4] followed by a second-edition 12-volume *Encyclopedia* in 1974–1985. Head of the Ukrainian State Planning Commission Mykola Skrypnyk had supported the planned publication of a 20-volume *Ukrayinska Radyanska Entsyklopediya*, but only three volumes were published in 1933, and these were later destroyed after he committed suicide that year in protest at the end of Ukrainianization. In 1973, Soviet Ukraine was also

the first Soviet republic to publish a two-volume *Entsyklopediya Kibernetyky* (*Encyclopedia of Cybernetics*), an outgrowth of the influence of the military–industrial complex and a future harbinger of the huge source of computer talent in Ukraine.[5] A 26-volume *Istoriya Mist i Sil Ukrayinskoyi RSR* (*History of Towns and Villages of the Ukrainian SSR*) and 11-volume *Slovnyk Ukraynskoyi Movy* (*Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language*) were also published.[6] Competition over encyclopedias between the Soviet Ukrainian authorities and Ukrainian émigrés was commonplace with Ukrainian diaspora scholar Volodymyr Kubiyovych launching a three-volume *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* in 1949 and 11-volume *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* in 1955.[7] In 1963, the émigré Ukrainian Historical Association launched *Ukrayinsky Istoryk* (*Ukrainian Historian*).

Calls for de-Stalinization and the rewriting of history led to demands for the rehabilitation of murdered and repressed members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. These demands became part of growing waves of protests in the late 1950s and 1960s that agitated for and lobbied officials, through higher educational institutions, official cultural organizations, unofficial clubs, and dissident groups. By the late 1960s, the Eurasianist wing of the Communist Party in Soviet Ukraine and the KGB were alarmed at the widespread phenomenon of dissent, cultural activism, the signing of appeals, street activism (albeit still on a small scale), and growing links to Ukrainian émigrés and international human rights organizations. By 1970, "*samizdat* was widespread in the Ukraine," Lyudmilla Alexeyeva reported, citing a single KGB search in Lviv that had uncovered 3,000 copies of an underground publication.[8]

The KGB quashed dissent and cultural figures in three waves of repression in 1961, 1965, and especially the 1972 *pohrom*. Forty percent of the estimated 10,000 political prisoners in the Soviet Gulag came from Ukraine, proportionately the largest of all Soviet nationalities and nearly three times the number of Ukrainians within the Soviet population.[9] The proportion of Ukrainians who were in the Ukrainian dissident movement approximated their number in the republic's population (77 percent) and another 10 percent of dissidents in Ukraine were Jews and Crimean Tatars. Although a fifth of Ukraine's population was ethnic Russian, they represented less than 1 percent of dissidents. The ethnicity of the remaining 12 percent of the sample of 942 dissidents in Ukraine surveyed by Bohdan Krawchenko was impossible to determine.[10]

Dissent was an urban phenomenon in the USSR, and although 30 percent of Ukraine's urban population were ethnic Russians (who made up 20 percent of the republic's population), they did not participate in dissent and opposition to Soviet rule. The Russian population of Ukraine supported neither Ukrainian democratic groups *nor* nationalists from Russia because they were a privileged (albeit largely working class) group in society that identified with Soviet power. This remained the case until Russian

nationalism began to be exported to the Donbas in 2014. Consequently, very few of Soviet Ukraine's Russian population followed Russian member of the UHH Vladimir Malynkovych in becoming Ukrainian dissidents. Malynkovych was expelled from the USSR in 1980 after which he went to work at *Radio Svoboda* and became editor of *Forum, Obshchestvenno-politicheskiy zhurnal*, the only Russian-language journal published by a Ukrainian émigré publisher, Prolog-Suchasnist. In 1998, Malynkovych unsuccessfully ran for parliament in the Russophone SLON (Social-Liberal Alliance bringing together the Constitutional Democratic Party and the MBR) bloc.

Former Jewish political prisoner Yakov Suslenskyy reported that the harshest sentences were meted out to Ukrainian dissidents who received up to 12-year imprisonment plus exile compared to between 3- and 4-year sentences for Baltic, Georgian, and Armenian dissidents. The KGB adopted new methods of repression in Ukraine and then applied them against nationalist and dissident groups in other Soviet republics.[11] In the 1972 *pohrom*, Ukrainian historian Kasyanov writes that the Soviet Ukrainian KGB "felt nostalgia for the year 1937."[12] Repression left a particularly damaging legacy upon Eastern Ukraine, where the dissident movement and nationally culturally intelligentsia were smaller. Zhuk found that in the second half of the 1970s, the KGB no longer reported the existence of nationalist dissent in Dnipropetrovsk because the *pohrom* had cowed the population. Meanwhile, a policy of Russification had made nationally conscious Ukrainians reluctant to publicly express their identity.

KGB documents declassified during Yushchenko's presidency exposed the enormous scale of the Soviet state and KGB's operations against different forms of dissent and opposition in Soviet Ukraine. "Operation Block" lasted from 1971 (on the eve of Shelest's ouster and *pohrom* of dissent and culture) to 1986 (a year after Gorbachev came to power). The released Soviet documents were produced by the KGB's Fifth Directorate, which was tasked with fighting "ideological subversion" in 15 separate departments, covering trade unions, émigrés, students, foreign journalists, Jews, punks, unofficial groups, and other "subversive groups."[13] Many of the most sensitive documents were secretly destroyed by the KGB in 1990, a year before the USSR disintegrated; nevertheless, evidence of Operation Block is to be found in summaries prepared by the KGB in the 700 reports it submitted to the Soviet Communist Party of Ukraine.[14] The Russian FSB and SBU's departments under Yanukovych that combatted "extremism," a catchall phrase for political opponents, informal youth groups, and writers critical of the ruling authorities, have inherited the traditions of the Fifth KGB directorate.

Repression not only pushed once loyal insiders into the ranks of the opposition, it also toughened their attitudes to the Soviet regime through meeting other imprisoned activists in the Soviet Gulag that gave them new contacts, exchange of experiences, and group solidarity. The large

number of Ukrainians in the Soviet Gulag enabled them to network both among themselves and with other nationalities in a way that was impossible in everyday Soviet life. A Ukrainian prisoner of conscience asked: "Why is the Ukrainian language so rare in the cities of Ukraine but so prevalent in the camps for political prisoners?"[15] Stus recalled how the Gulag "made me a Ukrainian (see Box 4.2). Now I am unperturbed how they label me: a nationalist, spy or traitor." "The dissenters who had ended up in prisons and labour camps now viewed themselves as part of a Ukrainian national opposition to Moscow's rule," Stus believed.[16] Russian and Ukrainian dissidents, for example, first established contacts in the 1960s in the Gulag that became the basis for their future cooperation. Ukrainian dissident Leonid Plyushch traveled to Moscow to deliver Ukrainian *samvydav* that would be sent abroad by Western diplomats and bringing back with him Russian *samizdat*. Arrests and repression in the more internationally isolated Soviet Ukraine (where there were no foreign embassies or direct flights to foreign countries) was often transmitted to the outside world through *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytiy* (*Chronicle of Current Events*), the longest running and best known *samizdat* publication in the USSR published for 15 years from 1968 to 1983 in a total of 64 issues.

ÉMIGRÉ NATIONALISTS AND SOVIET UKRAINE

The OUN, established in 1929, had by 1940 split into two wings led by Andrey Melnyk and Bandera; a third split took place in 1954 creating the most democratic of the three wings, OUNz (OUN abroad), led by Lev Rebet. During the interwar period, the OUN was influenced by integral nationalism, which was then popular throughout Europe, and until its 1943 congress espoused an integral nationalist ideology. The emergence of OUN was also what Motyl describes as *The Turn to the Right* against the failure of leftist political forces to secure an independent Ukraine in 1917–1920. OUN was a disciplined and well-organized force dedicated to the overthrow of Polish, Romanian, and Soviet rule and the creation of an independent Ukrainian state. The writings of Dmytro Dontsov, an ideologist of Ukrainian integral nationalism and admirer of Italian fascist leader Bennito Mussolini, influenced OUN members. Born in Eastern Ukraine and married to an ethnic Russian, Dontsov became well-established as a nationalist theoretician when he was editor of *Literaturno-Naukovyy Visnyk* (*Literary Scientific Herald*, 1922–1932) and its successor *Visnyk* (*Herald*, 1933–1939) in Polish-ruled Lviv, and his writings influenced and radicalized an entire generation of young Ukrainians. Nevertheless, Dontsov never joined OUNb and, following World War II, he eventually settled in Montreal, Canada, where he passed away in 1973.

During the 1930s, OUN undertook a number of terrorist acts against Polish and Soviet officials inside Poland. In 1930, an attempted assassination by OUN of the Soviet Consul in Lviv failed, but three years later, in revenge for the *holodomor*, OUN assassinated the Soviet Consul in Lviv.[17] OUN's campaign against the Soviet perpetrators of the *holodomor* and Great Terror in Soviet Ukraine never reached the scale of the assassinations by Armenian Revolutionary Federation (*Dashnak* Party) "people's avengers" of representatives of the Young Turkish Triumvirate: Ottoman Minister of the Interior Mehmed Talat Pasha (1874–1921), Minister of War Ismail Enver, (1881–1922), Minister of Navy Ahmed Djemal (1872–1922), and others, whom they accused of masterminding the 1915 genocide of Armenians. Its revenge attacks especially paled in comparison to Israel's abduction of Nazi war criminals, such as Adolf Eichman captured in Argentina in May 1960 and tried and executed in Israel, or the "Wrath of God" operation by Israeli *Mossad* (The Institute) intelligence agents against Black September terrorists who were responsible for murdering Israeli athletes at the 1970 Munich Olympics and immortalized in the 2005 movie *Munich*. Although Ukrainian émigré nationalists were—and continue to be—depicted by Soviet and Russian propaganda in horrific terms as bloodthirsty "fascists" hell bent on waging war against Russia during the Russian invasion of the Donbas, only one member of the Ukrainian diaspora (a member of the scouting organization *Plast*—not from nationalistic organizations allied to OUNb) volunteered to fight for Ukrainian forces.[18] Meanwhile, over 100 Serb volunteers were fighting on the separatist side. In the first half of the 1990s, émigré Croatians sent $150 million in aid, much of which was used to buy weapons, while hundreds had volunteered to fight.

World War II transformed OUN, and the bitter nationalist struggle in Western Ukraine in the 1940s was fiercer, bloodier, and more widespread than anti-Soviet partisan struggles in the three Baltic states. Ukraine, Belarus, and Poland were also the scene of much of the atrocities committed by Nazi and Soviet forces against the local populations (the Nazi invasion barely entered Soviet Russian territory). By autumn 1943, nationalist resistance in Western Ukraine "was stronger than any other resistance outside Soviet borders with the exception of Yugoslavia," Alexander Statiev writes. The OUNb "was a deeply rooted underground network enjoying popular support" and "Ukrainian guerrillas fought with a resolution that no resistance in Western Europe could have imagined."[19] Jeffrey Burds writes that in Western Ukraine, "the Soviets were challenged by near total popular noncompliance and an ethnic hatred which bred widespread anti-Russian opposition."[20]

The Ukrainian nationalist resistance was one of the largest partisan movements in Europe with 25,000–40,000 guerrillas and upward of 400,000 supporters in the network. In 1944–1946 alone, 110,825 nationalist

partisans were killed, and the insurgency lasted until the early 1950s. Another quarter of a million Western Ukrainians accused of being nationalists were arrested and deported to Siberia. According to Soviet documents, Soviet security forces killed 153,000, arrested 134,000, and deported 203,000 Western Ukrainians compared to 20,000 civilians and 10,000 NKVD (Peoples Commissariat for Internal Affairs) and Soviet casualties killed at the hands of Ukrainian nationalists.[21]

Civilian bloodshed was inevitable on both sides, and Ukrainian and Polish nationalists participated in *pohroms* and massacres of the Polish and Ukrainian minorities in Volyn and Kholm and Pidlyashshya on the Polish–Ukrainian ethnographic border. Although the massacres of 60,000 Poles and 20,000 Ukrainians in Volyn were crimes and tragic episodes in Polish–Ukrainian history, at the same time, in the context of World War II, these were smaller than crimes committed elsewhere, for example, by the Croatian *Ustaše* puppet regime against the Serbian national minority. The primary target of OUNb and UPA partisans were Soviet officials, Soviet partisans, NKVD security forces, and Soviet informers. Soviet documents released and published since 1991 show some NKVD units donned UPA uniforms and massacred villagers to turn them against Ukrainian nationalists, a tactic used by some states in other guerrilla conflicts in Algeria and much of Central and Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s.

In addition to two wings of OUN and UPA, tens of thousands of Western Ukrainians volunteered for the SS Galicia Division, which was 1 of 38 Waffen SS divisions that fought on the Eastern front against Soviet forces. Although approximately 80,000 Ukrainians volunteered for the Galicia Division, only 13,000 were recruited in the face of opposition from OUNb; OUNm, always more sympathetic of the two OUNs to cooperation with the Nazis, supported the formation of the Galicia Division. When the bulk of the Galicia Division was destroyed near the Western Ukrainian town of Brody in 1943, it was rebuilt with reservists, and following World War II, the Galicia Division was interned in the Italian port of Rimini. ROA (Russian Liberation Army) and Cossack soldiers were forcibly deported to the USSR, but the Galicia Division escaped this fate because the Yalta agreement did not apply to Ukrainians who had been Polish citizens up to 1939. Members of the Galicia Division were brought to Britain in 1947 where its young members (many of whom had by then been recruited into OUNb) took control of the Association of Ukrainians in G.B. (SUB) community organization established three years earlier by Ukrainian–Canadian military officer Bohdan Panchuk.

The OUN and UPA nationalist underground in Ukraine was decimated by the early 1950s although some small units continued to operate until as late as April 1960 in the Ternopil region.[22] OUN and UPA were buttressed at least up to the late 1940s and early 1950s by widespread rumors that

had emerged in the immediate postwar period that the USSR was on the verge of being liberated from outside. Tens of thousands of Ukrainian and Baltic nationalists were convinced that the West, after it had defeated the Nazis, would take the fight to the Soviets. Ukrainian nationalists, Timothy Johnston writes, partially believed this because they were relying on Anglo-Saxon support.[23]

After the collapse of the armed resistance, émigré nationalists followed two different strategies in the next four decades toward their goal of liberating Ukraine, and although both strategies had their own rationale, they also had different consequences. Following the defeat of OUN and UPA, democratically oriented émigré nationalists understood the need to adopt new tactics toward Ukraine that would no longer rely on establishing underground structures. The new policy aimed at the development and strengthening of the opposition's potential using nonviolent methods.[24] This strategy was adopted by the external representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (zpUHVR) and OUNz. Major OUNz theorists of a modernized Ukrainian nationalism and "nonviolent revolution" were Rebet and Anatol Kaminsky, writing decades before the Orange Revolution became an example of nonviolent change. The main institutional vehicles for zpUHVR and OUNz's "nonviolent revolution" were Prolog Research and Publishing Corporation and Suchasnist publishing house established in New York and Munich, respectively, in the 1950s, with the Ukrainian Press Agency (UPA) opening later in London in the mid-1980s.

Their nonviolent strategy had little support among the Ukrainian diaspora rank and file who sided with Bandera. With fewer cadres and only a small number of community structures, zpUHVR and OUNz therefore had reduced possibilities to attract funding from Ukrainian émigrés and became reliant on American covert support from 1953 to 1990. OUNb raised its largest share of financing from Britain, not as one would expect from the far larger diaspora in North America, because that country had a well-established network of SUB social clubs (with income derived primarily from alcohol and gambling) that contributed to the World Liberation Front's *Vyzvolnyy Fund* (Liberation Fund), a fund that was supposed to be used for future needs such as fighting for Ukrainian independence although there was little evidence of its use against Russia's new imperialism. OUNb did though also receive training and funding from British intelligence until at least the early 1950s and in later years most probably from its membership of the Taipei-based World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and European Freedom Council (EFC).

OUNm and the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party (URDP), a small party that was popular among émigrés from Eastern Ukraine, adopted similar strategies to zpUHVR and OUNz. OUNm held its XII Great Congress in Irpin, Kyiv *oblast*, in May 1993 and thereafter registered as an NGO and organized the Olzhych Foundation that had been active in

the West. From the 1950s to the 1980s, the two émigré publishing houses publishing the greatest volume of dissident literature and *samvydav* and political tracts were Prolog-Suchanist and Smoloskyp Publishers (with indirect ties to OUNm) in its early years.[25]

Not being reliant on émigré financing enabled Prolog to become the leading liberal center in the Ukrainian diaspora in seven areas. First, Prolog published a wide cross-section of political writings and dissident literature by nationalists, liberal democrats, and national communists. These included *samvydav*, official texts by national communists from the 1920s and 1960s,[26] and semiofficial texts such as Dzyuba's *Internationalism or Russification?* Second, Prolog cooperated with Eastern Ukrainian émigrés and members of the URDP and UVAN (Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences) whose premises are located in Manhattan's upper west side. The most prominent of these Eastern Ukrainians was Yuriy (George) Y. Shevelov,[27] born in Kharkiv and a leading member of *Slovo* Association of Ukrainian Writers in Exile who edited *Suchasnist* in 1978–1987.[28] Third, Prolog provided a center for liberal young Ukrainian émigrés born in the United States who did not wish to become involved in traditional OUN nationalist community and political organizations. Some of these individuals became involved in the Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners (CDSPP) active in the late 1960s and 1970s. Younger generation members of Prolog cooperated with left-wing Ukrainian–Canadian members of the CDSPP behind the socialist magazine *Dialoh* who were attracted by the intellectual openness of *Suchasnist*, the left-liberal orientation of Prolog employees and CDSPP members, and the willingness of Prolog to publish books on national communism. Fourth, Prolog published the English-language *Soviet Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian Press*, *Soviet Nationality Survey*, and *Soviet Ukrainian Affairs* that were edited by younger generation Ukrainian Americans and British Ukrainians. Fifth, Prolog played a leading role in Polish–Ukrainian reconciliation (see later) and facilitated the publication by the Polish underground of two special Polish-language issues of *Suchasnist*. Sixth, Prolog promoted Jewish–Ukrainian reconciliation and cooperation publishing Jewish dissenters and intellectuals, including the memoirs of Izrayil Kleyner, the poetry of Moysey Fishbeyn, and the essays of Volodymyr Jabotinsky. The longtime language editor of *Suchasnist* was Oleksandr Zhenin, a Jewish Ukrainian from Odesa. Seventh, Prolog published as a quarterly in 1983–1985 and biannually in 1986–1990 the Russian-language journal *Forum Obshchestvenno-politicheskiy zhurnal*.

During the 1980s, Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research (SAAOR), Radio Liberty's audience research arm based in Paris, collected and analyzed information concerning Soviet citizens' Western radio-listening habits. SAAOR's mission was to estimate the level of listening and provide feedback regarding programming content, program

moderators, announcers, and suggestions for topics. SAAOR and Prolog were two different operations, but occasionally they shared and exchanged information and contacts. At times after Prolog debriefed Ukrainians, they would point them toward SAAOR to be interviewed. SAAOR provided the broadcasters with valuable "intelligence" they would use to modify and improve programming content, schedules, and transmission quality. SAAOR established interviewing points in 10 European capital cities and on a smaller scale in New York, Singapore, India, and Japan. At the same time, a growing number of interviews were conducted with Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union upon their arrival in Rome and Israel.

In the early years, the focus was on Soviet businessmen, entertainers, sailors, and diplomats, but these were few and difficult to contact, and even more difficult to talk to. But, in the 1980s there were a growing number of Soviet visitors in Western Europe and elsewhere as increasing numbers of Soviet citizens were permitted to travel to foreign destinations as tourists, especially after 1985. Moreover, despite stern warnings not to communicate with Russian-speaking strangers, many of these Soviet travelers were persuaded to converse with SAAOR interviewers. Jaroslaw Martyniuk, a senior sociologist at SAAOR in 1985–1991, explains that this operation played an invaluable role for U.S. intelligence and the U.S. government.[29] Martyniuk believes "The scale of SAAOR's operations became vast. Until 1990, a year before the Soviet Union disintegrated the unit had carried out nearly 50,000 interviews with Soviet citizens of various nationalities." The intelligence collected from these interviews was an invaluable primary source for Western policymakers, academics, and journalists.

U.S. policymakers became increasingly interested in the Soviet nationality question toward the late 1970s when U.S. national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski raised the question during Jimmy Carter's administration. This was also when Prolog began to receive higher amounts of U.S. covert funding. In the early 1980s, the State Department began publishing the in-house publication *Soviet Nationalities Survey*; from 1984 Prolog published *Soviet Nationality Survey* in London (edited by Motyl and Nadia Diuk) and the Rand Corporation received government funding for research into nationalities problems in the Soviet armed forces and within the Soviet army in Afghanistan. The nationality question was of particular concern to U.S. policymakers in the 1980s (in Western Europe Kremlinology ignored the question, as I remembered from my postgraduate studies).

As Martyniuk explains:

Another aspect of SAAOR's work, even more valuable and attention-grabbing to the intelligence community than the relatively dry listening statistics, was public opinion data on Soviet citizens' attitudes on a variety of topics such as the ongoing

war in Afghanistan, reactions to the Chornobyl disaster, the state of Soviet economy, prices and availability of products and other major issues of concern. There was a significant difference between the work of SAAOR and research carried out by US intelligence agencies, mainstream academic Sovietologists and Kremlin watchers. SAAOR's research was based on a fairly representative sample of the population of the Soviet Union, including Ukrainians, peoples from the three Baltic state's and (less frequently) Trans-Caucasians and Central Asians. SAAOR's analysts were able to scrutinise data by demographic categories, Communist Party affiliation and, most importantly, nationality. The great majority of the "experts" mentioned above viewed developments in the USSR mainly through the prism of the Moscow press and analyses of speeches by Kremlin leaders, completely overlooking the nationalities question.

American government financing of Prolog lasted until 1990 when U.S. covert operations against the USSR ceased on President George H. W. Bush's instructions as a gesture to President Gorbachev. Prolog closed its doors in 1992, but *Suchasnist* magazine continued publication in Ukraine.[30] Soviet jamming of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe ended in 1988. Prolog Vice President Kaminsky and President Kupchinsky also had a close connection to another U.S.-funded operation, *Radio Svoboda*, which they headed from 1983 to 1989 and 1991 to 2003, respectively.

Prolog-Suchasnist embraced different ideological trends in the political opposition from nationalists and liberal dissidents to national communists; Prolog and other members of the democratic-leaning Ukrainian diaspora supported *Rukh* and informal NGOs in Ukraine in the second half of the 1980s. In contrast, OUNb remained distrustful of non-nationalist dissident groups, hostile to the official Soviet Ukrainian cultural establishment and all wings of the Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party. In the late 1980s, the émigré OUNb was highly distrustful of *Rukh*, the Writers Union, and new informal NGOs, as revealed by a member of the department for Ideological Struggle writing in its internal bulletin for members:

> We include in the enemy imperial camp the KPSS (Communist Party of the Soviet Union), Congresses of People's Deputies of the USSR, the Supreme Soviet, the government, administration, KGB, Soviet armed forces, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, legal media (including *Ogonyok* edited by V(italiy). Korotych), as well as "informal" publications by Russian dissidents, the system of union-republican institutions (including the conservative and reformist wings of the KPU), the SPU (Union of Ukrainian Writers), Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and other bodies. In addition, (we include within the enemy imperial camp) the Popular Movement for Restructuring, the Memorial Society and Ukrainian Language Society that have been organised under the initiative or are under the control of the occupation organs of (Soviet) power. The leaders of these 'restructuring' formations are trusted servants of the (Soviet) occupiers who present themselves before Ukrainian society as good and honest Ukrainians.[31]

Another different approach between émigré nationalists rested in their ability to work with other nationalities whose countries were incorporated within the Soviet empire. In 1946, OUNb organized the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) in Munich that traced its legitimacy to an underground conference of representatives of non-Russian peoples that took place four years earlier near Zhitomir on the initiative of OUNb. From the late 1940s, the ABN organized conferences, wrote appeals to governments, and published the bimonthly *ABN Correspondence* in 1950–1996 in English, German, and French as well as the Buenos Aires–based *Resistencia y Liberación* (*Resistance and Liberation*) and indirectly the Paris-based journal *L'est européen* (*East European*). The ABN cooperated with the EFC and WACL, which was renamed the World League for Freedom and Democracy (WLFD) following the collapse of Soviet communism. WACL/WLFD was founded in 1966 in Taipei, Republic of China, under the initiative of Chinese nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek and during the 1980s was active in Latin America, notably through the provision of assistance to the Contra anticommunist forces fighting the Sandinista junta in Nicaragua. WACL members included people with neo-Nazi sympathies, groups affiliated to right-wing death squads, and authoritarian governments with poor human rights records, and therefore, OUNb's affiliation with such a dubious structure confirmed it remained a non-democratic and authoritarian right-wing organization that had failed to democratize in the West.

For Your Freedom and Ours

Prolog, Suchasnist, and the Ukrainian Press Agency cooperated with mainstream democratic groups in exile and on the ground in Central-Eastern Europe and the USSR. Adrian Karatnycky, then based at the American trade union organization AFL-CIO, and this author cooperated with Solidarity groups in Western Europe in facilitating support to the Polish democratic underground. In the 1980s, Prolog and the Ukrainian Press Agency closely cooperated with the Czech opposition and Polish underground in the reprinting and sending of émigré books and journals to Ukraine. The future president of Poland, Bronisław Komorowski, was one of Prolog and Ukrainian Press Agency's contacts in Poland when he edited the underground publication *ABC. Adriatyk, Bałtyk, Morze Czarne* (*ABC. Adriatic, Baltic, Black Sea*), which provided information on the nations lying between Russia and Germany. *ABC. Adriatyk, Bałtyk, Morze Czarne*, published by the Liberal-Democratic Party Niepodleglosc, supported reconciliation and cooperation between Ukrainians and Poles.[32] In 1984–1989, *Józef Darski* (pseudonym for Jerzy Targalski) edited *Obóz* (*Camp*), a Polish underground magazine dedicated to providing information on the countries of the Soviet empire and fostering Polish–Ukrainian

Young Ukrainians and this author holding the microphone rallying in support of democratization in Ukraine at a rally in Gdansk, Poland, October 1989. The placard reads "There cannot be a Free Poland without a Free Ukraine." (Ukrainian Press Agency)

cooperation. Darski was in exile in Paris from 1983 to 1997 where he cooperated with the émigré *Kultura* and Solidarity magazine *Kontakt*. Targalski edited the first of two double issues of the Polish-language *Suchasnist* that the Ukrainian Press Agency published for Polish readers (the second was edited by this author). In 1982–1990, Targalski and his team also edited the magazine *Niepodległość*, and after the magazine closed, its editors opened the Studium Europy Wschodniej at the University of Warsaw.[33]

Cooperation with the Polish underground built on decades of close ties between *Suchasnist* magazine and the preeminent Polish émigré *Kultura* magazine that had promoted Polish–Ukrainian reconciliation, a step strongly opposed by hard-line nationalists in the Ukrainian and Polish diasporas. By the late 1970s and 1980s, support for reconciliation and cooperation was receiving support from Pope John Paul II (Karol Józef Wojtyła) and inside Poland from the Solidarity movement. Young Poles born in postwar Communist Poland who arrived in Britain in the early 1980s as exiles and Solidarity opposition activists seeking Western assistance had a more conciliatory attitude toward Ukrainians than the older Polish émigrés living in Britain who were vehemently anti-Ukrainian (the OUNb dominated diaspora was as vehemently anti-Polish). One of the typical new Polish émigrés was Sikorski (see Box 4.1), Poland's future foreign minister, who together with his future spouse Anne Applebaum,

was befriended by this author in the United Kingdom (see Box 2.2). An example of the new wind of reconciliation that was to be a foretaste of Poland's support for Ukrainian independence and European integration was Kazimierz Podlaski's 100-page monograph *Belarusians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians: Our Enemies or Brothers?* The monograph was published in many editions by the Polish underground and republished by the new wave of Polish émigrés in London.[34]

Prolog and the Ukrainian Press Agency cooperated with the *Komitet Oporu Spolecznego* (KOS, Committee of Social Resistance), *Solidarność Walcząca* (*Fighting Solidarity*), and other Polish underground groups in the printing of leaflets, two issues of Polish-language editions of *Suchasnist magazine*, and the Ukrainian-language journal *Perturbantsiyi* (*Perturbations*) published on behalf of Poland's Ukrainian national minority. This cooperation also facilitated the production of a video documentary explaining how to undertake silkscreen printing with the aim of enhancing underground printing by Ukrainian oppositionists. These leaflets, videos, and magazines were mailed to Soviet Ukraine, smuggled into the USSR with the assistance of Western and Polish "tourists" and offered to Soviet Ukrainian visitors to Poland and Czechoslovakia. Some of the books published by Prolog had false Soviet covers that made smuggling into the USSR easier; for example, Mykola Lebed's 1946 *History of the UPA* was disguised as a Soviet Ukrainian propaganda book that attacked émigré nationalists. Miniscule copies of *Suchasnist* were printed on paper that dissolved on contact with water, enabling those in possession of them to quickly destroy their copies in the event of a KGB raid.

In Hungary, Prolog cooperated with Fidesz (*Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége* [Alliance of Young Democrats]) as well as Social Democrats. Czech political émigré Jan Kavan cooperated with the Ukrainian Press Agency and Ukrainian Peace Committee from his London-based Palach Press.[35] Cooperation with the Czech opposition was more restricted to the social democratic left who dominated new émigrés, and the Czechs were less interested than the Poles in participating in covert and overt operations against the Soviet Union. This was reflected in the magazine *East European Reporter*, launched by Kavan with like-minded Polish and Hungarian social democrats, which opted to not publish critical articles on the USSR. Kavan joined the Civic Forum that led the Velvet Revolution becoming later that decade the Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1998 to 2002, deputy prime minister for Foreign and Security Policy from 1999 to 2002, and president of the UN General Assembly in 2002–2003.

Younger Generation Takes over Prolog

The younger generation of Ukrainian Americans took control of Prolog in 1978 when Kupchinsky was elected president. This was an opportune

Box 4.1 Radosław ("Radek") Sikorski and the Orange Revolution

During the Orange Revolution, Radosław ("Radek") Sikorski, Poland's future foreign minister, who then headed the New Atlantic Initiative at the conservative American Enterprise Institute (AEI) think tank in Washington, DC, organized a panel on Ukraine's 2004 elections that was to play an important part in the unfolding drama in Kyiv. Normally reserved and neutral Ukrainian diplomats led by Oleksandr Potyekhin based in the Washington Embassy of Ukraine dissented against the official Ukrainian position recognizing Yanukovych's election in the second round and read out an open letter (see the following excerpts) they had prepared the previous day. Diplomatic service personnel in the foreign ministry in Kyiv prepared a similar open letter and eventually 400 Ukrainian diplomats signed the two open letters. A similar open letter by former and existing diplomats was prepared in December 2013 during the Euromaidan.

Sikorski said to Potyekhin that he should be aware that proceedings of the AEI panel would be broadcast across the United States and will be viewed in Ukraine. Ukraine's Channel 5 filmed the event through its contract with Voice of America television where Myroslava Gongadze, widow of the murdered journalist Georgi, is the lead anchor. Ukraine's Channel 5 interviewed the diplomats, ensuring news of their unusual rebellion quickly spread to Kyiv.

Potyekhin and other Ukrainian diplomats did not use diplomatic language because they felt the U.S. government, represented on the panel by Dan Fried, assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian Affairs at the State Department, was too cautious in his comments. Potyekhin said, "The Foreign Ministry is a ministry in a state of revolt, against the criminal regime of President Kuchma," and "We are with the people of Ukraine. We are with Mr Yushchenko." Another Ukrainian diplomat Oleksandr Shcherba said, "for us, it is a choice between a people's revolution and a criminal revolution." A day after the panel, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell read out a statement where the United States refused to recognize the official election results.

The following are excerpts of the open letter that is a largely unknown episode in the dramatic events then unfolding in Kyiv:

We Ukrainian diplomats express our strong protest against the cruel war against one's own people which the 2004 elections have become. Led by our conscious, professional honour and oath to serve the Ukrainian state, we are uniting our voice with the Ukrainian people who are protesting against the infringements of their right to choose a President in a democratic manner.

(*continued*)

We are convinced that our silence today would have consequences for the further decline in the authority of the state, and therefore the transformation of the diplomatic service into an instrument of servicing the authorities, the legitimacy of which is already under question by the world community.

We call upon the Ukrainian diplomatic corps to voice their defense of that which we all believe in—an independent, democratic, just Ukraine.

We believe that other employees of the diplomatic service will add their signatures to this appeal.

Oleksandr Shcherba, Adviser to the Ukrainian Embassy in the USA
Yuriy Parkhomenko, Second Secretary at the Ukrainian Embassy in the USA
Oleksandr Potyekhin, Adviser to the Ukrainian Embassy in the USA
Volodymyr Chumak, Adviser to the Ukrainian Embassy in the USA
22 November 2004

Sources:

"Embassy Row. Open Revolt," *Washington Times*, November 25, 2004.
Open letter by Ukrainian diplomats. Copy is in the possession of the author.
Personal communication from Oleksandr Potyekhin, January 8, 2013.
Open letter by Ukrainian diplomats, *Ukrayinska Pravda* blog, December 17, 2013, http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/haran/52aff5efb63fa/.

moment because American funding grew to its highest levels under President Ronald Reagan in the 1980s during his crusade against the "Evil (Soviet) Empire." Liberalization in the USSR from 1985 under Gorbachev also opened up opportunities for covert and overt operations in support of the democratic opposition and led to splits in the KPU. Greater American funding permitted the opening of the Ukrainian Press Agency in London with branches in Warsaw, Kyiv, and Moscow. A National Endowment for Democracy grant awarded to the European-Cultural and Educational Foundation in 1990–1992, backed by the Ukrainian Press Agency, established Ukraine's first think tank, the Centre for Independent Political Research (UCIPR) that remains in existence.[36]

By the 1970s and 1980s, a large number of former dissidents had arrived in the West and the democratic wing of the nationalist émigré community supported their publishing and activities. These included Leonid Plyushch (based in Paris), Petro Grigorenko and Nadia Svitlychna (New York), Malynkovych (Munich), and others who edited new magazines, wrote articles for émigré and Western newspapers, and lobbied governments and international NGOs.

Broadcasts to Soviet Ukraine by Western radio stations, such as *Radio Svoboda*, extensively used *samvydav*. Émigré publishing houses, such as

Prolog-Suchasnist and Smoloskyp, reprinted *samvydav* as books and in *Suchasnist* magazine, and these were smuggled into the USSR through Poland and Czechoslovakia and into Soviet Ukraine by tourists and journalists. Western Ukraine became an important conduit for Western literature distributed to other regions of Ukraine. "The KGB feared active contact between the Dniepropetrovsk intelligentsia and their colleagues in Lviv and Kyiv because their discussions contributed to the spread of anti-Soviet and national ideas." The city of Lviv was a major source of concern for the KGB, "because all the ideological dangerous literature came to Dniepropetrovsk from this city."[37] Zhuk reports that Ukrainian *samvydav* and émigré literature, particularly from the Munich-based *Suchasnist* publishing house, circulated in Dnipropetrovsk as early as the 1960s and 1970s.[38] Soviet denunciations of Prolog's activities continued through to 1990, only a year before the USSR collapsed.[39]

"Revolutionary" OUNb, zpUHVR, and Soviet Ukraine

British intelligence worked with OUNb while the CIA cooperated with zpUHVR (code-named "Project Aerodynamic") in covert operations against the USSR; U.S. intelligence did not believe other Ukrainian émigré groups had influence inside Ukraine.[40] Both groups were unwilling to work together, especially after 1948[41] when ZChOUN (external branches of OUN—hereafter OUNb) and zpUHVR formally split (see later).[42] In December 1947, the U.S. National Security Council issued NSC 4-A, giving the ability for the newly created CIA (successor to the Strategic Services Unit and war-time Office of Strategic Services) to take the offensive inside the USSR. Couriers (termed "Apostles") were dispatched from 1949 to 1954 from the CIA's Munich Operations Base (MOB) with the first airdrop in September 1949 of two Ukrainians near Lviv. After their failure, zpUHVR halted attempts at working with or establishing underground structures in Soviet Ukraine. OUNb in contrast worked with the British until 1954 and then, displeased with the results, continued to independently undertake "revolutionary" activities vis-à-vis Soviet Ukraine.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, about 40 Ukrainians were parachuted, delivered by submarine, or infiltrated the USSR and Poland on foot primarily with the assistance of the British intelligence services.[43] The majority of the couriers were quickly caught because of KGB infiltration of OUNb and KGB spies in MI6, the British external intelligence service also known as SIS (Secret Intelligence Service). In contrast to armed couriers sent to Albania, those sent to Ukraine and Poland, usually from British air bases in Cyprus, were reconnaissance groups with W/T (Wireless/Telegraph) equipment and lighter weapons for self-defense. MI6 was infiltrated by KGB agents such as Philby who passed on information to the KGB about MI6 and CIA covert operations in support of nationalist

underground movements in the USSR.[44] To avoid "overlapping and duplication," the CIA and MI6 exchanged information about "timing and geographic coordination of their operations." This gave Philby the ability to ensure that the KGB could quickly arrest couriers. As Philby recalls in his memoirs, "I do not know what happened to the parties concerned. But I can make an informed guess."[45]

Another factor that reduced the effectiveness of couriers was the destruction of the nationalist base of operations in Southeastern Poland after *Akcja Wisła*.[46] The aim of *Akcja Wisła* was to destroy links between the Ukrainian ethnic minority and the nationalist underground and to thereafter assimilate them into the Polish ethnic majority. Wojciech Jaruzelski, Poland's future president who imposed martial law in 1981 to crush the Solidarity movement, was a young captain during *Akcja Wisła* in the newly formed and Soviet-controlled forces, Korpus Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego (Internal Security Corps), the Polish equivalent of the Soviet NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs).[47]

During 1960–1961, both the Soviet and the Polish secret police built fake Ukrainian nationalist underground organizations using turned OUN couriers that maintained contact with Bandera and OUNb in its Munich headquarters. The biggest operation was code-named *Operation Stonka* (*Potatoe-Beetle*), a fake OUN underground in Poland led by Leonid Lapinsky ("Zenon") from 1949 to 1954 (i.e., after *Akcja Wisła*). "The core of the success can be attributed to the treason of Myron Matviyeyko" who collaborated with the Soviets before and from his capture in 1951 until 1960.[48] Matviyeyko had been a primary contact for U.S. intelligence in Munich but during World War II had been an Abwehr (German military intelligence) agent.[49]

Following the death of OUN–UPA–UHVR leader Roman Shukhevych in March 1950, two émigré organizations, OUNb and zpUHVR, which worked with British and America intelligence services, respectively, sought to convince the nationalist leadership in Ukraine which side was correct in their conflict. Kaminsky explains the evolution of different strategies: "Whereas zpUHVR at that time focused on technical, financial and similar types of assistance for self-defense and survival of the remaining cadres in the nationalist underground by means of legalization and 'deep conspiracy,' Bandera wanted to activate, augment and continue the revolutionary struggle (regardless of the consequences) and also strengthen his own position and influence in the underground in Ukraine."

In May 1951, Bandera sent the head of OUNb's Security Service (SB), Matviyeyko, who was parachuted by MI6 into Western Ukraine, but the group contained a Soviet agent and they were delivered directly into the KGB's hands. One of the last zpUHVR couriers was Vasyl Okhrymovych, who was parachuted into Soviet Ukraine in the same month (together with three others), established contact with the nationalist underground

leadership, and spent winter of 1951–1952 together with Vasyl Kuk who had succeeded Roman Shukhevych as OUN–UPA leader. The NKVD captured Okhrymovych in October 1952, and in May 1954 he was sentenced to death and executed. Kuk was captured two years later and sentenced to six years' imprisonment after which he was amnestied and received a lenient sentence because he agreed to cooperate with the Soviet authorities. Philby, probably referring to these couriers, writes that in 1951, MI6 sent three six-man teams while the CIA sent a political representative and three assistants with a reserve team of four people to contact the nationalist underground.[50]

The Americans, according to Philby, always had serious doubts about Bandera and his usefulness to the West, and this led to acrimonious exchanges between the CIA and MI6. An April 1951 report stated "Under no circumstances will CIA agree to U.S. support of any Ukrainian group with which the present OUN/B leadership, and particularly Stefan Bandera, is associated in a position of prestige and authority."[51] The CIA had three objections to Bandera. First, they disliked his "extreme nationalism with its Fascist overtones" that they believed would prejudice the West's dealing with other groups in the USSR, notably with ethnic Russians.[52] Second, Bandera was accused of being "anti-American." Third, Bandera was rooted in older émigré groups, and he lacked contacts in Ukraine in contrast to the new "more realistic émigrés that the Americans were busy cultivating."[53] Above all, the Americans distrusted OUNb, believing it to be deeply infiltrated by KGB agents and therefore could not be trusted.

On this point, they would seem to have been correct and, after being captured, Matviyeyko agreed to cooperate with the KGB and played the role of a double agent until November 1960[54] when Radio Kyiv broadcast his statement admitting he had been a Soviet agent. Why the head of OUNb SB, one of the most senior positions in the émigré OUNb nationalist organization, was sent on such a dangerous mission is still unclear; this would be the equivalent of the United States sending the head of the CIA on a mission to gather intelligence in enemy territory.[55] Matviyeyko's capture and agreement to work for the KGB provided them with the intelligence to plan the assassinations of OUNz leader Rebet and OUNb leader Bandera in 1957 and 1959, respectively, in Munich. KGB assassin Bohdan Stashynskyy, who was from Western Ukraine, was trained to undertake the assassinations. Stashynskyy defected to Germany in 1961, was tried the following year and received an eight-year prison sentence, was released after four years, and returned to live in the USSR. He lives in Kyiv and collected a pension from the same Ukrainian state that gave an award to Bandera, the person Stashynskyy assassinated.

Following the defeat of the nationalist underground and failure of Western intelligence-backed parachute missions, the OUNb, as a self-declared "revolutionary" organization, continued with its strategy of

building underground structures in Soviet Ukraine. The émigré OUNb attracted the majority of members of the older generation from military formations, such as the Waffen SS Galicia Division in Britain, but UPA veterans were split with some supporting zpUHVR and others OUNb.[56]

OUNb was a secret organization in the Ukrainian diaspora that operated through the Ukrainian Liberation Front that brought together community, women's, and youth groups loyal to the organization. It is therefore impossible to know to what extent the émigré OUNb was successful in its underground activities in Soviet Ukraine because it has never opened its archives and remains a closed, secretive, and opaque organization. *Glasnost* is alien to OUNb, and the only information we have access to is largely from OUNb failures that were brought into the public domain by the Soviet authorities with the purpose of boasting at their successful efforts at "liquidating" émigré nationalist activity. Soviet security agents who were also present within the émigré OUNb invariably assisted in the infiltration of underground OUNb structures in Soviet Ukraine. Undoubtedly, some individuals recruited into OUNb's underground strategy were genuine nationalists, rather than double agents, as in the case of Borys Terelya who led an underground nationalist armed group through to the early 1980s. The DSU (State Independence of Ukraine) party active in the 1990s was also a descendant of the Ukrainian National Front (UNF) both of which were led by veteran OUN nationalist and UHH member Zinoviy Krasivskyy who spent a total of 21 years in Soviet captivity.[57] During trials of UNF leaders, the Soviet prosecutors linked them to OUN.

Borys Terelya, who had spent 16 years in the Gulag and had earlier been a member of the Ukrainian Patriotic Movement, committed suicide in 1982 rather than be arrested following a firefight with KGB special forces.[58] A Ukrainian émigré newspaper published by OUNb claimed that Borys Terelya had been head of the SB of the underground OUN in Galicia and Transcarpathia. Borys Terelya's group showed that some underground nationalist groups had managed to evade infiltration by the KGB and had taken up arms, rejecting the dissident approach favored by other nationalists such as the UNF. "Ukrainian nationalists" also attributed the downing of a Soviet military transport aircraft in the early 1980s around the time Borys Terelya's group remained active to sabotage.[59]

The Soviet totalitarian system, its massive KGB network, and Moscow's particular sensitivity about nationalism in Ukraine made the building of an underground organization dangerous and open to infiltration.[60] Dissidents and cultural intellectuals stayed clear of joining the nationalist underground believing they should work in the open, and it was with these people that Prolog, Smoloskyp, and other democratic Ukrainian émigré groups cooperated.

One of OUNb's underground leaders in Soviet Ukraine, Sviatoslav Panchyshyn, was a Soviet agent over three decades. At the end of the 1960s, the émigré OUNb approached Panchyshyn to be head of its Lviv "underground" to which he agreed but promptly informed the KGB and became a double agent. Panchyshyn was elevated to a position within the OUNb *Provid* (Ruling Council) that gave him secrets at the very core of the émigré organization. He was appointed head of the OUNb *Organisatsiynoho Sudu* (Organized Court) and chief of the OUNb SB in Ukraine, therefore following in the footsteps of Matviyeko. Panchyshyn's work on behalf of the émigré OUNb was viewed as so "valuable" that OUNb awarded him with the "Golden Cross" medal and "Bandera Silver Medal." In September 1988, Panchyshyn and Yuriy Ivanchenko, head of the Kyiv OUNb "underground" who was also a KGB double agent, held a joint press conference where they revealed their work as Soviet agents. The KGB strategy of building a controlled, artificial OUNb underground in Ukraine was code-named "Operation Boomerang"[61] (ironically the same name as that given to the failed Russian-inspired security operation to quell the Euromaidan).

Panchyshyn and Ivanchenko gloated at the press conference at how they had "neutralized" 20 OUNb emissaries from the United States, Britain, France, and Western Germany. One of the "neutralized" emissaries, Ukrainian-Belgian and Association of Ukrainian Youth (SUM) member Jaroslav Dobush, was arrested and charged with "espionage" in January 1972. The Dobush affair had all of the hallmarks of an inside provocation organized by a KGB double agent inside the émigré OUNb. The KGB prepared Dobush's public confession by linking Ukraine's dissidents and cultural activists to émigré nationalists, a false allegation that provided the Soviet regime with ideological justification to launch the 1972 *pohrom*. Soviet political culture linking dissidents and the opposition at home to external centers, whether émigrés, democracy-promoting foundations, or secret services, has continued to influence the mind-sets of post-Soviet Russian and Eastern Ukrainian leaders and security services.[62]

UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS

Although Western Ukraine has traditionally been associated with integral nationalism, the region has a far longer tradition of civic than ethnic nationalism. Western Ukrainian democratic parties and civil society participated in Austrian and Polish semidemocratic institutions from the second half of the nineteenth century through to the interwar years of the twentieth century. In interwar Poland, Western Ukraine's democratic parties competed with but were eclipsed by OUN's integral nationalism, as

democratic parties were in other European countries. Nationalism in Western Ukraine was unpopular during the first two decades of Ukrainian independence and only made its appearance in parliament in 2012, largely as a counterreaction to Eurasanist policies undertaken by Yanukovych. *Svoboda* was not reelected to parliament three years later.

OUN traditions influenced the platforms and ideologies of dissident groups such as the UNF, which was active in the 1960s and 1970s in Ivano-Frankivsk and other regions of Western Ukraine.[63] Democratic parties espousing more democratic and inclusive platforms reemerged in Western Ukraine in the 1960s and were active through to the late 1980s. *Both* ethnic and democratic nationalism have therefore been present in Western Ukraine, and ethnic nationalism dominated only political activity during the interwar period and among émigrés.

Following the crushing of the OUN and UPA, former nationalists continued to operate underground while others infiltrated newly established Soviet institutions. Former nationalist partisans and some Soviet Ukrainian military personnel deserted to Hungarian anticommunist partisans and blew up railway lines used to transport Soviet troops to Hungary to crush the 1956 uprising. Arrests of UPA and OUN members continued until as late as the early 1960s while their trials and executions continued as late as 1987–1988. OUN members could be either executed or reimprisoned upon the whim of the KGB after spending 25 years in Soviet captivity. In 1947, the NKVD captured OUN–UPA member Anton Oliynyk, he spent a quarter of a century in confinement, and after his release died from torture in prison when he refused to recant his views. "It was impossible to break him, he could only be destroyed," a group of Ukrainian political prisoners wrote from a Mordovian Gulag camp in August 1970.[64]

The highest number of trials of former nationalist partisans took place in the late 1970s during the height of Shcherbytskyy's crackdown on dissent. KGB Chairperson Fedorchuk reported, "In the course of 1980 we did a great task: we rendered harmless forty Ukrainian nationalists. In order to avoid needless international frictions the majority of them were sentenced for ordinary criminal offenses."[65] Domestic trials and executions of former nationalist partisans coincided with large-scale external campaigns against Ukrainian nationalist émigrés devised by those in charge of communist ideology, such as Kravchuk, Ukraine's future president.

Former political prisoner and historian Valentyn Moroz led the nationalist wing of Ukrainian dissent, and his writings echoed OUN theoretician Dontsov. Committees in Defense of (Valentyn) Moroz were active in the Ukrainian diaspora during the 1970s when some of his writings were translated and published in North America up to his release in 1979.[66] Ivan L. Rudnytsky predicted that the integral nationalism of Valentyn Moroz and the Euro-Communism of Dzyuba and Leonid Plyushch would

fail to become popular within Soviet Ukraine. This was because both ideologies "have ceased to be, philosophically and politically viable alternatives for the Ukrainian people in search of a better future."[67] The mainstream ideology of the Ukrainian dissident movement became its adherence to democratic norms and human rights encompassing liberal and Christian democratic views. After Valentyn Moroz's release to the West in 1979 as part of an exchange of five dissidents for two Soviet spies, Ukrainian émigrés accepted him as a nationalist hero. Nevertheless, his attempted takeover of the leadership of OUNb by pushing aside Yaroslav Stetsko failed, and he broke with the organization becoming isolated within the Ukrainian diaspora during the 1980s.[68]

Integral nationalism was a marginal phenomenon within the Ukrainian dissident movement in the post-Stalin era and remained confined to very small groups. The United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine, Ukrainian National Committee, and Ukrainian Workers and Peasants League were three of the first nationalist political groups established in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Lukyanenko, an Eastern Ukrainian member of the Ukrainian Workers and Peasants League, was sentenced to 15 years in the Gulag and after his second arrest in 1977 served an additional 10 years for being a member of the UHH. Lukyanenko's five-year internal exile in Siberia crowned by 25 years in the Gulag added up to three decades of incarceration, three years longer than Nelson Mandela, South African antiapartheid activist and leader of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation, the armed wing of the African National Congress), who had been imprisoned on Robben Island. By the late 1970s, the Soviet authorities had pushed the Ukrainian opposition into the underground that Reddaway, an expert on Soviet dissent, predicted, "the KGB cannot easily monitor." In some cases, this led to Ukrainian nationalists turning to violence, as in the case of Borys Terelya, who followed the path of Mandela whose resort to violence was also a reaction to heavy-handed South African apartheid repression.[69] Lukyanenko, like most Ukrainian nationalists in Soviet Ukraine, never advocated violence.

The UNF was the most radical and best-organized nationalist group and the majority of its members were villagers and Greek Catholic believers in their twenties; therefore, they were too young to have been former OUN activists or UPA partisans. Leading members included veteran Krasivskyy, policeman Mykhaylo Dyak, and Donetsk coalminer Mykola Kachura. The UNF supported Ukraine's independence, a democratic form of government (suggesting they were closer to zpUHVR and OUNz than to OUNb), and agrarian reforms. These UNF policies were promoted in their *samvydav* magazines *Volya i Batkivshchina* (*Freedom and Fatherland*), 16 issues of which are known to have been published, *Zemlya i Volya* (*Land and Freedom*), and *Mesnyk* (*The Avenger*). The UNF also circulated OUN and UPA nationalist literature from the 1940s that

they had found in former underground bunkers and printed leaflets denouncing the occupation of Ukraine and calling for the punishment of those responsible for "Stalinist" crimes.[70]

Following the arrests of the UNF leadership, a more younger and radical UNF published *Prozrinnya* (*Enlightenment*) magazine and *Ukrayinskyy Visnyk* (*Ukrainian Herald*). The more radical UNF emerged in the late 1970s and, through the Terelya brothers, was closely integrated with the underground Greek Catholic Church. The new UNF was more willing to consider violence to achieve its goals and one of its documents called for an armed uprising.

SHISTDESYATNYKY AND DEMOCRATIC DISSENT

The *shistdesyatnyky* introduced a moral and ethical content into their writings, sought self-respect for Ukrainians in the Soviet system and a revival of the qualitative levels of the intelligentsia, and emphasized humanistic values and a dislike for injustice while demanding "respect for natural ethical norms."[71] The *shistdesyatnyky* were the "intellectual-spiritual underpinning of the development of the opposition in Ukraine."[72] They were patriots rather than nationalists and loyal Soviet citizens, not yet becoming a political opposition. Former political prisoner Vasyl Ovsiyenko described the *shistdesyatnyky* as follows, "*Samvydav* produced by the *shistdesyatnyky* did not raise the question of changing the political system or separating Ukraine from the USSR." In other words, they were still loyal to the Soviet system and to national communist leader Shelest. Ovsiyenko described the *shistdesyatnyky* as an "educational movement" working toward raising national consciousness, overcoming fear, and reviving the values of the intelligentsia that included "basic self-respect, individualism, orientation towards human values, refusal to accept injustice, respect for ethical norms, rights and laws."[73] *Shistdesyatnyky* patriotism demanded respect for the dignity of Ukrainians and the Ukrainian language and culture, and they condemned Russification and Soviet nationality policies that aimed at the merger of Soviet peoples. They were critical of Soviet history's incorporation of Tsarist Russian myths, such as Russia's *Mission civilisatrice* toward the non-Russian peoples of the USSR, drawing upon Ukrainian historian Mykhaylo Braychevskyy *Annexation or Reunification* critical *samvydav* analysis of the 1654 Treaty of Pereyaslav between Muscovy and Cossack Ukraine.

Students and young intellectual's devoured poems, essays, and books by leading figures in the *shistdesyatnyky* and their influence in Kyiv quickly spread West to Lviv and East to Dnipropetrovsk.[74] The *shistdesyatnyky* included well-known writers and critics such as Drach, Korotych, Lina Kostenko, Dzyuba, Yevhen Sverstyuk, Mykhaylo

The remains of Ukrainian Helsinki Group members Yuriy Lytvyn, Oleksiy Tykhyy, and Vasyl Stus (see Box 4.2) returned to Soviet Ukraine from their graves at Perm prison camp 389/36 and re-buried in Kyiv's Baykove Cemetery, February 1990. Oleksandr Lavrynovych, then a leading member of *Rukh*, wearing a white coat and one of those carrying a coffin, was Justice Minister under Presidents Leonid Kuchma and Viktor Yanukovych. (Ukrainian Press Agency)

Osadchy, Ihor Kalynets, Stus, Vasyl Symonenko, Iryna Kalynets, and Svitlychnyy. Some of the *shistdesyatnyky* became dissidents, such as Stus, while others worked openly with encouragement from Shelest and the Communist Party apparatus (the majority of them were Communist Party members). The *shistdesyatnyky* brought together a wide embracing "patriotic opposition," rather than an anti-regime dissident movement, which sought to work within the system at a time when Communist Party leader Shelest provided political space for this to take place.

The majority of Ukrainians repressed in the post-Stalin era were charged with "Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." In 1959–1960, Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda was incorporated within Article 7 of the December 1958 Soviet law "On criminal liability for state crimes" and, from January 1961, following the entry into force of new criminal codes for Soviet republics, within Article 62 of the Soviet Ukrainian code. A decade later in 1967, the KGB established a new fifth directorate to

combat "ideological diversion" in which Marchuk, Ukraine's first chairperson of the SBU, served during his 31-year career in the KGB (see Box 4.2).

In 1965 and 1972, this new legislation was used during two waves of arrests of Ukrainian dissidents (a smaller number of arrests had taken place earlier in 1961). The 1965 arrests of 20 leading figures were concentrated in Western and Central Ukraine again showing the importance of this region for Ukrainian opposition to Soviet rule. The far broader 1972 *pohrom* was "the heaviest single KGB assault since 1953 of any dissenting group," Reddaway wrote.[75]

Following the 1972 *pohrom*, the KGB unleashed a wide-embracing repression of independent thought and dissent that radicalized Ukraine's opposition. In the 1960s, Ukraine's elites had believed that appeals to Soviet leaders could redress injustices in the system, and Shelest, unlike Shcherbytskyy, had often listened to them. The 1972 *pohrom* destroyed the hopes of many liberal communist insiders and dissidents of maintaining a dialogue with the Soviet Ukrainian authorities casting doubt upon a legalistic approach to dissent. The 1972 repression therefore led to a transformation of the relationship between the intelligentsia and Soviet Ukrainian authorities.

The 1970s witnessed "the transformation of Ukrainian dissent into a full-fledged human and national rights movement and the crystallization of Ukrainian dissenting thought."[76] Reddaway differentiated between an opposition "which implies an aspiration to rule in place of the existing rulers" and dissent, which is "just an objection to certain of the rulers actions or policies and a determination to articulate demands not only through approved, but also through non-approved channels."[77] Many of the activists who transitioned from loyal Soviet insiders to dissidents and in some cases opposition members would play a leading role in the opposition movement under Gorbachev and in new political and civic groups in independent Ukraine.

The UHH, established in 1976 following the signing by the Soviet Union of the Helsinki Agreement the year before,[78] represented the mainstream of Ukrainian dissident groups. The UHH was by far the largest of the five Helsinki groups formed in the Soviet republics; the Moscow Helsinki Group, for example, had only 22 compared to Ukraine's 40 members. Appeals by the UHH combined democratic and national demands, and by 1980 the group had released 30 declarations and appeals, 18 memorandums, and 10 bulletins. UHH documents were conspicuously absent on religious and socioeconomic rights because democratic dissidents were based in Kyiv, and these two strands of dissent were largely confined to Western Ukraine (religion) and the Donbas (socioeconomic). The UHH represented an attempt to mold a unified ideology for democratically oriented dissidents and was therefore an improvement

Priest and congregation of the illegal underground Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church celebrating mass, Ivano-Frankivsk *oblast*, winter 1988–1989. (Ukrainian Press Agency)

over the less organized *shistdesyatnyky*. Yaroslav Bilinsky writes the UHH represented a challenge to the Soviet authorities because (1) they were labor camp graduates, which suggests imprisoning dissenters did not end their resolve; (2) they were led by members of the elites (e.g., Soviet General Petro Hryhorenko), meaning they had supporters within the system; (3) they promoted nonradical, general human rights platforms; (4) the UHH established close ties to the Moscow Helsinki Group that set a precedent for the later emergence of coordinated political opposition; and (5) they attracted sympathy in Ukraine and abroad.

By 1980, the UHH had ceased to exist after KGB repression incarcerated 27 of its members in the Gulag where 5 of them died while another 5 were forced to emigrate. Two, Yuriy Lytvyn and Mykhaylo Melnyk, committed suicide because of harsh imprisonment and repression while Stus, Oleksiy Tykhyy, and Valeriy Marchenko died in the gulag from very poor conditions and lack of medical care.[79] Was the timing of their deaths on the eve of the Gorbachev era a coincidence or merely another example of the all-pervasive Russian chauvinism within the KGB that viewed any sign of Ukrainian national consciousness as a threat to be surgically removed?

This question is relevant because murders of Ukrainian dissidents, religious figures, and cultural figures had been taking place unabated over the preceding two decades. In 1970 and 1979, respectively, Ukrainian

Box 4.2 Vasyl Stus, Viktor Medvedchuk, and Vladimir Putin

The KGB's choice of Medvedchuk (President Kuchma's future chief of staff) for the 1979 trial of Ukrainian Helsinki Group members Yuriy Lytvyn and September–October 1980 trial of Stus was not coincidental. The Communist Party and KGB undoubtedly knew the Stus trial would receive international attention because he was a member of International Pen and well known among Ukrainian writers and journalists and within the Ukrainian diaspora.

Lawyers used in high-profile political cases such as these were "trusted individuals who had access from the KGB to such cases." Medvedchuk was a KGB *stukach* where he studied at university according to the Melnychenko tapes; there were 11 million informants in the USSR or 1 in 18 adults. In April 1974, Medvedchuk along with two friends was convicted by a Kyiv court under Article 102 of the Soviet Ukrainian Criminal Code for beating up a minor. In June 1974, the court collegiate in criminal cases overturned the verdict and sent the case back for further investigation, and in November the case was closed due to lack of evidence. Medvedchuk was acquitted and reinstated at the university and his life as a KGB *stukach* and trusted Soviet lawyer was born. In the Soviet Union, individuals with criminal backgrounds had been recruited since the 1930s–1940s as informers for the MVS and KGB. President Kuchma's adviser Anatoliy Halchynskyy believes that Medvedchuk acted as a Russian agent of influence when he was head of the presidential administration a half century after his run in with Soviet law. Medvedchuk's KGB connections may have additionally assisted him later in his personal life and career when President Vladimir Putin and Svetlana (wife of Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev) agreed to be godparents to Medvedchuk's daughter Daryna.

Medvedchuk had undoubtedly already been under KGB surveillance prior to the violent incident because Volodymyr Medvedchuk, his father, had worked during the war in the Nazi office that recruited *Ostarbeiter* (East Workers) for slave labor in Germany. Medvedchuk denies this and claims his father was a member of the OUN. Around 2.3 million Ukrainian *Ostarbeiter* (e.g., my father), or 75 percent of the total number sent from the USSR and Eastern Europe, worked in Germany. Following the return of Soviet forces to Zhytomyr *oblast*, Volodymyr Medvedchuk was convicted to eight-year imprisonment and four-year exile "for participation in Ukrainian nationalist activities." In summer 2010, Medvedchuk's family archives from the 1940s were donated to Harvard University and *Litopys UPA* Editor Petro Potichnyj.

Six years later after Medvedchuk's conviction, he was appointed the state-assigned defense lawyer for Stus who eventually refused his legal services. Medvedchuk's closing "defense" speech had nothing of course to do with the rule of law as this never existed in the USSR. Soviet lawyer

Medvedchuk supported state punishment for all of Stus's "crimes," telling the court to instruct the officers at the place of confinement to ensure that he fulfilled his daily work quota at the factory. The work quota was strictly applied ignoring Stus's serious stomach problems from which he died five years later in the Soviet Gulag.

Stus continues to be treated in a diametrically opposite way by his domestic opponents and by the West. Under Yanukovych, Donetsk State University opposed calls to rename its university in honor of Stus (the separatist conflict has forced the university to relocate to Vynnytsya). In contrast, in 2012, the New England chapter of the American *Pen* Club established an *international* prize named after him titled the *Vasyl Stus Freedom to Write Award*, which "recognises a writer persecuted for the peaceful expression of his or her views and whose courage in the face of censorship and oppression is exemplary."

As the Medvedchuk case shows, the Soviet past continues to cast a shadow over contemporary Ukraine. The documents from both the Medvedchuk and the Yanukovych criminal cases are missing and presumably destroyed to remove evidence of their past misdemeanors and collaboration with the KGB. Medvedchuk, with a reputation for anti-European, homophobic (see its billboard in Chapter 11), and anti-Semitic diatribes, was the perfect person for Putin to choose to launch the pro-Russian Ukrainian Choice organization and to represent him during the cease-fire negotiations in Minsk. He was included in the list of individuals against whom Western sanctions were imposed following Russia's annexation of the Crimea.

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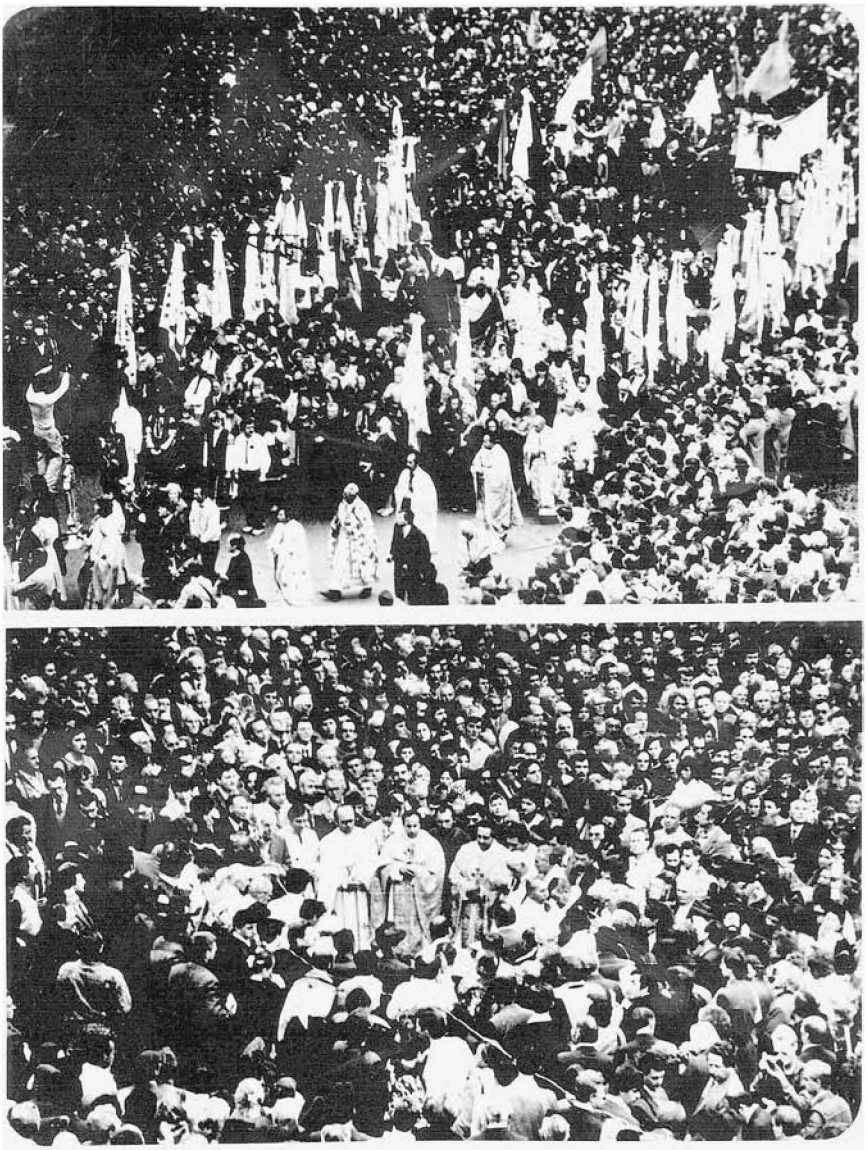
writer Alla Horska and composer Volodymyr Ivasyuk, whose music inspired a generation of young Ukrainians, were murdered. Ivasyuk was found hung in a gruesome fake "suicide" with his eyes gouged out. Mykhaylo Melnyk committed suicide after a KGB raid on his home while the death of poet Oleksander Hryhorenko was blamed by the UHH on the KGB. UNF leaders Mykola Kraynyk and Ivan Mandryk were arrested in 1977, and the KGB murdered the latter two years later.

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS DISSENT[80]

The underground Greek Catholic Church, the world's largest underground (often referred to as "catacomb") church for half a century between 1946 and 1990, added an important layer to the opposition because it integrated nationalist and democratic opposition in the same manner as that which existed in Poland and Lithuania.[81] The Greek Catholic Church received an infusion of energy with the election of Polish Pope John Paul 11 in 1979 who was widely regarded as sympathetic to the plight of Ukrainian Catholics. Pope John Paul 11's support for Ukrainian Catholics and the Polish Solidarity movement made him highly unpopular with the Soviet authorities and the subject of a wide-scale counter-propaganda campaign. The KGB worked through the Bulgarian State Security (DS) to recruit the Turkish extremist Ali Mehmet Agca for the purpose of assassinating the Pope in 1981. Soviet documents signed by Soviet Politburo members had called for the use of "all available possibilities to prevent a new political trend, initiated by the Polish pope." Published in 2008 in Poland, these documents alleged the Soviet leadership had supported the assassination plot. Soviet orchestrated foreign assassinations were nothing new, as seen in the murder of four Ukrainian émigré leaders by Soviet secret agents in Paris (Semyon Petlura, 1926), Rotterdam (Yevhen Konovalets, 1938), and Munich (Rebet, 1957, and Bandera, 1959).[82]

In 1946, the Soviet authorities disbanded the Greek Catholic Church and merged it with the Russian Orthodox Church. The only legally permitted religious denomination in Soviet Ukraine became the Russian Orthodox Church, which in 1990, under pressure from a rising tide



Rally by a quarter of a million people in support of the legalization of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, Lviv, September 1989. (Ukrainian Press Agency)

Monument unveiled in August 2006 to Soviet dissident, political prisoner, and *Rukh* leader Vyacheslav Chornovil on European Square in Kyiv. European Square became the site of confrontation during the Euromaidan. (Taras Kuzio)

of Ukrainian nationalism and patriotism, was granted autonomy and renamed the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. In 1982, in the same year his brother Borys had died in the shootout with KGB forces, Yosyf Terelya established the Initiative Committee to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church. Two years later, the committee began publishing the *samvydav* information bulletin *The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine*, which was modeled upon a Lithuanian *samvydav* publication with a similar name. Yosyf Terelya's nationalism and religious activism led to his expulsion from the USSR, and he was replaced as leader of the Greek Catholic underground by the legendary dissident Ivan Hel who renamed the Initiative Committee as the Committee in Defense of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. About 93 percent of Ukrainian Greek Catholics live in Western Ukraine and another 1 million Roman Catholics are scattered throughout Central and Western Ukraine.

Orthodox Church dissenters and supporters of Ukrainian Orthodox autocephaly were far fewer in number and primarily from Western Ukrainian regions with Orthodox believers, such as Volhynia. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Church was an underground church from the late 1920s to late

1980s, and therefore, its few activists worked alongside nationalist, democratic, and religious dissidents.[83] Vasyl Romanyuk was the most well-known Ukrainian Orthodox dissident and became patriarch of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Kyiv Patriarch) in 1993, passing away three years later. In 1995, nationalists and other protestors, following a riot, succeeded in burying Patriarch Romanyuk in a sarcophagus on St. Sophia's square next to St. Sophia's *Sobor* (cathedral).

Many of the Russian Orthodox priests in Galicia who worked in parishes that had been Greek Catholic until 1946 were also supporters of Orthodox autocephaly or the underground Greek Catholic Church. The rapid disintegration of the Russian Orthodox Church in Western Ukraine after the democratic opposition came to power in local elections in March 1990 testifies to the high number of Russian Orthodox Church priests who led double lives. President Kravchuk supported Metropolitan Filaret and a breakaway group in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church toward the establishment of Ukrainian autocephaly. Patriarch of Kyiv and all Rus-Ukraine Mstyslav (Skrypnyk) (1992–1993), nephew of the Ukrainian nationalist leader Petlura and himself a diplomatic courier for the UNR, and Volodymyr (Romaniuk) (1993–1995), the former Orthodox dissident, were followed by Filaret (Denysenko) who had been head of the Ukrainian exarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church from 1966 to 1990 and a candidate for patriarch of the church. A smaller, more nationalistic Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church exists primarily in Galicia.[84] The emergence of two autocephalous churches and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarch) gives Ukraine the largest number of Orthodox parishes of any other country (see Table 4.1).[85] Although the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate) has the highest number of parishes in Ukraine, opinion polls have always shown that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Kyiv Patriarchate) is the most popular Orthodox Church.[86]

Two thirds of the parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church in the USSR were in Ukraine, and the majority of these were located in Western and Central Ukraine. The nearly 13,000 parishes of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarch) in Ukraine are a major source of income and influence for the Russian Orthodox Church, accounting for nearly half of its 30,000 parishes. The high number of parishes in Ukraine was due to three factors. First, many of them were former Greek Catholic parishes transferred to the Russian Orthodox Church. Second, it is a misnomer to say that Western Ukraine is Catholic because the Orthodox Church dominates four out of seven Western Ukrainian *oblasts* annexed by the USSR in World War II (Volyn, Rivne, Chernivtsi, and Transcarpathia). Third, religious belief is more entrenched in the rural areas and small towns of Western and Central Ukraine than in the big industrial towns commonly found in Eastern Ukraine. In the 2004 presidential elections, more Orthodox

Table 4.1

Religious Denominations and Regional Breakdown in Ukraine

Country	Orthodox Parishes (number)	Regional Breakdown of Orthodox Believers in Ukraine (%)	Parishes by Religion in Ukraine (%)	
Ukraine	17,728	**UPTs** West and Center (18), East and South (32)	Orthodox (52)	UPTs (35), UPTs-KP (13), UAPTs (4)
UPTs	11, 952			
UPTs-KP	4, 371	**UPTs-KP** West and Center (19), East and South (10)		
UAPTs	1, 190			
Émigré parishes	215	**UAPTs** West and Center (4), East and South (0)	Baptist (29)	Evangelicals, Pentecostalists, Jehovah's Witnesses (no breakdown is provided)
			Catholic (14)	Greek Catholic (11), Roman Catholic (3)
Romania	15,517		Islamic (4), Jewish (1)	
Russia	14,616			
Greece	11,000			

Abbreviation: UPTs (Ukrainian Orthodox Church that falls under the Moscow Patriarch and the Russian Orthodox Church), UPTs-KP (Ukrainian Orthodox Church [Kyiv Patriarch]), UAPTs (Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church).

Note: Although the Ukrainian Orthodox Church has two thirds of Orthodox parishes in Ukraine, only 24 percent of believers identify with the church and the figure is declining because of support given by the Russian Orthodox Church to Putin. In contrast, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Kyiv Patriarch) controls a quarter of Orthodox parishes in Ukraine and a higher and growing percent of believers (especially since 2014) identify with this church. Some Orthodox believers do not see the difference between the UPTs and UPTs-KP, while others, who may be supporters of Ukrainian autocephaly, attend the UPTs because it is the only Orthodox Church in their region of Western and Central Ukraine.

Source: Pavlo Solodko, "Istoriya i Suchasnist Ukrayinskoho Pravoslavya," *Istorychna Pravda*, July 25, 2013, http://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2013/07/25/131816/.

believers voted for Yushchenko than for Yanukovych, and the smaller number of Orthodox believers who voted for the KPU and Party of Regions tend to be from the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate).[87] The Ukrainian Orthodox Church dominates only four regions—Donetsk, Luhansk, the Crimea (three formerly Party of Regions and KPU strongholds), and Dnipropetrovsk. Metropolitan Volodymyr (Sabodan), head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, was a native of Western-Central Ukraine whose uncle and brother were members of OUN in *Khmelnytskyy* oblast.[88] The Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Kyiv Patriarch) dominates the former Orange regions of Kyiv, Cherkasy, Zhytomyr, Kirovohrad, and Poltava, as well as Kherson, Kharkiv, and Zaporozhzhya. These two churches have similar numbers of parishes in seven regions (Volyn, Rivne, Khmelnytskyy, Sumy, Chernihiv, Mykolayiv, and Vynnytsya [Poroshenko's home region]).

In the early 1990s, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Kyiv Patriarchate) and smaller Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church broke away and declared autocephalous status (i.e., independence). Both churches continue to be unrecognized by the head of the Orthodox Church in Istanbul and other Orthodox Churches. Presidents Kravchuk and Yushchenko supported the two autocephalous churches while under Yanukovych support shifted to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarch). As outlined in the Introduction, only President Kuchma sought to balance support given to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Kyiv Patriarchate) and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarch). Divisions within Orthodox Churches are to be also found in Belarus and Macedonia. In 1959, the Serbian Orthodox Church, under pressure from the Yugoslav Communist authorities, granted autonomy to the Macedonian Orthodox Church, which also declared autocephaly in 1967 and, like its two Ukrainian counterparts, continues to remain unrecognized.

The KGB tightly controlled religious life in the USSR and forced all hierarchs to collaborate with the security services. Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Kyiv Patriarchate) Patriarch Filaret admitted "Therefore, it would be mistaken to say that I was not tied to the KGB. Like all of us (in the hierarchy of the Russia Orthodox Church) we all were."[89] Priests reported details of confessions to the KGB. Communist regimes in Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Soviet Russia (during World War II) co-opted the Orthodox Church as state-controlled churches. The Russian Orthodox Church, only briefly banned from the 1920s until World War II, has been traditionally xenophobic and vehemently opposed to Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephaly and the Greek Catholic Church, as seen in support it has given to Donbas separatists (see Chapter 3). In 2014, the silence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church over the Euromaidan murders and annexation of the Crimea as well as the support given by some Orthodox clergy to the separatists has shifted public support toward the Kyiv Patriarch whose priests have been more prominent servicing Ukrainian

forces fighting in the Donbas. Inevitably, the events of 2014 will lead to growing demands for autocephaly opening up divisions within the Ukrainian Orthodox Church between a minority pro-Russian and majority pro-Ukrainian wings. Ukrainian Orthodox believers, who support European integration, are therefore challenging Russia's new imperialism's claim to be "defenders of the Orthodox faith."

Since 1991, in addition to the revival of the Greek Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Church, a new religious community has emerged and rapidly grown in Ukraine. Baptists had existed in the North American Ukrainian diaspora, but they were a relatively small group. But, in Ukraine, the Baptist community is very active building churches and providing education services, with reportedly 20,000 young Ukrainians enrolled in 3 seminaries, 2 universities, and 15 Bible colleges. The All-Ukrainian Union of Churches of Evangelical Christian-Baptists is the largest organization incorporating 90 percent of Baptists (or approximately 300,000 believers who attend 2,800 churches served by 3,160 clergy). Other protestant denominations include Pentecostalists, Seventh-Day Adventists, Lutherans, Calvinists, Methodists, and Presbyterians. In areas controlled by separatists, protestant churches and priests have been targeted for takeover, torture, and murder.

THE WORKERS' MOVEMENTS AND FREE TRADE UNIONS

The emergence of Poland's Solidarity movement in 1980 led to an additional threat the Soviet authorities feared was a result of contagion from Poland. Ukrainian émigrés, particularly Prolog, and the radical wing of the Solidarity movement, *Solidarność Walcząca* (Fighting Solidarity), sought to export the Polish revolution into Ukraine.

Polish developments and the Solidarity movement influenced Ukrainian dissidents only to a small degree because Eastern Ukrainian multiple identities made them passive or hostile to the dissident and especially nationalist movement. Dissident poet Stus, perhaps because he lived in Donetsk from the age of two, wrote that "Poland presents Ukraine with an example," and he believed, "the trade union way to liberation would also be exceptionally effective in the USSR." Ukrainian opposition groups had raised the issue of workers' rights long before Solidarity emerged in Poland, but mainstream dissident groups such as the UHH, with its links to Kyiv's cultural elite, were cut off from the Soviet working class and Stus criticized the UHH for not addressing the workers' question in its documents. The coolness of the Ukrainian dissident movement toward the workers' question was the norm among opposition groups in communist countries, and the alliance of intellectuals and workers in Poland is the exception to the rule.

Former Polish President Lech Wałęsa and leader of the *Solidarność* (Solidarity) workers movement speaking from the Maydan during the Orange Revolution, Kyiv, November 2004. (UNIAN)

Tentative cooperation between the national democratic opposition and workers' movement would have to wait until the late 1980s, but this did not last long. By the 1990s, Eastern Ukraine's coalminers had few links to dissident intellectuals and were hostile to Ukrainian nationalists. Coalminers remained passive and went on strike in 1989 and 1994—doing so on *both* occasions at the behest of regional elites to extract advantages from the central authorities.

Their political apathy during the post-Soviet era and in independent Ukraine is surprising in the face of atrocious working conditions and the hundreds of fatalities each year in Donetsk coal mines. Two Western correspondents who visited the region in December 1980 exposed its poor working conditions and severe exploitation in the Donetsk coal mines. One of the reporters later explained that political passivity was common because of the high degree of political control that was "exercised right

down to the level of each individual worker—deliberately fostering divisions, resentment and dissension bordering on hatred within the working class, sapping its unity and potential cohesion in the face of exploitation."[90] Political elites in the Donbas have continued to effectively use this degree of tight control and discipline over workers.

The two Western correspondents recognized the difficulties in organizing a workers' opposition movement in Donetsk and the USSR: "The bosses had absolute power to fire, reprimand, and dock pay, deny vacation or mete out any combination of punishment they chose. In theory, the workers enjoyed full rights to petition through their trade unions for redressing unfair treatment. In practice, workers usually agreed with their bosses. They were afraid to challenge them because they could only lose."[91] Ukrainian trade unions, largely unreformed from the Soviet era, continue to not provide protection for workers' rights. The U.S. State Department reported that "Renouncing membership in an FPU (Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine)-affiliated union and joining a new union was bureaucratically onerous and typically discouraged by management."[92]

In 1978, Donetsk miners Volodymyr Klebanov and Oleksiy Nikitin, both local activists for coalminers, established the Free Trade Union Association of the Soviet Working People.[93] They condemned the nonpayment of bonuses and poor mining conditions following an explosion in 1969 that killed 20 coalminers. The Trade Union failed to receive widespread support because of workers' passivity and threat of state repression by the KGB. In 1978, the KGB imprisoned Klebanov and Nikitin in Soviet psychiatric hospitals where Nikitin died seven years later of stomach cancer. In 1969–1983, eight decisions by the Donetsk regional court dealing with Klebanov had ruled to keep him incarcerated in psychiatric hospitals, and it was not until 1988 that the same court closed his case and released him from compulsory psychiatric confinement.

No monuments to Klebanov or Nikitin have been unveiled in Donetsk. In 2011, Western journalists met neighbors who still lived in the building where Nikitin had once resided, and they recalled the heavy-handed KGB who arrested him. A neighbor commented about Nikitin: "There will never be anybody like Oleksiy. He was fighting for ordinary people, for things to be right, for some discipline, for respect. He was struggling for truth. Our KGB men made him rot for this truth. They buried him alive." The neighbor continued, "The KGB was not afraid of bullets. They were afraid of truth. He (Nikitin) fought for truth and all he received was death."[94] The Soviet system had deemed Nikitin and Klebanov to be insane for having the courage to raise the question of whether the Soviet Union was the "workers' paradise" it claimed it was.

Following the transition to a market economy and privatization in the 1990s, little improved in the large industrial plants and coal mines of Eastern Ukraine and workers continue to remain at the mercy of their

bosses who often spend more time in their second homes in Western Europe than in Ukraine. Decades after the first attempt to establish free trade unions in the Donbas, the poor working conditions in Donbas coal mines, intolerable high number of accidents, and acute disregard for life by private coal mine directors and local officials are, as Chapter 10 shows, even greater than when Klebanov and Nikitin staged their brave protest.[95] Ukraine's abysmal coal mines, primarily located in the Donbas, experience a large number of accidents that should be considered a national disgrace and, in Europe, would have long ago been closed (a large proportion will be unlikely to reopen after the Donbas conflict). Many of the coal mines were headed by Party of Regions deputies or supplied coal to industries controlled by local oligarchs. Ukraine ranked second in the world after China in the number of coal mine accidents each year, with over 4,000 deaths since 1991. Zasyadko mine controlled by Party of Regions deputy Zvyahilskyy was Ukraine's deadliest, with 246 deaths over the last 10 years and another 30 killed in an accident in March 2015.[96] This statistic alone should have been sufficient to have him criminally charged with abuse of office and negligence. He was again elected to parliament in 2014 in the Opposition Bloc.

One reason the number of accidents is very high is because of rampant corruption as local oligarchs stole 90 percent of the subsidies in a quid pro quo for maintaining political control over the Donbas on behalf of Kyiv. Ukraine's coal mines were heavily subsidized to the tune of 34 million *hryvnya* each year with the consumer price for coal of 600 *hryvnya* per ton far less than the subsidized price of 1,500. Another big source of accidents and corruption were the illegal coal mines that produced over 6 million tons of coal each year, with the majority of the coal sold by Oleksandr Yanukovych, the former president's eldest son, at inflated prices.[97] Continuities and changes in Ukrainian political parties and civil society are the subject of Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

Politics and Parties in Independent Ukraine

Our plan is clear: it's not a demonstration and it's not a reaction. It's a revolution.... The Soviet Socialist Republic of Ukraine dies today.... This is its funeral.

Yuriy Lutsenko during the Euromaidan[1]

What worries us most is the rampage of neo-Nazis, nationalists and anti-Semites all over Ukraine and especially in Kyiv.

President Vladimir Putin, March 4, 2014 press conference

This chapter integrates the question of elite provincialism with the development of political parties in independent Ukraine by analyzing the poor quality of political programs, intellectual discourse, and the inability of Ukraine's political elites to offer vision and institute change and, more importantly, to move Ukraine from the "partial reform equilibrium" crossroads. A quarter of a century after Ukraine became an independent state, there are 230 parties, but none of them is strong, influential, and pan-national.[2] The chapter analyzes four political party spectrums in Ukraine: (1) émigré and domestic Ukrainian and Russian nationalists; (2) center-right national democrats; (3) catchall centrists, including the Party of Regions; and (4) the left.

ELITE PROVINCIALISM

Post-Soviet provincialism in Ukraine's political and business elites is compounded by provincialism in the Ukrainian diaspora that has largely not supported political science projects in the West or Ukraine. This is made worse by a threefold decline in the number of academics and researchers in Ukraine since 1991 and low levels of state funding for education. Only a small minority of Ukrainian elites speaks English, takes an

interest in, or understands the outside world. Meanwhile, practically very few émigré Ukrainians speak Russian that is the native language of nearly 30 percent of Ukrainians (2001 census) and upward of 40–50 percent of Ukrainians who use Russian as an everyday means of communication. Only one Russian-language journal *Forum*, which proved to be only possible because of American government funding, has been published by Ukrainian émigrés (see Chapter 4). Hrytsak believes provincialism is the hallmark of independent Ukraine's leaders because "practically none of the current or former Presidents, Prime Ministers and even Ministers of Education speak any foreign languages except Russian."[3] Provincial Ukrainian leaders will not be successful, he believed, in modernizing and integrating Ukraine into Europe.[4] The provincialism of elites explains why "they could not offer Ukraine anything new. This to a great extent explains the failure of the Orange Revolution and the failure of current reforms." President Poroshenko and Prime Minister Yatsenyuk represent the first occasions when two senior Ukrainian officials speak English.

Provincialism inhibits the ability of Ukrainian political leaders to listen to Western advisers; in fact, the Party of Regions was more willing to listen to Western political consultants. In 2005, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) presented a Blue Ribbon Commission Report with 100 proposals for socioeconomic reforms, but neither President Yushchenko nor Prime Minister Tymoshenko implemented the proposals. An inability to implement IMF reforms and Western advice has been endemic for *all* Ukrainian leaders. Ukrainian leaders fail to understand there is no such thing as a "free lunch" and want to have their cake and eat it at the same time, taking Russian subsidies and Western assistance while reneging on promises they have made to both sides. Bruce Jackson, a Washington-based political consultant for the Yanukovych administration, pointed out that "no country has ever been the bemused recipient of more Western advice and sermonizing and proven less capable of an appropriate response."[5]

Consultancy and advice provided by AKPD, the agency used by Barack Obama in the 2008 U.S. election campaign, to the 2010 Tymoshenko election campaign was faced by the unwillingness of the candidate and her close advisers, especially Turchynov who distrusts Americans, to improve the conduct and message of her election campaign. A Ukrainian insider in Tymoshenko's election campaign team explained, "AKPD and Ridge Consulting were retained but largely ignored by Tymoshenko in the crucial latter half of the 2010 election campaign." He continued, "Tymoshenko was out of step with the mood of the nation in 2010 by not referencing the impact of the recession on people's lives and the urgent need to get people back into work and grow the economy. Billboards showed her with a white tiger when they should have dealt with how she would address ordinary people's issues. Ultimately,

Tymoshenko failed to get across the twin messages of the need to grow and reform the economy and she was the only candidate who could successfully integrate Ukraine into Europe."[6] AKPD's advice could have given Tymoshenko the additional few percent support needed for her to win the 2010 elections.

Not listening to Western advice is a deeply cultural problem among Ukraine's ruling elites; Yushchenko actually had more advisers (80) than Kuchma (60) and especially Kravchuk (20) but rarely listened to them and did not integrate them within a cadre policy. The United States described Prime Minister Tymoshenko as emotional, a micro-manager (a problem that is common among Ukrainian leaders), avoiding listening to advice on macroeconomic issues, and making all economic decisions on her own.[7] After Pynzenyk resigned, he told the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine that Tymoshenko was overly confident in her own decisions and believed everybody else to be wrong.[8] Yanukovych was different in understanding his intellectual limitations, but even he, after being elected president, listened less to advice. Yushchenko's *lyubi druzi* (dear friends) consistently provided him with bad advice, poor management, and a declining base of support and surrounded him with a chaotic sycophant fan club.[9] Yushchenko received a diploma in bookkeeping in 1975 from the Ternopil Institute of Finance and Economics, and he began his working life as a deputy to the chief accountant in a collective farm. Yushchenko is narrow minded, arrogant, and unable to comprehend why Ukrainians do not love him because, in his view, he is not ashamed of his period in office.[10] His limited Soviet education and low-ranking career could never have prepared him for the trials and tribulations of the positions of chairperson of the National Bank, prime minister, and president. The appointment of American Natalie Jaresko, Lithuanian Aivaras Abromavicius, and Georgian Aleksandr Kvitashvili as ministers of finance, economy, and heath, respectively, was a positive step in bringing Western expertise into the government and was made on the advice of Poroshenko, not the younger (and more arrogant) Yatsenyuk. It remains to be seen though if they will be successful in pushing through reforms; neither Poroshenko nor Yatsenyuk were interested in a proposal for Council of Foreign Advisers. Although heavily overmanned, the presidential administration would not be a good source of professional advice taking into consideration only half of its employees had ever used email and a third had never used a computer; as if standing still in a time warp from the 1990s, fax machines still seemed all the rage.[11]

Political science as the scholarly discipline taught in Europe and North America is nonexistent in the Ukrainian education system; political studies (*politolohiya*) has little to do with political science. Worst still is the archaic system still in place that requires PhD students to publish five articles that often appear in departmental bulletins, which are read by

few people and would never be considered peer-reviewed journals in the West. *Politolohiya* is isolated from European and North American political science and *politolohy* (political experts) come from a wide range of academic and nonacademic backgrounds, very few of them speak English and a majority do not have Western political science training. Western universities have hired only one Ukrainian political scientist since 1991. Only a handful of Ukrainian universities subscribe to European and North American political science journals. Serhiy Kudelia pointed out that "practically none" of the thousands of Ukrainian PhD students in Ukrainian *politolohiya* has published their research in Western academic journals or as books in Europe and North America.[12] When reviewing Ukrainian studies of the *holodomor*, John-Paul Himka found that there were few citations of Western scholarly works (and the few that existed were cited from Russian and Ukrainian translations) because academic studies in Ukraine are "not integrated into global scholarship." Himka also pointed to the continuity of "traditional fatherland" approaches in scholarship from the Soviet and post-Soviet Ukrainian periods. Of the 93 members of PONARS, bringing together scholars from Eurasia and postcommunist studies, only 5 are from Ukraine.[13]

Kuchma and Yushchenko were committed to the Bologna process of the integration of Europe's educational systems through a European Higher Education Area (EHEA). During Ukraine's sixth historic cycle, one of Minister of Education Tabachnyk's first decisions was to take Ukraine out of the Bologna process further deepening Ukrainian provincialism. Ukrainian universities, including Ukraine's most Westernized higher educational institution, the Kyiv Mohyla Academy, do not recognize Western university degrees, such as the MA from Stanford University and PhD from Johns Hopkins University received by Kudelia. This is supposedly set to change. One reason why Western governments do not recognize Ukrainian qualifications is because many are purchased, such as Yanukovych's PhD, or fake such as the claim by Poroshenko's Chief of Staff Borys Lozhkin to hold a degree from a nonexistent U.S. higher education institute. Western credentials and better-educated individuals viewed as a threat to the status quo are an outgrowth of Soviet provincialism among Ukrainian academics, some of whom are disinterested in contact with the outside world (which today is available in many ways, including even through avenues such as Google Scholar). Representatives of this group of Ukrainian scholars argue that Western "experts" do not, and cannot, understand the specific nature of post-Soviet societies such as Ukraine, a viewpoint that feeds into an unwillingness to listen to Western advice. None of Ukraine's 501 higher educational institutions qualifies among the top 500 universities in the world ranked in the Shanghai University list, and Ukraine has not emulated Kazakhstan in establishing an elite state university in cooperation with 10 leading

Western universities.[14] A fifth of the 50,000 foreign students in Ukrainian higher education come from Turkmenistan, by far the largest group, with 2,000–3,000 coming each from China, Russia, and India.

Ukraine does not publish political science journals and a visit to Kyiv's bookstores and the capital city's Petrivka book market will find very few books on Ukrainian politics—except translations of Western authors. In the 1990s, Ukraine published *Politychna Dumka* (*Political Thought*), *Heneza* (*Genesis*), and *Politolohichni Chytannya* (*Political Readings*) journals as well as a greater number of books about Ukrainian politics. An important factor why political studies have deteriorated is because of the "brain drain" of the best political scientists into the world of political technology. Yuriy Levenets, director of the prestigious Institute of Politics and Ethno-National Research of the Academy of Sciences, worked for Kuchma (1999), Yanukovych (2004), and until he passed away in 2013 for Serhiy Lyovochkin's political projects.[15] Kyiv Mohyla Academy Political Science Department Professor Pawlenko has worked for Winter Crop Generation (KOP, 2002), Yushchenko (2004), Yatsenyuk (2009—he was one of the Ukrainians replaced by Russian consultants), UDAR and Klitschko (2011–2014), and Poroshenko (from 2014). A country that lacks political science as a discipline taught in higher education, such as Ukraine, will find it difficult to produce political elites with an understanding of the complexities of the modern world and the multifaceted nature of the quadruple transition from Soviet republic to a fully integrated European state.

As with the failure to listen to Western advice, there is little intellectual input from the West into Ukrainian political programs and Ukrainian politicians are more adept at saying what they oppose than what they stand for, which is often couched in vacuous populist rhetoric.[16] This applies as much to the English-speaking younger generation Yatsenyuk[17] as it does to his peers and the popularity and level of trust in Ukrainian politicians therefore remains consistently low.

The Ukrainian diaspora has provided no investment into political science publications in Ukraine (excluding party political publications, such as OUNm's *Rozbudova Derzhavy* magazine in the 1990s). *Politychna Dumka* ceased publication a decade ago while *Ukrayinskyy Tyzhden* (*The Ukrainian Week*), the *only* Ukrainian-language political magazine published in Ukraine, has Austrian–Dutch financing by ECEM Media. Two other Ukrainian-language political weeklies *Novynar* magazine, published by American businessperson Jed Sunden, and *Glavred* magazine, published by Jewish Ukrainian oligarch Kolomoyskyy and Our Ukraine businessperson Oleksandr Tretyakov, closed in 2008 and 2010, respectively, during the global financial crisis. The Ukrainian diaspora's contribution to Ukraine's overall media market is very weak. *Suchasnist* magazine, which had only 100 subscribers in the Ukrainian diaspora, closed for financial reasons in 2010 and reopened two years later. Nonpolitical

science publications such as *Krytyka* magazine (modeled on *The New York Review of Books*), with a limited 1,000 circulation, receive indirect support from the NGO Instytut Krytyky and Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (HURI). The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) provides assistance for *Ukrayina Moderna* journal published by the Institute of Ukrainian History, Lviv University, and *Skhid-Zakhid* journal by the Kowalsky Institute, Kharkiv University. Unfortunately, these three publications are published for historians.

This record poorly compares with investment into Ukraine's media market by Jewish émigrés from Ukraine, Jews in Ukraine, and exiled Russian oligarchs. In 1995, Jewish–Ukrainian émigrés from New York's *Novoe Russkoe Slovo*, the oldest Russian émigré newspaper, launched the influential *Zerkalo Nedeli* (Russian edition) weekly newspaper. In 1995, the editors of *Zerkalo Nedeli* approached Drach to seek Ukrainian diaspora financial assistance to publish a Ukrainian-language edition of the newspaper, but they failed in their endeavor. "They thought the Ukrainian diaspora might assist them. He explained to them (the newspaper) that they simply did not have the funding for a Ukrainian edition."[18] The Ukrainian diaspora never provided the financing, and the editors of *Zerkalo Nedeli* eventually found alternative domestic funding enabling the Ukrainian edition (*Dzerkalo Tyzhnya*) to begin publication in July 2000. Ukrainian diaspora reticence was a product of elite provincialism and unwillingness to invest into a bilingual Russian–Ukrainian language media project.

The Ukrainian diaspora has never initiated and supported anything comparable to the television channels launched in Ukraine by Jewish and Russian émigré oligarchs. Jewish–Ukrainian oligarch Kolomoyskyy, owner of 1+1 channel, financially supported the launch of the country's first international English-language channel Ukraine Today on Ukraine's Independence Day in 2014. Kolomoyskyy and Vadym Rabinovich earlier had launched JN1 television channel, the world's first Jewish "CNN" 24-hour news program, in Kyiv in 2010 with an initial investment of $5 million. In 2008, two Russian oligarchs Vladimir Gusinsky, who owned Russia's largest independent media empire Media-Most until his forced exile in 2001, and Konstantin Kagalovskiy, a business partner of formerly imprisoned oligarch Mikhail Khodorkovskiy, launched TBi independent television channel in Ukraine headed by well-known Ukrainian journalist Mykola Knyazhytskyy who in 2012 was elected by *Batkivshchina* and in 2014 by the Popular Front to parliament.

The Ukrainian diaspora's weak support for political science in Ukraine is a reflection of three factors. First, although the Ukrainian diaspora includes many millionaires in North America who have donated large sums to non-Ukrainian causes, there is often an absence of vision or fundamental knowledge about the requirements of Ukrainian society.

Second, OUNb, the largest Ukrainian émigré nationalist organization, has always opposed funding for Western academic centers on Ukraine because it only finances what it can control and has always been suspicious and critical of liberal academia. Although members of OUNb and its community organizations are highly critical of many academics, particularly those writing on Ukrainian nationalism and the 1940s, they have never invested in alternative academic and political science institutions and publications. Third, political science is either nonexistent or a very low priority in HURI, whose three chairs are devoted to history, language, and literature, the chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto, CIUS, and Columbia University (where Ukrainian studies was established in the late 1990s, but again not in the field of political science). The Ukrainian diaspora has not sought to establish an academic presence in Washington, DC, a city with over five private prestigious universities, tens of think tanks, IMF, and World Bank.[19] The provision of Ukrainian studies in academia and think tank centers in Washington, DC, has been intermittent and reliant on short-term grants for visiting scholars.[20] Meanwhile, teaching on Ukrainian politics was practically nonexistent in Canada until recently and grew from 2013 with the support of the U.S.-based Ukrainian Studies Fund.[21]

Georgia's reforms and integration into Europe are progressing faster than Ukraine because they have escaped from their post-Soviet, Eurasian provincialism. Its younger generation speak and read English, were trained in Western Universities, and returned to Georgia where they became the country's ruling elites following the 2003 Rose Revolution. The average age of the first Azarov government was 60, double that of the Georgian government whose ministers have Western law degrees (e.g., President Mikheil Saakashvili), MBAs, or other Western academic qualifications. Georgia—unlike Ukraine—recognizes Western degrees.

The only similar Ukrainian program that has existed is the excellent Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program (CUPP) headed by Ihor Bardyn through which 700 students have participated since 1991. An additional 100 are alumni who applied and completed the selection process, were accepted into the program, received entry to a Western university, and were encouraged to take up studies using funds from their CUPP scholarship.[22]

VIRTUAL POLITICS AND POLITICAL TECHNOLOGY

Ukraine and other countries in the former USSR (excluding the three Baltic states) have experienced virtual democracies and political projects during their transitions from Soviet communism to democracy. Yurii A. Levada explains that virtual politics has a long history in Tsarist Russia

and the USSR: "Soviet communism nurtured a Potemkin-village simulacrum of participation in public life: political activists were matters of orchestrated mass behavior. The population at large was assigned the role of a theatrical clique, ritually applauding as the leaders performed. This frame of mind carried over in the transition period."[23]

Steered or directed democracies such as those that are dominant in Eurasia are led by de-ideologized, amoral, and cynical elites, operate powerful political forces that have established a monopoly of power and monopolization of competition for power in virtual polities, and operate where there is a passive electorate and controlled information. Civil society remains weak, the virtual polity is resistant to new ideas ("ideaphobia"), and elites mobilize voters by focusing on conflict with domestic and foreign opponents (see Chapters 6 and 7).

Concessions are only possible until a total monopolization of power has been achieved. In the 2006 Crimean elections, the Party of Regions was not powerful enough to take control of the autonomous republic's parliament and therefore established the For Yanukovych! bloc with local Russian nationalist parties, but in the 2010 local elections the Party of Regions no longer needed allies and took full control of the regional parliament. In the 2010 and 2012 elections, presidential candidate Yanukovych and the Party of Regions made inroads into Transcarpathia in an alliance with Baloha and the United Centre party. There can be only one *vlada* (*vlasti*) and the concept of dual power is viewed negatively whether through sharing power in the Crimea and Transcarpathia or between parliament and the president, as in the parliamentary constitution used in 2006–2010 and since 2014.

Politicians who are open to being co-opted view compromises made by opponents as signs of weakness. Examples of these are numerous and especially prominent among pragmatic businesspeople who are the first to defect following a change of power. A record of 373 (out of 450) deputies voted in February 2005, two months after the Orange Revolution, to confirm President Yushchenko's choice of Tymoshenko for the position of prime minister. For a United Ukraine (2002) elected businessperson Andriy Derkach to parliament, he then supported the 2004 Orange Revolution, and was elected to parliament in the pro-Orange SPU (2006) but then was elected by the anti-Orange Party of Regions in 2007 and 2012 and three years later supported Poroshenko. Meanwhile, those who are perceived to be *protyvnyky* (e.g., Tymoshenko) cannot be trusted, because they refuse to be co-opted and have to be therefore destroyed.

The term "political technologist" has no English-language equivalent and terms such as "election consultant" or "political consultant" do not convey its Eurasian, post-Soviet Byzantine meaning. Political technologists are in fact a combination of spin-doctors, election consultants, and black PR operators. Andrew Wilson describes them as constructors of

politics and projects who frame the dynamics of election campaigns, manipulate election results, collect *kompromat*, and organize active measures by the Security Services. Methods employed by political technologists have their roots in the Soviet secret services, and they have drawn upon former employees of the KGB's first (foreign espionage), second (counterintelligence and internal political control), and fifth (censorship and internal security against dissent and opposition) directorates. Other sources of political technologists were former employees of the agitprop (ideological) department of the central committee of Communist Parties and former lecturers in Marxism-Leninism, many of whom renamed themselves *politolohy* in the post-Soviet era.

Oligarchs have often hired Russian political technologists in Ukrainian elections because of an inferiority complex and "cultural cringe" that somehow believes they are more professional than their Ukrainian counterparts. In fact, Russian political technologists have usually turned out to be a disaster for their clients as vividly seen with Yatsenyuk's 2010 election campaign after Pinchuk changed his Ukrainian for Russian political technologists. Shuvalov, brought to Ukraine with Marat Gelman and Pavlovskiy in 2004 by then Chief of Staff Medvedchuk, maintained a working relationship with Serhiy Lyovochkin and *Inter* channel. Serhiy Arbuzov employed Russian political technologist Oleksy Sitnikov when he was first deputy prime minister.

Political technologists in Ukraine have four key functions: (1) encourage splits in opposition parties; (2) create and establish virtual political projects; (3) manipulate the media; and (4) mobilize state-administrative resources.

First, splits have been encouraged in opposition parties, such as *Rukh* in 1992, 1993, 1999, and 2000. Bohdan Ternopilskyy, an employee of the presidential administration, played a major role in the establishment of the Confederation of National Democratic Forces as a pro-presidential *derzhavnyk* wing of *Rukh* opposed to Vyacheslav Chornovil's "constructive opposition." The gas lobby financed the split of *Rukh* into one wing led by Hennadiy Udovenko (Vyacheslav Chornovil's successor) and a second that became the UNP (Ukrainian People's Party) led by Yuriy Kostenko. Bohdan Boyko's *Rukh* for Unity (NRZY) was covertly supported by the SDPUo and through former *Rukh* Press Secretary Dmytro Ponomarchuk by the presidential administration when Medvedchuk headed it. Ponomarchuk was the sole survivor of the March 1999 car accident in which Vyacheslav Chornovil died. After the accident, Ponomarchuk began working for Medvedchuk and through marriage became related to former Prosecutor Piskun. There were serious allegations the SBU had infiltrated KUN and its deputy leader Serhiy Zhyzhko was rumored to be the agent. In 1995, he successfully engineered a vote in KUN to expel Zvarych, an OUNb activist from New York.

Second, the creation and establishment of one-time election projects, which are not accountable to Ukrainians who vote for them such as the Green Party (1998), Women for the Future and KOP (2002), Not in This Manner! (2006), and Forward Ukraine (2012). KOP was established by the Agency for Humanitarian Technologies, which had previously worked for the Labour Ukraine party and was headed by political technologists Volodymyr Hranovskyy and Petro Shchedrovitskyy, in an attempt to take away votes from Our Ukraine. Political parties are bought (e.g., *Hromada*, Solidarity, and KUN) and used as *krysha* (criminal slang for roof but meaning protection) for business and private interests and to provide patronage and services to voters who are viewed as consumers—not citizens. Virtual nationalist parties were established to take votes from Our Ukraine and Yushchenko in the 2002 and 2004 elections. Other virtual parties were established on the radical left, including the Communist Party of Workers and Peasants, Communist Party (laborers), and Communist Party of Ukraine (renewed)—making a total of four parties with "communist" with the goal of confusing voters. The Progressive Socialist Party and ZUBR (For the Union of Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia) also reportedly had ties to the authorities.

Third, manipulate the media through *temnyky* when Medvedchuk was chief of staff (see Box 4.2). *Temnyky* were prepared in secret at the Centre for Effective Politics, the Ukrainian branch of the Moscow-based Fund for Effective Politics headed by President Putin's political technologist Gleb Pavlovskiy. Russian political technologists Pavlovskiy, Gelman, Shuvalov, and the head of the Kyiv-based pro-Yanukovych Russian Press Club Markov were illegally intervening in Ukrainian elections and censoring the Ukrainian media. Yanukovych's Chief of Staff Serhiy Lyovochkin and Inter television channel employed Shuvalov as an "adviser."

Fourth, mobilize state-administrative resources by (1) organizing local branches of ruling parties to send voters to demonstrations in Kyiv; (2) manipulating elections; and (3) providing financing from central and local state budgets. Other resources include (4) distributing free goods during election campaigns and (5) ensuring technical (virtual) candidates and parties and the ruling party dominate election commissions. In the 2004 elections, 13 out of 24 candidates were technical candidates who indirectly worked for the Yanukovych election campaign.

Another example of the provision of state-administrative resources was the manipulation of results in the 1998 elections when votes for the Agrarian Party were donated to the SDPUo who just scraped into parliament with a suspiciously close 4.01 percent (in reality they received 3.8 percent). A second political party the authorities wanted to enter parliament to counter the Socialist Party (SPU) were the Progressive Socialist Party who also received a suspiciously close 4.04 percent. SBU Chairperson Leonid Derkach planned the October 1999 provocation when stun

grenades were thrown at a Progressive Socialist Party leader Natalya Vitrenko rally that was blamed on the SPU to discredit its leader Oleksandr Moroz. Kuchma did not wish to face Oleksandr Moroz in the second round of the elections, preferring instead to compete with KPU leader Symonenko (see Box 5.1). A bomb explosion in Kyiv in August 2004 was aimed at discrediting nationalist allies of the Yushchenko campaign. The SBU have also been involved in covert operations to support virtual political projects, including assisting the Communist Party in the Crimea as an alternative to the separatist Russia bloc.

POLITICAL PROJECTS OR PARTIES?

A report prepared by the Swedish Agency for Development Evaluation on Swedish–Ukrainian party-to-party cooperation found seven problems: (1) weak ideology and policies; (2) corruption; (3) fragmentation of political parties; (4) lack of accountability of politicians and distance from voters who are estranged from the political system; (5) absence of internal democracy; (6) gap between leaders and youth members; and (7) unsustainability from a financial perspective.[24] Max Bader points to the marginality of Ukrainian political parties that lack social bases, have weak programs, are excessively dependent on the popularity of leaders, and lack long-term viability.[25]

These factors have produced consistently low levels of public trust in political parties. Few Ukrainians join political parties and the majority view them as self-serving institutions that are unaccountable and do not respect voters. Not surprisingly, voting levels have therefore progressively declined since the 1990s. The Euromaidan had a distrustful attitude toward opposition leaders that was not surprising; Yushchenko's election was met by very high expectations that were never fulfilled leading to public disenchantment with politicians. Yushchenko, not surprisingly, never visited the Euromaidan.

A quarter of a century after Ukraine became an independent state, there are no powerful and influential political parties in Ukraine because of four impediments. These include (1) inherited Soviet political culture; (2) weak party structures; (3) regional and linguistic diversity; and (4) corruption.

Ukraine's Soviet legacy has contributed to ideologically vacuous political parties because pre-Soviet political party legacies go back too far back in history. Western Ukraine's last experience of party politics prior to the region's Soviet annexation in 1939 was of integral nationalist, not democratic, politics. Ukraine and the post-Soviet world are faced by an ideological void that has been filled by nationalism, populism, clientalism, and patronage, manifesting itself in ruling parties led by the former

senior Soviet nomenklatura—Haydar Aliev (Azerbaijan), Eduard Shevardnadze (Georgia), Islam Karimov (Uzbekistan), and Kravchuk and Kuchma (Ukraine). Populism requires an enemy whether in the form of Islam, immigration, and the EU (as seen during the May 2014 European parliamentary elections) or in Ukraine with the pro-Russian Yanukovych. The fleeing of Yanukovych and the collapse of the Party of Regions has therefore reduced popularity for *Svoboda* and Tymoshenko and the *Batkivshchina* party.

The ideological void was deepened by the disintegration of Soviet Communist ideology during Soviet leader Brezhnev's "era of stagnation" that encouraged corruption and facilitated cynicism. The ideological void has translated into cynicism and intellectually weak party political programs that are rarely implemented when politicians come to power. Ukrainian politicians seek power for power's sake not to implement an ideological program "even if the hungry politician hasn't the foggiest idea or qualifications for the desired top job."[26] Although the *Batkivshchina* party is an observer member of the center-right EPP (European People's Party), it remains as ideologically eclectic as Tymoshenko who has center-left views. An interviewer with UDAR leader Vitaliy Klitschko, whose party is also a member of the EPP, concluded he "is improving his rhetoric, but fails to give clear answers to crucial questions regarding the nation's development."[27] Klitschko's weak political experience was a factor behind him withdrawing in favor of Poroshenko in the 2014 preterm presidential election. Prime Minister Yatsenyuk, who took over the leadership of *Batkivshchina* after Tymoshenko was jailed in October 2011, has flip-flopped on countless occasions that have given him a credibility problem with voters. Poroshenko, who was the leading candidate in the 2014 elections, is also a flip-flopper having moved between countless political forces, including founding the Party of Regions and Our Ukraine, supporting Yushchenko and the Orange Revolution, being a minister in the Azarov government, and backing the Euromaidan.

Soviet political culture continues to influence the manner in which Ukrainian domestic and foreign policies are conducted. President Yanukovych and the Party of Regions were at the extreme end of the spectrum in terms of their Soviet and Eurasianist approach to domestic and foreign policies. Nevertheless, Soviet political culture is also present in other Ukrainian political parties and not recognizing this fact has led to Western foundations failing to reap successes from their investment into Ukrainian political projects. Virtuality in the form of a large disconnection between rhetoric, programs, policies, and actions is common throughout Ukraine's political parties and presidents. There is also a continuation of the Soviet era wide gulf between elites and voters, disrespect of the former toward the latter, and absence of accountability of ruling elites to

the law or to voters. Prevalence of rhetoric over substance was as evident under Yushchenko as it was under Ukraine's other presidents.

Vitaliy Klitschko's leadership has not been noticeably different to that of other Ukrainian party leaders, and UDAR remains a largely virtual party closely tied to its leader. Kyiv Mayor Vitaliy Klitschko's abilities to combat corruption in Kyiv will be hampered by his own intellectual limitations and his alliance with former Kyiv Mayor Chernovetsky's supporters.

Ukrainian political parties are structurally weak, lack internal democracy, and are run as fiefdoms as vividly seen in the manner in which Oleksandr Moroz, Yushchenko, and Tymoshenko ruled the SPU, Our Ukraine, and *Batkivshchina*, respectively. A feeling of ownership of political parties has led to Oleksandr Moroz, Yushchenko, and KPU leader Symonenko, refusing to stand down after leading their political forces to election defeats. The opposition does not use the lessons of election defeat to change leaders or undergo internal changes and reevaluate programs. Tymoshenko, for example, will not resign as party leader after receiving a disastrous second place with 13 percent of the vote in the 2014 elections. Ukrainian politicians do not know how to renew themselves following election defeats and failed leaders do not resign leading to disaffected opponents splitting and creating new political parties. The 7 parties in President Yushchenko's NUNS elected to parliament in September 2007 had grown to 14 by 2010. Following the pro-Western opposition's defeat in 2010, few changes were made for the 2012 parliamentary elections where there was again little transparency or public discussion surrounding the choice of candidates. *Ukrayinska Pravda* investigative reporter Leshchenko wrote, "Personally for me this (United Opposition [*Batkivshchina*]) list is a personal disappointment. This is not new politics."[28]

Although Italy and Canada also have regional divisions, they have managed to create national parties. No Ukrainian political party has succeeded in receiving support throughout the country. Ukraine's Orange Revolution and Euromaidan led to splits in the country that in the second case ended in state violence against protesters and violent separatism. Ukraine's regionalism has prevented a major breakthrough for democratic and reform-minded politicians and has given antidemocratic, counterrevolutionary parties such as the KPU and Party of Regions a high number of votes.

Ukraine's post-Soviet transition deepened corruption and cynicism and was accompanied by violence during the 1990s in regions such as the Crimea, Donetsk, and Odesa where spoils from asset looting of the former Soviet state were the greatest. Ukraine's presidents have never found the political will to combat corruption that has grown over time and infected

all aspects of the party political system. Of 450 deputies checked by NGO *Chesno* (Honesty), 310 had nontransparent expenditures and incomes that clearly meant that, although Party of Regions deputies were the worse culprits, some democratic deputies were also opaque. A number of candidates in the 2012 elections who claimed they had not earned anything that year nevertheless drove Lexus and Mercedes cars while typically others registered their assets in the names of family members. Only 183 out of 450 deputies had published their income tax declarations as required to by law. Following the Euromaidan, corruption in politics and elections has continued to remain an issue. Poroshenko received election support through financing and television coverage on *Inter* from Firtash and the notoriously corrupt gas lobby who had earlier invested in Klitschko.

Political parties are closely tied to business interests, contributing to unequal access to resources and an uneven playing field during elections. Businessmen devote less time to parliamentary work with the Party of Regions the least productive in legislative work and *Batkivshchina* and UDAR deputies faring better, but only by a small margin. "Piano voting" (voting on behalf of absent deputies) was widespread in the Ukrainian parliament, especially (but not only) among the Party of Regions, with many legislative acts adopted without the required number of real votes. It has continued after the Euromaidan. On "Black Thursday" (January 16, 2014), the Party of Regions and KPU voted to destroy Ukraine's democracy through a show of hands (i.e., less than the minimum 226 deputies) rather than through the electronic voting system.

All Ukrainian political parties (including the KPU) rely on funding from oligarchs and big business that deepens close ties between business and politics. Elections in Ukraine are expensive and presidential and parliamentary candidates spend approximately three times more than they officially declare, while for political parties the levels are even higher. The total amount spent on elections is approximately $2 billion or 1 percent of GDP; in relation to Ukraine's GDP, this is 2,000 times more than what is spent on a U.S. election. Sources of funding are opaque with an absence of legal accountability for false reporting. A ready source of funding exists in Ukraine's shadow economy—one of the biggest in the world. Little has changed since Liberal Party leader Volodymyr Shcherban gave this comment nearly two decades ago: "Given the current situation, when 60 percent of the economy is in the shadow, any party organisation obtains shadow financing as well."[29] An additional source of opaque party political and election funds are offshore accounts in EU member states (Cyprus is Ukraine's largest foreign investor), Switzerland, Monaco, Lichtenstein, the British Virgin Islands, and Belize.

The Party of Regions was by far the wealthiest political force in Ukraine declaring it received $40 million in official revenues in 2012 (the figure was undoubtedly far higher) with *Batkivshchina* and UDAR declaring they

had received $15 and $5 million, respectively. New political forces, such as the nationalist *Pravyy Sektor* that emerged from nowhere during the Euromaidan was nevertheless successful in finding 2.5 million *hryvnia* to register its leader Dmytro Yarosh as a candidate in the 2014 elections.

Television channels, especially important during election campaigns, are controlled by the president (State Channel One) or by oligarchs who seek to ingratiate themselves by permitting censorship. The long-delayed proposal to transform State Channel One into a BBC-style societal channel (i.e., no longer a tool of the president as part of his state-administrative resources) may only began to become possible after the Euromaidan.

The absence of influential political parties in Ukraine will impair Ukraine's evolution into a parliamentary democracy. In addition, strong parliamentary parties are necessary to implement reforms demanded in the EU Association Agreement and Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (DCFTA). Currently, Ukraine does not possess powerful political parties similar to those that successfully promoted European-mandated reforms in Eastern Europe and Turkey. President Poroshenko, Prime Minister Yatsenyuk, and Kyiv city Mayor Klitschko lead three virtual political forces.

NATIONALISM AND DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PARTIES IN UKRAINE

Ukraine has nearly 200 political parties, the majority of which are small and insignificant, and of these, fewer than five have any real influence on political affairs. Political parties have retained influence if they have been able to cross the 3–5 percent threshold in parliament, and in the 2014 elections six parties entered parliament. Ukraine's two largest parties, the Party of Regions and BYUT/*Batkivshchina*, came first and second, respectively, in the 2006, 2007, and 2012 parliamentary elections (*Batkivshchina* fought the first two elections in a coalition of parties in BYuT).

Ukraine's law on political parties was adopted in the early 1990s and updated in April 2001, requiring parties to collect 10,000 signatures from those eligible to vote for the purposes of registration. To prevent the rise of regional and secessionist parties, these signatures have to be collected in two thirds of Ukraine's *oblasts*, the cities of Kyiv and Sevastopol (which have republican status), and until 2014 Crimean autonomous republic. The ostensible purpose of the legislation to encourage parties to develop throughout the country has not succeeded, and no Ukrainian political party is popular throughout the country. Bribery can ensure the necessary numbers of signatures to register a political party; meanwhile, virtual branches of parties can be established in the legally required two thirds

of Ukraine's regions. Center-right (national democratic) and center-left parties are more popular in Ukrainophone Western and Central Ukraine where mutually exclusive identities prevail while centrist and radical-left parties dominate Russophone Eastern and Southern Ukraine where multiple identities dominate.

In Ukraine's second decade of independence, the Party of Regions adopted a conscious strategy of absorbing competitors, such as the *Sylna Ukrayina* party led by Tihipko, which led to a monopolization of Eastern and Southern Ukraine by the Party of Regions (with the KPU as a satellite party).[30] The opposite tendency took place among national democrats who fractured into an increasing number of political parties and failed to establish a presidential party of power and political machine to rival that of the Party of Regions. As the Party of Regions was becoming more powerful through co-option and mergers of competing parties, national democrats grew weaker as they fractured into an increasing number of parties. National democratic parties did not agree to merge into the Peoples Union–Our Ukraine established as Yushchenko's presidential party in March 2005 because of competing leaders egos and weak party discipline.

The 2011 election law, which forbade blocs from participating in elections, played a positive role in pressuring national democratic parties to establish a United Opposition during the 2012 elections that led to the unification of *Batkivshchina*, Front for Change, and Reforms and Order parties. New election legislation, the imprisonment of Tymoshenko, and authoritarian pressure from the Yanukovych administration gave the democratic opposition little choice but to unite. With the freeing of Tymoshenko, there was no room for two *Hetmans* in *Batkivshchina* and Yatsenyuk left and quickly established a virtual Popular Front for the 2014 elections.

Émigré Nationalists and Ukraine

When Ukraine became an independent state in 1991, Ukrainian émigré groups continued with the policies they had pursued vis-à-vis the USSR.[31] ZP UHVR-OUNz and OUNm did not establish political parties in Ukraine and instead focused on civil society and educational work. In 1992, Prolog and *Suchasnist* publishers transferred *Suchasnist* magazine to Kyiv where Dzyuba became an editor. OUNm registered as an NGO and moved the Olzhych Foundation to Kyiv where it publishes books and cooperated with the Ukrainian Republican Party, a logical alliance of two center-right *derzhavnyk* political forces. In 1992, OUNm weekly newspaper *Ukrayinske Slovo* (*Ukrainian Word*) began publication of a sister newspaper in Kyiv. In the early 1990s, Smoloskyp publishers moved its operations from Baltimore to Kyiv where it remains one of the few

President Leonid Kravchuk received in the Ukrainian parliament the regalia from Mykola Plavyuk, OUNm nationalist leader and president of the Ukrainian Peoples Republic (UNR) in exile, August 1992. (Ukrinform)

publishing houses to issue books on Ukrainian politics. The OUNm policy of not seeking to export émigré political parties to Ukraine was evident in the decision of the UNR (Ukrainian Peoples Republic) government-in-exile, headed by OUNm leader Mykola Plavyuk, to transfer its legitimacy to the newly independent Ukrainian state on August 22, 1992, in a ceremony in the Ukrainian parliament.[32] At the ceremony, Plavyuk, who passed his regalia to President Kravchuk, stated that the current Ukrainian state is the lawful successor to the UNR and a continuation of its authority and state traditions.

In 1991, the émigré OUNb aligned with the small DSU party whose leaders had links to the National Front. OUNb distanced itself from the largest, at that time, homegrown nationalist group, the Inter-Party Assembly (MPA) that became the Ukrainian National Assembly (UNA) with its paramilitary arm UNSO (Ukrainian Peoples Self Defense Force). OUNb therefore did not support UNA leader Yuriy Shukhevych's candidacy in Ukraine's December 1991 presidential elections. Yuriy Shukhevych had spent 30 years in the Gulag for being the son of OUN leader and UPA commander Roman Shukhevych.

In 1992, the OUNb continued its strategy of establishing political structures in Ukraine, albeit now overtly, by founding the KUN that was led by OUNb leader Yaroslava Stetsko from 1992 until she passed away in 2003. This step fractured the nationalist camp and suggested OUNb had

dropped its support for DSU because its operating culture desired an organization that it completely controlled. OUNb's monopolistic tendencies had been very common in the Ukrainian diaspora and had led to splits in the British and American émigré communities. The authoritarian OUNb or KUN has not used Nazi symbols resembling those used by the Social National Party of Ukraine (SNPU) although use of the red-black flag by these political forces symbolizing Ukraine's blood and black earth remains the subject of controversy. *Litopys UPA* editor Peter Potichnyj claims the OUNb decided in 1940 in Krakow that OUN's colors should be red-black to differentiate themselves from OUNm. "However, as far as I can say no red-black flag was ever used. ZCh OUN (OUNb), however, started using the colors to identify and distinguish themselves from others. The UPA used the blue and yellow flag and *tryzub (trident)*. In my three years serving in the UPA I never saw once the red-black flag."[33] The red-black flag that was used by OUNb after it split from OUNm and has been used extensively since 1945 by OUNb in the diaspora was brought to Ukraine in the early 1990s since when it has been used by nationalist political parties such as UNA–UNSO, KUN, SNPU/*Svoboda*, and *Pravyy Sektor*.

In the 1998 elections, KUN, Conservative Republican Party, and Republican Party *Sobor* campaigned for the Ukrainian parliament in the National Front bloc, which received twelfth (out of 30) place and 2.71 percent of the vote.[34] By these elections, the DSU had become an independent political force and joined with the SNPU (future *Svoboda* party) in the *Menshe Sliv* (Fewer Words) bloc coming next to bottom with 0.16 percent. Yaroslava Stetsko took KUN into Our Ukraine in the 2002 elections but passed away a year later when gas trader Oleksiy Ivchenko (see Chapter 10) became KUN leader. KUN was a member of Our Ukraine in the 2006 elections but opted to not join NUNS in the 2007 preterm elections. Ivchenko reduced the party's earlier ties to the émigré OUNb led since 2003 by second-generation Ukrainians from Germany (Andriy Haydamakha) and Australia (Stefan Romaniw).

KUN established the Stepan Bandera Sports-Patriotic Association *Tryzub* as its paramilitary arm copying UNA, DSU, and the SNPU that had also established paramilitary formations.[35] *Tryzub* split from KUN in the late 1990s and aligned with Bohdan Boyko who led the virtual *Rukh* for Unity that received financial support from the presidential administration. In March 2001, *Tryzub* members acted as *agent provocateurs* in provoking a riot in Kyiv leading to mass arrests of UNA–UNSO nationalists. Vasyl Ivanyshyn, one of the founders of *Tryzub*, was a supporter of President Kuchma, his rural party of power (the Agrarian party), and the For a United Ukraine bloc in the 2002 elections. In the Soviet era, he had reportedly been a KGB informer who had spied on Ukrainian dissident writers. Bohdan Boyko was one of the many "technical (i.e., virtual)

candidates" in the 2004 elections where his task was to assist in inflaming interethnic tension and fanning nationalist stereotypes of Yushchenko, thereby indirectly working for the Yanukovych campaign.

The case of *Tryzub* shows, like that of KUN taken over in 2003 by a corrupt gas trader, that the OUNb émigré strategy in the Soviet and post-Soviet eras of establishing parties and movements in Ukraine was misplaced and led to infiltration by the security services.[36] Overall, therefore, in the same way as in the Soviet era, the émigré strategy pursued by democratic nationalists of focusing on educational and civil society work was again proven to be the correct course of action to take, this time in independent Ukraine. The strategy adopted by OUNb of establishing an underground organization in Soviet Ukraine and a political party in independent Ukraine were undermined by the KGB in the first instance and by the SBU, the lingering influence of Soviet political culture and corruption in the second. The next section discusses the homegrown *Svoboda* political party, Ukraine's briefly successful nationalist party, and *pravyy sector.*

Ukrainian Nationalist Parties

New nationalist groups emerged in Soviet and independent Ukraine in the late 1980s and 1990s, which included UNA–UNSO, DSU, KUN, and SNPU/*Svoboda*. By the second decade of Ukrainian independence, most nationalist groups had become marginalized and had little influence, with the brief exception of *Svoboda*. The DSU had ceased to exist as a political party by the late 1990s and last participated in Ukrainian elections in 1998, disbanding in 2002–2003. By the late 1990s, the UNA–UNSO had split into different wings with one headed by the well-known UNA leader and television presenter Dmytro Korchynskyy, establishing the Eurasianist *Bratstvo* (Brotherhood) party. A competing UNA group led by Shkil formed the radical wing of the Ukraine without Kuchma movement and was decapitated by mass arrests of its members following the March 2001 riots. One of them—Shkil—was elected to parliament in 2002, 2006, and 2007 in BYuT but fled abroad in 2012 to seek political asylum.

In October 1991, in Lviv, the SNPU was established but not registered until five years later, and its first participation in elections in 1998 in a bloc with DSU was a dismal failure. Tyahnybok had been a founding member of the SNPU when he led the Student Brotherhood (SB) in Lviv in 1991–1994, 80 percent of whose members joined the new political party. In addition to student members, the SNPU attracted support from *Varta Rukh* (*Rukh* paramilitary stewards) in its early days. Until 1998, Yaroslav Andrushkiv led the SNPU, and Yuriy Kryvoruchko, a leading member of *Varta Rukh*, focused on ideology. In 1993, the SNPU, similar to KUN and UNA, established paramilitary "popular guard units" that became the base for the creation of the Society to Assist the Armed Forces and

Navy of Ukraine—*Patriot Ukrayiny* (Patriots of Ukraine).[37] In 2004, after Tyahnybok became leader, the newly refurbished *Svoboda* cut its ties to *Patriot Ukrayiny,* and those who opposed Tyahnybok's modernization continued to use the SNPU's symbols as the Social National Assembly, which became the Azov battalion's flag.

The SNPU chose to emulate Joerg Haider's Austrian Freedom party by changing its name in 2004 from the Nazi-sounding Social-National Party of Ukraine to the *Freedom* (*Svoboda*) party. In the 1990s, SNPU's symbol was suspiciously similar to the *Hakenkreuz* (*hook-cross* or *swastika*) used by the Nazis—which the émigré OUNb had never officially used.[38] *Svoboda* leaders such as Tyahnybok have made on occasion anti-Semitic slurs, and the Our Ukraine faction expelled him after a particularly racist and anti-Semitic speech in 2004, but these have been rare.[39] The SNPU has cooperated with France's National Front (FN) party when FN leader Jean-Marie Le Pen visited Ukraine and the SNPU joined Euronet (bringing together European nationalist political parties since 1997), which *Svoboda* joined. But, this cooperation ended with the emergence of an alliance between Putin and European nationalist-populist and fascist parties, which gave their backing to the illegitimate Crimean referendum in March 2014. Both Putin and Europe's extreme right share a common dislike of the EU.

Since the 1990s, UNA, KUN, and *Svoboda* have propagated the cult of nationalist heroes in Galicia, which has included torchlight marches by nationalists dressed in paramilitary fatigues and party attire, unveiling of monuments to nationalist leaders, billboards praising the Galicia Division, and the mass renaming of streets in honor of Ukrainian nationalist leaders. Ukraine has 46 statues or busts and 14 plaques of Bandera, 5 museums are devoted to his life, and 100 streets have been renamed after him. A monument unveiled in Lviv to Bandera was criticized in the local media for aesthetical reasons because it resembled earlier Soviet monuments of Lenin and Shevchenko (e.g., at Kaniv) with this left-hand raised higher. In addition, "For many Lviv residents its form provoked undesirable associations with Soviet monumentalism and the aesthetics of Socialist realism."[40] Some monuments of Bandera in heroic stature looked remarkably similar to statues of Lenin.[41]

The cult of Bandera was a reaction to Soviet propaganda against Ukrainian nationalism and the labeling of nationally conscious Ukrainians as "Banderites." Bandera was not only controversial among Ukrainians, but he was an unusual hero; after all, he had lived for most of his life outside Ukraine in Poland and Germany. During World War II, he was kept under house arrest and, although espousing a "revolutionary" ideology, he never returned to Soviet Ukraine to join the

Monument to Ukrainian nationalist leader Stepan Bandera unveiled in October 2007 in Lviv. (Taras Kuzio)

armed underground in the 1940s. Lebed, Roman Shukhevych, and Kuk led OUNb and UPA in Ukraine in 1941–1952.

The SNPU has been well funded,[42] which has raised suspicions about the source of its financial base because it did not come from the émigré OUNb with whom relations have always been poor (OUNb invested in DSU and KUN and distrusted UNA–UNSO and *Svoboda*). Support for KUN/OUNb and SNPU/*Svoboda* has divided émigrés with the postwar nationalist diaspora supporting the former and the new "fourth wave" nationalist diaspora (e.g., in the largest of these communities in Chicago) backing the latter. Although led by Yuriy Shukhevych, UNA–UNSO was never able and never attempted to attract support in the Ukrainian diaspora.

Initially, Kolomoyskyy protected his oil business interests in Galicia by funding *Svoboda*, and from 2014, after becoming governor of

Greetings from President Yanukovych and the Party of Regions on the seventieth anniversary of the liberation of Kyiv from the Nazi's alongside rhetoric of the "Great Patriotic War" and fighting "fascism," Kyiv, November 2013. (Taras Kuzio)

Dnipropetrovsk, he provided funding for *Pravyy Sektor* and two *Dnipro* battalions. Party of Regions oligarchs reportedly financed *Svoboda* in a dual strategy to take votes from national democrats in Western Ukraine *and* mobilize Eastern Ukrainian voters against the threat from "Ukrainian nationalism" (i.e., Orange political forces and leaders). *Svoboda*'s nationalism is unpopular in Eastern and Southern Ukraine, and therefore, it would never become a threat to the Party of Regions in their home base. Wilson describes *Svoboda* as "scarecrow party" to indirectly mobilize support for the authorities in the same manner as the nationalistic Liberal Democratic Party of Russia.[43] These political parties, together with the communists, "have for years been in the business of losing elections."[44] The Ukrainian media have alleged that oligarch Kolomoyskyy and senior Party of Regions leaders Volodomyr Sivkovich, Borys Kolesnikov, and Andriy Kluyev have provided financial assistance to *Svoboda*.[45] The lack of transparency in *Svoboda*'s financial sponsorship was revealed in its officially declared $3.5 million revenues in 2012 with the companies owned by the alleged donor heavily in debt, failing to pay its bills, and owing more than $10 million to Ukrainian banks.[46] After Yanukovych came to power, the authorities indirectly assisted increasing *Svoboda*'s popularity. In 2010–2011, on the eve of parliamentary elections and when media censorship was growing and the opposition were not given airtime, *Svoboda* was disproportionately invited

to participate in political television shows. In 2011, *Svoboda* representatives, at a time when they were not present in parliament, participated in every second Shuster Live (State Channel 1) and Yevhen Kyslyiv's *Velyka Polityka* (Big Politics) shown on Inter television channel.

The Yanukovych administration strategy of providing *Svoboda* with extensive television exposure had two goals.[47] First, to exaggerate the influence of a nationalist party within the opposition and, as during "anti-fascist" rallies in May 2013, to then portray the opposition—as in Soviet times—as extremists, nationalists, and "fascists." In November 2013, the Assembly of Nationalities was launched in Kyiv's Hyatt Hotel bringing together 50 national minority organizations to exaggerate the level of xenophobia and anti-Semitism in Ukraine. The Congress of National Communities of Ukraine and VAAD (Association of Jewish Communities and Organisations of Ukraine) issued a joint statement condemning the attempt at fanning interethnic discord and hysteria ahead of the 2015 elections.[48]

During the Euromaidan, one wing of UNA, *Patrioty Ukrayiny*, and the Stepan Bandera Sports-Patriotic Association *Tryzub* led by Dmytro Yarosh united to form the nationalist *Pravyy Sektor* that includes many Russian speakers (Yarosh is from Dnipropetrovsk *oblast*), and therefore with no base of support in Western Ukraine, it has little political future. *Pravyy Sektor* volunteers created their own volunteer unit or joined the four Donbas and *Dnipro* battalions supported by Dnipropetrovsk Governor Kolomoyskyy.

***Aydar* volunteer battalion troops of the Ukrainian Guard giving a farewell tribute to one of their comrades, May 2014. (Yuriy Lukanov)**

***Pravyy Sektor* nationalist paramilitaries, many of who participated in the Euromaidan in the heat of battle fighting pro-Russian separatists in the Donetsk region, May 2014. (Yuriy Lukanov)**

Russian and Soviet Nationalism in Ukraine

Ethnic nationalism has been electorally weak in Ukraine and support for *Svoboda* has remained comparably low compared to that for nationalist and populist groups in Europe and Eurasia. Soviet and Russian nationalism in Ukraine, routinely ignored by scholars and journalists alike, represented a graver threat to Ukraine's democratic system and European integration. There is a greater prevalence of antidemocratic culture, racial intolerance, anti-Semitism, and xenophobia in Eastern and Southern Ukraine and especially in the Crimea. Although routinely castigated as intolerant, the previous chapter analyzed how democratic traditions in Western Ukraine have a longer tradition in the region than integral nationalism. The most tolerant region of Ukraine is Trans-Carpathia followed by Galicia, according to a December 2014 poll that asked whether corrupt officials should be executed, as in China. A similar number of Western and Eastern Ukrainians would protest against discrimination of racial or ethnic groups.[49] Paramilitary groups openly describing themselves as Russian fascists trained with weapons in the Crimea without intervention by the SBU,[50] and these undoubtedly assisted Russia's occupation of the Crimea and separatists in the Donbas.

In Eastern Ukraine and the Crimea, a higher number of monuments and placards of historical figures and national tragedies have been

A banner saying "To Europe Without Fascists" held at a Party of Regions rally where vigilante's acted as stewards who then attacked journalists in Kyiv in May 2013. Some of the vigilantes joined the ranks of the separatists. (Yuriy Lukanov and Taras Kuzio)

defaced and vandalized by Russian nationalists than vandalism directed against Soviet monuments in Western and Central Ukraine. Some Western Ukrainians, after all, served in the 4.5 million-strong Soviet armed forces during World War II, and some of them must be counted among the 409,000 soldiers who received decorations. Monuments to World War II Soviet soldiers (as opposed to statues of Lenin and other symbols of Communism) are therefore routinely not defaced in Western Ukraine.[51] A Ukrainian in the Soviet army raised the Soviet flag over the former Nazi Reichstag in Berlin while a Ukrainian officer in the Soviet army accepted Japan's capitulation in September 1945 on behalf of the Soviet Union.[52]

Intolerance of alternative opinions and authoritarian political culture is far higher in Eastern Ukraine and the Crimea. Drawing on Eurasian authoritarian political culture, the Party of Regions, whether it has been in opposition or in power, has been the most aggressive and violent political force in Ukraine, evidence for which is to be found inside and outside parliament and during the violent separatist conflict in the Donbas. In the 2004 elections, the Yanukovych campaign's strategy of "directed chaos"

nearly brought the country to the brink of violent conflict. On December 16, 2010, Party of Regions deputies violently attacked opposition deputies sleeping overnight in parliament,[53] who were protesting against political repression of Tymoshenko.[54] Ukrainian activists murdered by Russian nationalists have included composer Ihor Bilozir in Lviv on May 8, 2000, and by *Rodina* of Odesa State University student and member of the nationalist youth movement *Sich* Maksym Chayka on April 17, 2009 (see Chapters 9 and 10).[55] Meanwhile, no Russian nationalist or activist had died at the hands of Ukrainian nationalists in independent Ukraine up to the Euromaidan. Vigilante and police violence was common throughout Yanukovych's presidency against journalists, civic activists, and political leaders and extensively used for the purposes of election fraud and corporate raiding.[56] Violence against, and murder of, Euromaidan protesters was a product of the thuggish culture that permeated the Donetsk clan and the Party Regions. In her study of violence in the Ukrainian parliament, Ioulia Shukan found that Party of Regions deputies most prone to fighting had been earlier involved in sports, criminal, and police activities and had acquired a respect for the use of violence to achieve ends during the "savage" capitalism predominant in Donetsk in the 1990s.[57] Such a deeply shown propensity to exercise violence and disrespect for human rights was demonstrated during the spring of 2014 in Eastern and Southern Ukraine and since by Donetsk and Luhansk separatist forces (see later). In March 2014, the faces of pro-Ukrainian teenagers dragged out of Kharkiv's State Administration building and beaten and petrified they were to be executed because they were allegedly "fascists" are clearly shown in footage in the *PBS, Frontline* report "The Battle for Ukraine." If the forces opposing them have been portrayed countless times on Russian television as allegedly "fascists," this transforms them into those who are xenophobically anti-Russian (and anti-Russian-language speakers) with no human rights or value.

Shelley writes about the origins of organized crime in the Stalin era when criminals were integrated into Soviet structures and the security forces. Used to intimidate and eliminate enemies after 1945, *vory v zakone* (organized crime leaders known as thieves in law) undertook "dirty work for state law enforcers." [58] The USSR placed great emphasis, in the manner of all totalitarian states, upon public sport activities, and Vadim Volkov writes that "Sportsmen naturally formed the core of the emerging racketeering groups."[59] Sport in the USSR was intimately linked to the Ministry of Interior[60] and Military and, in some cases, to large factories, and these ties facilitated close collaboration between sportsmen and young, battle scarred, Afghan veterans (*Afgantsi*) who began returning home in 1989. Together they provided the "muscle" for an organized crime *brigada* because of their fighting skills, will power, discipline, and team spirit.[61] *Afgantsi* added a contemptuous attitude to death, resolute

use of force, and low value placed on life.[62] Sportsmen looked to the emerging private economic sector for employment during the disintegration of the USSR when there was a decline of state budgetary funding for sports activities. Volkov writes, "Therefore, the crisis in the state budget and in enterprise finances, combined with the corrosion of the Soviet system of values disrupted the reproduction of the institution of sports and triggered various adaptive responses on the part of sportsmen."[63]

In the post-Soviet era, athletic-looking employees of security companies were used for the purposes of corporate raiding and business disputes. The standard uniform of these criminal thugs—very short hair, leather jacket, sports trousers, and strong sportsman physique—was common throughout the former USSR and "intimidating physical proportions and brand-name sportswear" accompanied their short hair.[64] The *patsany* (guys) wore tight-fitting clothes, showing off necklaces, watches, and other jewelery with well-honed muscles because they were sporty looking.[65] Fournier describes these "bandits" as rough and aggressive, speaking little, and when they did, it was in Russian using prison slang. They are immune to feelings, are fearless, and have no remorse for their actions. These Soviet sport traditions were highly important during the corrupt and violent transition of the 1990s and resurfaced when the Party of Regions come to power, whether locally in Eastern and Southern Ukraine or nationally in 2010–2014. "Many are members of entities officially known as "security agencies" or sports clubs funded by big business that essentially serve as combat units when called upon" and "The youngest participants in such fights are called 'bonas.' The group as a whole is referred to as 'meat', while the elite are known as 'warriors.' The groups are run by 'cores' comprised of leaders and ideologues." The operating culture of these vigilantes is explained as follows: "Before simple clashes are carried out between different groups for training, the 'cores' arrive at the venue in advance to check for police patrols, video cameras and to determine the distance to police stations in the area," one group member stated off the record. "Sometimes, these clashes take place in the middle of the day or at a lunch break. The purpose is to demonstrate strength. The guys are all trained fighters; the clashes are a test of their endurance and strength. Nobody takes pity on others, even inside their own group. The clash continues until blood is shed or a bone is broken."[66]

Political and economic vigilantes became known as *titushki* that is named after martial arts enthusiast Vadym Titushko who was a leader of the sportsmen vigilantes who attacked journalists in Kyiv in May 2013 (see top left illustration on p. 185).[67] Titushko and his fellow sportsmen had been trained in police facilities and used as stewards during Party of Regions rallies. Ukrainian oligarchs have invested in football clubs both for the purposes of mobilizing voters and to have at their beck and call the use of sportsmen vigilantes. Ironically, a majority of the hard-core sports fans (the "ultras") supported the Euromaidan

revolution, and some of them volunteered for Ukrainian National Guard battalions sent to fight Donbas separatists.[68]

The return to antinationalist ("fascist") discourse in Ukraine was clearly visible in the antifascist meetings held by the Party of Regions and leftist allies in 2013, in anti-Euromaidan rhetoric and violence committed by vigilantes and the security forces during the Euromaidan protests, and in the Crimea and Donbas against Ukrainian patriots. Incitement of xenophobia and Ukrainophobia by Russian television and leaders inflamed tensions by depicting as "fascists," "Nazis," and "Banderites" anybody who spoke Ukrainian, held Ukrainian national symbols, and supported Ukraine's territorial integrity and unity. Ukrainian national identity and symbols "have been targeted for hate speech" with the Ukrainian flag depicted as "fascist." After the Euromaidan came to power, vigilantes, often working in collusion with local police forces, violently attacked pro-Ukrainian demonstrators in the Donbas, Odesa, and Kharkiv. Donbas separatists have committed countless crimes against humanity that have included beatings, torture, imprisonments, and killings. During the Russian occupation of areas of the Western Donbas in April–July 2014, four Ukrainian patriots, *Batkivshchina* Slovyansk and Soledar local deputies Volodymyr Rybak and Ivan Reznichenko, and Euromaidan student activists Yuriy Popravko and Yuriy Dyakovskyy were tortured and murdered. After the Russian occupation forces were evicted from Slovyansk, a mass grave was found of their victims (see Chapter 3).[69] During a conversation between Russian intelligence officer Bezler and "People's Mayor" Vyacheslav Ponomaryov wiretapped by the SBU, they said "deal with the corpse (Rybak); make sure he's dragged out of where he's lying and stinking as soon as possible."[70] Law enforcement in the DNR is a combination of Soviet-style practices and vigilante justice with underground detention centers, torture, and demands for ransom. Euromaidan activists, as this author heard in Slovyansk, had to go into hiding because separatist gangs came searching for them to their homes with the purpose of assassinating them. Ukrainian nationalist volunteers have been executed when captured, according to information supplied to the vice president of the World Jewish Congress Jewish-Ukrainian Yosyf Zisels. Gianni Magazzeni, head of the UN Division on Europe and Central Asia, characterized the DNR and LNR as places with "killings, abductions, torture, ill-treatment, sexual violence, rape, forced labor, ransom, extortion." The population living in the two enclaves is "hostages" of the separatist leaders.[71] Although separatist leaders have condemned Euromaidan policies that allegedly discriminated against the Russian language, some of the first policies to be implemented in the Crimea and DNR and LNR were to close all Ukrainian-language schools, radio, and television channels.

Centrist Parties

The term "centrist" in this book is used to define Ukrainian political parties that are neither national democratic nor leftist, and it is therefore a catchall term that is neither rigidly accurate nor scientifically correct. Ukrainian political parties classified as centrists in the 1990s espoused a liberal ideology that looked to Ukraine's emerging middle class as their voter base. Middle-class, urban, professional, and business voters emerged by the 2004 Orange Revolution when they provided resources and supported the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan protests.

Centrist parties have been the most ideologically amorphous political forces in Ukraine's party spectrum because they are an outgrowth of multiple identities and greater impact of Sovietization in Eastern-Southern Ukraine. In the 1990s, they positioned themselves between both of their ideological competitors (national democrats and extreme left) by striking alliances with each side at different times. During the 1990s and until the 2000 Kuchmagate crisis, centrists had aligned with national democrats, but from 2001 they forged an alliance with the KPU to remove Yushchenko's government (April 2001) and change the constitution (2003–2004). The KPU joined two parliamentary coalitions led by the Party of Regions (2006–2007 and 2010–2012).

It would be wrong to ascribe ideological vacillation to only centrists because the problem represents a far deeper legacy of Soviet political culture. Ideological chameleons are the norm across the Ukrainian political spectrum, as seen in Yushchenko's betrayal of the Orange Revolution after he came to power. The term "centrist" cannot encapsulate all political parties routinely defined as such because the Party of Regions, although aligned during Kuchma's presidency with liberal centrist parties, has *never* been a liberal political force. Political parties described as centrist in Canadian and European democracies cover a relatively wide range of ideologies ranging from the Liberal Party in Canada to Agrarians and Social-Liberal parties in Western Europe. Oleh Protsyk and Wilson describe centrist parties in Ukraine and Russia as follows:[72]

> Centre party politics remains a difficult phenomenon for post-Soviet scholars to analyse. While the political left and (to a lesser degree) right have been steadily moving towards crystallization of their organizational forms and ideological positions, in the political "centre" both party structures and programmatic appeals remained highly elusive during the first post-communist decade. Political parties and parliamentary factions that identified themselves as "centrist" rose and fell at a rapid rate during the period under study, often without leaving enough time for either the electorate or for political scientists to understand their ideological position or political behaviour.

Of Ukraine's so-called centrist parties, the Party of Regions is the most difficult to define because it is different to other centrist parties that emerged in the 1990s. The Party of Regions encompasses a populist-leftist *and* centrist profile in Ukraine's party spectrum and has not cooperated with the Alliance for Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE) political group in the European Parliament, the natural home for European centrists, and instead established an alliance in 2010–2011 with the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats.

The Party of Regions inherited much of the working-class and pensioner voters (who are very likely to prioritize economics and stability over democracy) that had supported the KPU until the 2002 elections, giving it a powerful voter base that was unavailable to liberal centrist parties in the 1990s. In contrast to the ideology espoused by liberal centrists, the Party of Regions integrated leftist-populism with oligarchic, paternalistic state capitalism. Wilson writes that a "strong collectivist culture, marked by dependence on the workplace" coupled with the "mixture of socialist and paternalistic politics and hostility to outsiders" was as true of 1917 as it is in Eastern Ukraine today.[73] Liberal centrists and the Party of Regions differed in their levels of commitment to democracy and the latter has a higher penchant for authoritarianism. In the Ukrainian parliament, the head of the Party of Regions faction stood up during votes and instructed his deputies how they should vote in a similar manner to how the Communist Party organized unanimous votes in the USSR. The Party of Regions had the worst relationship with Ukraine's media of any of Ukraine's political forces.

In the 1990s, centrist parties were established by regional elites such as the Labour Ukraine party (renamed *Silna Ukrayina* party) in Dnipropetrovsk and the Party of Regions in Donetsk. Another manner in which centrist parties emerged was by corporate raiding existing centrist parties such as the ZPU (Green Party of Ukraine), SDPUo, and NDP (political parties in Ukraine are as much business as they are political projects). The Green Party went into decline in the 1990s and oligarchs took control of the party during the 1998 elections.

The Kyiv clan, whose political face was the SDPUo, was never popular in its home base because the city traditionally supports national democratic parties, something most vividly seen in the support the city gave to the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan. During the Kuchma era, the SDPUo's home base became Transcarpathia, but the impoverished agricultural region could never compete with the industrialized and wealthier Donetsk or Dnipropetrovsk. The Democratic Union led by Volkov and United Ukraine led by Hubskyy were satellite parties of the SDPUo and many of its leaders joined BYuT following the Orange Revolution. In 1998 and 2002, the SDPUo entered parliament with the

assistance of state-administrative resources and the donation of votes in the first case from another centrist party. The SDPUo failed to enter parliament in 2006 and did not contest the 2007 and 2012 elections and its proposal to merge with other center-left parties was turned down.

The NDP's origins lie in the Democratic Platform that split from the KPU in 1989 when it established the Party of Democratic Revival (PDVU), espousing a liberal and social democratic program. Together with the MBR, the PDVU supported Kuchma's 1994 election campaign and, in 1996, merged with other centrist parties to establish the NDP. The NDP became a short-lived presidential "party of power" during Prime Minister Valeriy Pustovoytenko's government in 1997–1999. The city of Kharkiv, the intellectual capital of Eastern Ukraine, was an important source of support for liberal centrist parties such as the PDVU–NDP, MBR, and Democratic Initiatives led by Stepan Havrysh. MBR leader Hrynyov, then a well-known liberal activist from Kharkiv, sought a place on the Our Ukraine party list in the 2002 elections, but he was surprisingly rebuffed. The MBR merged with the NDP in 2002 showing the close liberal ideological base of the two parties that had both emerged from the Democratic Platform of the KPU.

Liberal centrist parties ultimately failed to attract support in Eastern Ukraine that gave its greatest support to the KPU and populist-leftist post-communist parties, such as the Party of Regions. Malynkovych, the former editor of *Forum*, returned to live in Ukraine in 1992 and on a single occasion attempted to enter politics in the 1998 elections in the SLON (Social-Liberal Alliance) bringing together the Constitutional Democratic Party and the MBR. Although directed at Russophone voters, it failed to enter parliament coming 18th out of 30 parties and blocs and received only 0.90 percent of the vote. Eight years later, Inna Bohoslovska took the*Viche* party (former Constitutional Democrats) into the 2007 elections and barely improved its performance coming 9th out of 42 parties and blocs with 1.74 percent of the vote. The one exception to this pattern was Tihipko's 2010 election results where he received his greatest support in Dnipropetrovsk, Odesa, Kharkiv, and the city and *oblast* of Kyiv. The lowest support given to Tihipko was in the three Galician *oblasts* (average of 4.64 percent) and the two Donbas *oblasts* (average of 8.33 percent).[74] The two polar opposites of Ukraine, Donbas and Galicia, gave Tihipko low support.

The leftist Peasant Party came to parliament in 1998 with the SPU in the For Truth, For the People, and For Ukraine! bloc. The Melnychenko tapes provided evidence of how Peasant Party deputies were encouraged and bribed to defect to a newly formed and purposefully established Solidarity parliamentary faction. Poroshenko was a typical pragmatic businessperson keen to prove his loyalty to the president and Kuchma supported his proposals for a Solidarity faction that would counterbalance the SDPUo (at the time the Donetsk clan had no parliamentary faction).

This step would split the left with the Solidarity name providing the faction with a moderate image that would attract center-left deputies from the Peasant Party and SDPUo. Poroshenko lobbied Kuchma for apartments and businesses to bribe deputies to defect to Solidarity and the president instructed Lytvyn to provide support from the presidential administration.

Earlier, other rural leaders had established the (non-leftist) Agrarian Party, which competed with the SDPUo for votes in Western and Central Ukraine. In the 1998 elections, the Agrarians received 3.68 percent (after some of its votes were transferred to the SDPUo) and failed to enter parliament, but in the 2002 elections, it joined the pro-presidential ZYU. In 2004–2005, Parliamentary Chairperson Lytvyn became leader of the Agrarian Party and renamed it the People's Party of Ukraine (NPU). The NPU failed to enter parliament in the 2006 elections when it was a member of a hastily organized bloc with two marginal political forces, the Peasant Democratic Party and All-Ukrainian Left Union "Justice." However, the NPU was able to capitalize on the collapse of the SPU vote and entered parliament in the 2007 preterm elections with 3.96 percent of the vote.

Centrist parties have always had regional strongholds with the NPU, SDPUo, and United Centre party based in Western and Central Ukraine, *Hromada* and Labour Ukraine in Dnipropetrovsk, and the Liberal Party and Party of Regions in Donetsk. At the same time, only the Party of Regions has successfully broken out of its regional base. The Liberal Party, whose leader Ihor Markulov fled abroad, the Labour Party, and the Party of Regional Revival, led by Donetsk Mayor and former Parliamentary Chairperson Volodymyr Rybak, failed to become Donetsk "parties of power" in the 1990s. The Liberals became the *krysha* (here understood as criminal slang for political roof) for corrupt and business activities in Donetsk in the early 1990s and following the 1994 elections established the Social Market Choice faction in the Ukrainian parliament led by former SBU Chairperson Marchuk. Its members also included former President Kravchuk and Donetsk oligarch and Liberal Party leader Yevhen Shcherban. Following Yevhen Shcherban's assassination, the parliamentary faction stagnated and Marchuk and Kravchuk joined the SDPUo where they were two of its top five candidates in the 1998 elections.[75] In the 2002 elections, the Liberal Party was revived when it became 1 of 10 parties in Yushchenko's Our Ukraine bloc, but not surprisingly, Liberal deputies defected to the pro-presidential parliamentary coalition only two months after the elections. In the late Kuchma era, Liberal Party leader Volodymyr Shcherban discredited himself and the party when he imported well-established asset stripping and corporate raiding policies from his home region of Donetsk into Sumy. His brazen corruption so angered the Sumy population that 79 percent voted for Yushchenko, a high level of support similar to that found in Western-Central Ukraine.

After Lazarenko fled abroad in 1999, the Labour Ukraine party replaced *Hromada* (community) as the Dnipropetrovsk "party of power." In 1999, Tymoshenko established the *Batkivshchina* party, but, with the onset of the Ukraine without Kuchma protests in 2000–2001, the party moved its base of support to Western and Central Ukraine. Dnipropetrovsk remained fractured into three competing groups that prevented it from reemerging as the dominant city it had been in the Soviet era (see Chapter 10).

The Party of Regions

The emergence of the Party of Regions changed Ukraine's political landscape by ending pluralism of regional clans, centrist parties, and parliamentary factions that had been characteristic of Kuchma's presidency. The Party of Regions emerged as the only centrist political force with a strong regional base and stable voter base among former KPU voters with whom both political forces shared the regional strongholds of the Donbas and the Crimea. Party of Regions voters, like those who support the KPU, exhibit an "authoritarian conservatism," sociologist Valeriy Khmelko explains, because the Party of Regions is not a democratic party but one that is "strictly authoritarian."[76] This translates into support for a tough and disciplined *kerivnyk* (boss [in Russian, *khozyayn*]) *and hospodar* (lord) who knows how to use a *sylna ruka* (strong hand) and impose a severe hierarchical structure imbued with traditional and conservative values. The *kerivnyk* is a good tsar who is both *sviy* (one of our own) and generates trust among voters.

Party of Regions voters viewed Yanukovych as *sviy* because of his working-class roots, which was reflected in his poor level of education and habitual confusion of words and personalities, he had served time in jail, and he holds multiple identities that are common in Donetsk and the Crimea. Unlike feckless middle-class and Orange voters who punish politicians and habitually change their voting preferences, KPU and Party of Regions voters trust their *kerivnyky*, respect authority, are more disciplined voters, and prioritize the pursuit of economic goods and stability over democratization. Yanukovych's imprisonment was viewed as a *нещастя* (misfortune) rather than an obstacle for him to become president and commander-in-chief. "Authoritarian conservative" voters in Western Ukraine backed the *Svoboda* party that had 10 percent nationwide support in the 2012 elections, but the voter base in this region for authoritarianism is far smaller than that for the KPU and Party of Regions, which were supported by 40–48 percent of Eastern and Southern Ukrainians and Crimeans—that is, four to five times as many as in the Western part of the country.

The Party of Regions inherited Soviet Communist Party and *vorovskoy mir* (criminal world) discipline and voters from the KPU. The paradox

was that externally Party of Regions discipline gave it a strong authoritarian image at the same time as possessing greater internal democracy than a typical national democratic party. The Party of Regions has elected three leaders and the party therefore transcends the leader,[77] the opposite of national democratic, and leftist parties where leaders view parties as their personal property and remain in charge indefinitely. Decision making in the Party of Regions resembled that found in the Brezhnev era, which was described by Yanukovych as a "conservative, consultative, and consensual style of decision-making."[78] "We adopt a lot of decisions by consensus (collegially). In different formats I always work with my team and we consult one another," Yanukovych said.[79] This collegial decision-making process probably has its origins in a second source—that of the Soviet criminal world where prisons are places that one "observes and understands people."[80] Valery Chalidze writes that "Thieves artels composed of regulars have an elected leadership and, like other artels, observe a kind of collective responsibility."[81] Conferences of *vor v zakonye* resolved disputes and unfulfilled promises and arbitrated conflicts and disputes. The Party of Regions is far more adept at resolving disputes and tension within its ranks than national democratic parties.

Taras Chornovil describes the Party of Regions as an old boys' club, which came together to survive and, if they managed to do so, also flourish.[82] The Party of Regions was less a political party than a broad-based coalition of group interests uniting former KPU voters, oligarchs and big businesspersons, Kuchma-era officials, and individuals loyal to Yanukovych from his hometown of Yenakiyevo and Donetsk *oblast*. Why do working-class Eastern Ukrainians vote for a big business populist party? Similar examples, in fact, exist in developed democracies. Working-class Italians and Americans vote for oligarch Silvio Berlusconi's *Forza Italia* (Forward Italy) party and *Il Popolo della Libertà* (People of Freedom) parties (PdL) and for the U.S. Republican Party whose presidential candidates have been upper-class Americans such as George H. W. Bush, George W. Bush, and Mitt Romney.[83] After being convicted in August 2013 to four years in jail, of which three will not count due to a 2006 amnesty, 30 percent of Italians still trusted Berlusconi while 27.5 percent would vote for the PdL, making it still Italy's most popular political force.[84] Andrey Kurkov writes, "Only in Italy are elections are as carnivalesque as they are here."[85]

The Party of Regions greatest influence was in Eastern and Southern Ukraine among the Russophone population where it evolved into a party that defended and supported the East Slavic, Russophone, and multiple identities commonly found in this region. In October 2007, Yanukovych told U.S. ambassador to Ukraine Taylor that his political party protects the interests of Russophones.[86] The Party of Regions inherited many former communist voters, and the typical Party of Regions voter has

Launch of the Party of Regional Revival—"Labor Solidarity Ukraine," in 2000 (renamed the Party of Regions the following year). From left are Volodymyr Semynozhenko, Petro Poroshenko (Party of Ukrainian Solidarity), Volodymyr Rybak (Party of Regional Revival), Valentyn Landyk (Party of Labor), Andriy Kapusta (All-Ukainian Party of Pensioners), and Leonid Chernovetskyy (Party for a Beautiful Ukraine). (UNIAN)

therefore left-wing (not middle-class) views. In a 2005 survey by the Democratic Initiatives think tank, between 57 and 73 percent (or on average two thirds) of Party of Regions voters professed to holding views that encompassed three leftist ideological niches. Twenty-two percent of Party of Regions supporters had voted in past elections for the KPU, SDPUo, or the Progressive Socialist Party. A majority of Party of Regions voters supported a union of Ukraine and Russia, and overall 43 percent of Ukrainians who support a union of Ukraine and Russia voted for the Party of Regions.

In October 2000, Donetsk governor Yanukovych oversaw the merger of five political parties into the Party of Regional Revival—"Labour Solidarity Ukraine" (in March 2001 renamed the Party of Regions). The Party of Solidarity of Ukraine (PUS), a small party founded in Donetsk in 1997 and later purchased by Poroshenko, and the Beautiful Ukraine party led by future Kyiv Mayor Chernyvetskyy became two of the five parties that established the Party of Regions. Three other parties included the Party of Regional Revival, the Labour Ukraine party, and All-Ukrainian Party of Pensioners. In 2001, State Tax Administration head Azarov became its first leader for a short period, giving the position up later that year to Semynozhenko. It then transferred the leadership to Prime Minister Yanukovych who was leader from 2003 to 2010 when Prime Minister Azarov again returned as party leader. In the 2002 elections, the Party of Regions joined with four other centrist parties aligned with President Kuchma

and established the ZYU bloc that received nearly 12 percent of the vote. Donetsk Governor Yanukovych ensured ZYU came first in the Donetsk region where it received a suspiciously high 37 percent, the only region where ZYU received first-place plurality. The Party of Regions fought three elections in 2006–2012 as an independent political force when it received a plurality of 30–34 percent of the votes.

The number of Party of Regions publication dwarfed anything produced by the opposition and included 17 regional newspapers and Akhmetov's Ukrayina TRK channel—as well as State Channel One when Yanukovych was president. The evolution of the Party of Regions into a political machine was the outgrowth of co-opting, marginalizing, and merging with Kuchma-era centrist parties as well as using political corruption to buy opposition leaders and deputies. It has also been a result of financial investment. The Party of Regions began as a merger of five parties that united the old "Red Directors" (Party of Regional Revival of Ukraine led by Rybak; *Partiya Pratsi* [Party of Labor][87] led by Landyk, Azarov, and Zvyahilskyy), Viktor Tykhanov, a major figure behind the Syeverodonetsk separatist congress, and senior members of the new Donetsk elites (Akhmetov, Kolesnikov, and Andriy Kluyev). The Party of Regions integrated pan-Slavists such as Vadym Kolesnichenko and Oleksiy Kostusyev of the Russian-Speaking Movement[88] and Party of Slavic Unity, respectively. The Dnipropetrovsk Labor Ukraine party (Tihipko, Sivkovych, Valeriy Konovalyuk, Tabachnyk) that became the *Silna Ukrayina* party was merged into the Party of Regions. Another three parties were absorbed—New Generation of Ukraine (Yuriy Miroshnychenko), New Democratic party (Kushnaryov), and the Republican Party of Ukraine (Serhiy Lyovochkin, Yuriy Boyko, Kostyantyn Hryshchenko).

The Party of Regions in addition successfully integrated a wide variety of political forces—Vitaliy Zhuravskyy (Christian Democratic Party), which had close ties to Kyiv Mayor Chernovetskyy's bloc, Lytvyn (NPU), Kinakh (Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs [PPPU]), Shufrych (SDPUo), Kivalov (Maritime Party), Andriy Derkach (SPU), Oleksandr Kostusyev (*Soyuz* [Union] Party), Anatoliy Tolstoukov (NDP), Bohoslovska (KOP and *Viche*), and Baloha (United Center). Oleksandr Stoyan, head of the Federation of Trade Unions (FPU), joined the Party of Regions providing it with influence among trade unionists and workers. In integrating many representatives from other political parties, the Party of Regions succeeded in becoming a "big tent" party for different wings of former President Kuchma's political and business camp. There were also defectors for financial reasons and personal conflicts from six opposition civic and political movements and parties to the Party of Regions, including Serhiy Holovatyy and Oleksandr Lavrynovych (*Rukh*), Taras Chornovil (Ukraine without Kuchma), Hubskyy and Vitaliy

Portnov (*Batkivshchina*), Vladyslav Kaskiv (*Pora*), Baloha (United Centre), and Zhvannya (Our Ukraine).

The Party of Regions was organized by Yanukovych and Akhmetov to unite political and economic structures in Eastern Ukraine with smaller subgroups loyal to Andriy Kluyev and Azarov.[89] A third group emerged in the 2006 elections when the gas lobby financed the Party of Regions election campaign and Yuriy Boyko and Serhiy Lyovochkin joined the Party of Regions a year later. The gas lobby is discussed in the next section in terms of its penetration of the Party of Regions, in Chapter 9 as the major player in Ukraine's energy sector and as a source of rents (and therefore political corruption), and in Chapter 10 as one of Ukraine's oligarchic groups. ISD owners Taruta and Vitaliy Hayduk told U.S. Ambassador Taylor that Yanukovych had become more dependent on Yuriy Boyko both financially and politically.[90] The gas lobby had long-established ties in Moscow and *Gazprom*, were behind Ukraine's opaque gas intermediaries, and provided an important media resource, *Inter*, Ukraine's most popular television channel.

The growing influence of the gas lobby led to tensions within the Party of Regions although these they did not lead to splits of the kind common to national democratic parties. The gas lobby alienated many of Yanukovych's allies after they parachuted into a party that they had not helped to build and then monopolized the provision of influence and supply of information to Yanukovych. In addition, many deputies resented being placed below Serhiy Lyovochkin and Yuriy Boyko on the election list when they had rebuilt the party after the Orange Revolution.[91] Nestor Shufrych said that Firtash had alienated some Party of Regions deputies when he had attempted to buy their loyalty and that his influence often conflicted with oligarchs such as Akhmetov.[92]

The Party of Regions found it uncomfortable in opposition because it could only be an efficient distributor of patronage to its different subgroups when it was in power.[93] Following Yanukovych's election as president, three groups and subgroups within the Party of Regions received extensive patronage—that is, high-ranking state and government positions. The gas lobby received three positions: Yanukovych's chief of staff became Serhiy Lyovochkin, Khoroshkovskyy was promoted from first deputy chairperson to chairperson of the SBU, and Yuriy Boyko became minister for energy and coal industry. Azarov replaced Tymoshenko as prime minister, and Andriy Kluyev and Kolesnikov became first deputy prime minister and deputy prime minister, respectively. In the 2012 elections, the influence of the gas lobby in the parliamentary faction and second Azarov government declined, and Akhmetov and "The Family" retook control of the Party of Regions.

"The Family" (see Chapter 10) were a new and powerful group within the Party of Regions that united individuals holding key government

and state positions who owed their loyalty to President Yanukovych and were from his home town of Yenakiyevo.[94] Members of "The Family" are "far from politics and owe their advancement only to the President," making them independent of other groups.[95] The consolidation of the "The Family" represented the second stage of Yanukovych's growing autonomy from Donetsk oligarchs, the first being with the assistance of the gas lobby. Lutsenko wrote from jail, it "had all the attributes of a mafia family clan whose aim is the complete and unlimited power, converted into money and money converted into power."[96]

Yanukovych, who always felt he had been freely elected in 2004 but betrayed, was elected in 2010 believing he was staying in power for the long term; in July of that year, he looked like the cat that had found the cream at his lavish sixtieth birthday party. The construction and sumptuous fitting of palaces around Ukraine did not suggest a leader who was only planning to be in power for one term. Yanukovych sought respect in Europe and Eurasia but in the end failed in both directions: Europeans sought him for mass murder and abuse of office while Eurasian autocrats such as Putin viewed him as weak and a coward who fled before completing "Operation Boomerang" to wipe out the protesters. The Party of Regions he established and led for most of its existence condemned in a February 23, 2014 statement his "cowardly flight" and "betrayal," saying "Ukraine was deceived and robbed" and a "Party with a million members actually became a hostage of one corrupt Family." They "strongly condemned the criminal orders that led to the loss of human life, an empty treasury, huge debts, shame in the eyes of the Ukrainian people and the world, bringing our country to the brink, threats to split the country and the loss of national sovereignty." The duplicity of Party of Regions deputies is blatantly obvious castigating Yanukovych after he fled when they had enriched themselves and supported his violent kleptocracy during his four-year presidency. Attempting to absolve themselves of responsibility, Party of Regions deputies said, "All responsibility for this lies with Yanukovych and his immediate environment."[97]

The Party of Regions cannot recover from this debacle: Yanukovych gave birth to Ukraine's political machine and also buried it. Its two main support bases are annexed by Russia (Crimea) or under siege from violent separatists (Donbas). Its faction that counted over 200 deputies dwindled to 80 after the Euromaidan when former members established Economic Development and For a Sovereign European Ukraine deputies groups. Party of Regions candidate Dobkin received a paltry 3 percent in the 2014 elections while another three candidates (Yuriy Boyko, Tihipko, Konovalyuk) who emerged from the Party of Regions added another 6 percent, giving a total of 9 percent support compared to 44 and

Communists and supporters of extreme left-wing political movements celebrate the Bolshevik Revolution next to a monument to Vladimir Lenin in Kyiv in October 2007. Police surrounded the monument during the Euromaidan but nationalists pulled it down after which a Ukrainian priest happily destroyed the monument further in December 2013. (Zenon Zawada and Taras Kuzio)

48 percent received by Yanukovych in 2004 and 2010, respectively (separatist leader Oleh Tsaryov withdrew his candidacy, his parliamentary immunity was then removed, and he was declared wanted for criminal activities associated with his support for Donbas separatists). At the March 2014 Party of Regions congress, Akhmetov had lobbied Dobkin, a poor candidate with an unpatriotic reputation as Kharkiv governor when he had been vociferously anti-Euromaidan and promoted separatism, showing he had no interest in supporting a potential reformer as a means to rejuvenate the party. Tihipko, who received more votes than Dobkin, could have been presented as a more "liberal reformer." The Party of Regions did not stand in the 2014 elections, but some of its leading members were elected in the Opposition Bloc.

Box 5.1 Communist Party of Ukraine: A Virtual Satellite of the Party of Regions

1994, 2004, and 2010: Supported Kuchma and Yanukovych in the second round of presidential elections.

1998–2000: The presidential administration working through Poroshenko split allies of the KPU and the Socialist Party–Peasant Party parliamentary factions, by establishing and attracting some of their deputies to join a pro-presidential Solidarity faction.

1999: KPU leader Symonenko worked with Kuchma in the second round of presidential elections when he was defeated by 37.8–56.25 percent. The Melnychenko tapes recorded a conversation in February 2000 when Kuchma speaking to Symonenko using the familiar "Ty" (We) said, "We worked well with you. Everything was undertaken as we agreed." The Melnychenko tapes showed that Kuchma was not hostile to Symonenko. The tapes also showed how Oleksandr Moroz came second, not third, in Donetsk *oblast* as part of a strategy to ensure Kuchma faced Symonenko, rather than Oleksandr Moroz, in the second round of the 1999 elections.

2000: The Melnychenko tapes showed the KPU had cordial relations in Donetsk with Governor Yanukovych and the Donetsk clan. Yanukovych told Kuchma he had donated a lot of financial assistance to the KPU and encouraged their deputies and members to defect to the Party of Regions. The KPU acquiesced in the erosion of their electoral base in the Donbas in 1998–2004 and thereafter became a satellite of the Party of Regions.

2001: Supported pro-presidential faction's no-confidence vote in the Yushchenko government.

2002: KPU parliamentary deputy and former Prosecutor General Potebenko voted for Lytvyn, who had been an aide to KPU leader Stanislav Hurenko in 1989–1991, to be parliamentary chairperson. A major financial sponsor of the KPU was the head of the State Customs Service Ihor Kaletnik whose father, Hryhoriy Kaletnik, was a Party of Regions parliamentary deputy.

2003–2004: KPU worked with pro-presidential centrist factions on a new parliamentary constitution.

2006–2007 and 2010–2012: The KPU were members of parliamentary coalitions led by the Party of Regions.

2012: The KPU more than doubled their vote in parliamentary elections after some communist voters returned from the Party of Regions. Many of the KPU's populist election promises in the 2012 elections claimed they were opposed to unpopular socioeconomic policies ignoring the fact they were members of the parliamentary coalition that adopted them. KPU billboards and radio and television advertisements were, according to former Crimean Communist leader Leonid Hrach, paid for by the Party of Regions with state funds.

2013: The Institute of Mass Information (IMI) ranked the KPU as the leader in paying for positive press coverage in print and electronic media.

2014: The KPU strongly opposed the Euromaidan and voted with the Party of Regions to destroy Ukraine's democracy on "Black Thursday" (January 16, 2014). The KPU supported the Russian annexation of the Crimea and gave tacit and in some cases direct support in the form of weapons to Donbas separatists.

Sources:

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Mykola Melnychenko, interview, Washington, DC, April 16, 2003.

Mark Rachkevych, "Polls Show Communist Party Gaining in Popularity," *Kyiv Post*, September 25, 2012, http://www.kyivpost.com/content/politics/polls-show-communist-party-gaining-in-popularity-313430.html.

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Communist Party of Ukraine (KPU)

The KPU that was registered in 1993 represented the hard-line 5 percent core of the "imperial communist" and Eurasianist wing of the Soviet-era Communist Party of Ukraine. which had been the largest republican Communist Party in the Soviet Union until 1990. Throughout the 1990s, the KPU opposed Ukraine's independence and clamored for a revived USSR.

The KPU reached the height of its popularity in 1998 when it elected 120 deputies, but three events set the stage for the KPU's decline. First, Symonenko's defeat in the second round of the 1999 presidential elections; second, the emergence of the Party of Regions in 2001; and third, resumption of economic growth in 2000 reduced support for the KPU as a protest party. In the 2002 elections, Our Ukraine pushed the KPU for the first time into second place when it received 20 percent of the vote and the Communist Party thereafter went in decline receiving 3.66 and 5 percent in the 2006 and 2007 elections, respectively. This negatively affected Symonenko's popularity in subsequent presidential elections.

The KPU's election results over the last decade pointed to the growing marginalization of the KPU and its transformation into a satellite party of the Party of Regions and failure to be elected into parliament in 2014. In Eastern Ukraine, the KPU had been supported by protest voters even though it had little to do with Marxist-Leninism and communism and had sold out to big business tycoons who have exploited their workforces.

Prime Minister and Party of Regions leader Viktor Yanukovych and Communist Party of Ukraine leader Petro Symonenko jointly protest against the dissolution of parliament, Kyiv, April 2007. (UNIAN)

Socialist Party of Ukraine (SPU) and Social Democrats

The SPU is a left-wing socialist party established in October 1991 when the KPU was illegal becoming a moderate left-wing alternative to the KPU that supported Ukrainian statehood and Ukrainian language and culture—that is, voters who hold mutually exclusive identities. The SPU obtained between 6 and 8 percent of the vote in the 1994, 1998, 2002, and 2006 parliamentary elections while its leader, Oleksandr Moroz, came third in the 1994, 1999, and 2004 presidential elections.

Following the Orange Revolution, the SPU included its representatives in two Orange governments in 2005–2006 and was ready to join an Orange coalition following the 2006 elections, but failing to receive the position of parliamentary chairperson, the SPU joined the Anti-Crisis coalition. The SPU's defection proved to be one of two terminal blows to the SPU's popularity, and in the 2007 elections, the SPU failed to enter parliament when it received 2.86 percent after the majority of its voters defected to BYuT and the Lytvyn bloc. The second reason for the SPU's stagnation was because of Oleksandr Moroz's refusal to stand down as

leader that led to splits inside the party and resignation of young members. The SPU continued its decline in the 2012 elections when it received a paltry 0.45 percent. The Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party worked closely with the SPU in the second decade of Ukraine's independence but became progressively exasperated by Oleksandr Moroz and the outflow of young members.[98] The culmination of the SPU's stagnation was Oleksandr Moroz's worst-ever election performance in the 2010 presidential elections when he came eleventh out of 18 candidates with less than 1 percent of the vote (he did not stand in 2014).

A smaller political party, the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (SDPU), positioned itself on the right of Ukrainian social democracy. In 1994, Minister of Justice Vasyl Onopenko established the Party of Human Rights and a year later it merged with the Ukrainian Party of Justice and the SDPU adopting the name SDPUo (Social Democratic United Party of Ukraine). An anti-oligarch wing split from the SDPUo and reformed itself as the SDPU; the SDPUo became the pro-Kuchma Kyiv clan (see earlier).

The SDPU were members of BYuT in the 2002, 2006, and 2007 elections. Onopenko was leader of the SDPU through to 2006 when his son-in-law Yevhen Korniychuk took over. In 2010–2011, blackmail state pressure on Korniychuk forced him to transfer the SDPU to Natalya Korolevska who had been expelled from the BYuT parliamentary faction. In a similar strategy to Lytvyn renaming the Agrarian party, Korolevska renamed the SDPU as Forward Ukraine, in an attempt to position it as the Just Russia party that is loyal to the Putin regime; in other words, a virtual leftist party controlled by the authorities.[99] It failed to enter parliament in 2012, but her loyalty was rewarded when she was made a cabinet minister. In 2014, Korolevska was elected to parliament in the Opposition Bloc.

Forward Ukraine exhibited four common factors in Ukrainian politics. First, it represented the latest in a long line of failed political projects funded by the authorities and oligarchs—in this case Akhmetov,[100] who were more comfortable with a Byzantine and Eurasian virtual democracy. Second, oligarch intervention into party politics destroyed bona fide parties, whether the ZPU, Agrarians, or the SDPU. Third, the failure of Forward Ukraine and earlier political projects was a consequence of high levels of civic consciousness among Ukrainian voters who Ukrainian elites consistently underestimate. Fourth, Korolevska was an example of the deep ideological void in Ukrainian politics where politicians are routinely chameleons and could betray their close allies at the drop of a hat.

In 2003, the SPU and SDPU were the only Ukrainian political parties who were admitted as consultative members into the Socialist International;[101] the SDPUo sought to join but was refused membership because it was not considered to be a genuine social-democratic party.[102] In July 2011, the SPU was expelled because its values and principles no longer conformed to the principles of the Socialist International.[103]

Although the SDPU continues to be listed as a consultative member of the Socialist International, it no longer exists as a social democratic party in Ukraine. Ukraine's relationship with the influential Socialist International has been undermined: first, by bringing the SPU into an alliance with the Party of Regions that led to its eventual expulsion, and second, when oligarchs took control of and destroyed the SDPU. Since 2006, with the disintegration and purchase of the SPU and SDPU, respectively, Ukraine's once respectable center-left niche has imploded.

Bloc of Yuliya Tymoshenko (BYuT), *Batkivshchina* (Fatherland) Party, and Yuliya Tymoshenko

Batkivshchina–BYuT's ideology has been eclectic, which is a reflection of Tymoshenko's personality and politics. For example, *Batkivshchina* has merged with two very different parties, the liberal *Yabloko* headed by the even more eclectic Mykhaylo Brodskyy and the nationalist-populist Conservative Republican Party led by former prisoner of conscience and maverick Stepan Khmara. Tymoshenko's "solidarity" ideology is closer to the center-left and British Labour Party even though her party is a member of the center-right EPP in the European Parliament. A photograph in her office of Tymoshenko and Lady Margaret Thatcher does not mean she is ideologically a conservative but merely that she seeks to project an image of an "Iron Lady."

Lady Thatcher and Tymoshenko have a lot in common as well as dissimilarities. Both were autocratic, dogged, uncompromising, and self-confident who preferred to not listen to advice and believed in their own invincibility. They promoted anti-establishment, some would argue in Tymoshenko's case, and populist anti-elite rhetoric and policies while both accepted support from big business. Although women, they were both largely disinterested in women's rights and felt more comfortable in a man's world and could switch on and off their women's charm and matron-like approach to management. The major differences between them was ideological with Thatcher espousing a more clear-cut conservative and libertarian vision while Tymoshenko—in the manner of the majority of most Ukrainian politicians—standing for an eclectic mix of policies that changed over time and in response to political conditions. Tymoshenko was also far more compassionate than Thatcher in her support for the least fortunate standing for a softer brand of capitalism that is more Christian Democrat than the right-wing conservatism, which was Thatcher's brand. In British political slang, Tymoshenko was a "wet" (One Nation Tory) rather than a "dry" Thatcherite while in Canadian political slang Tymoshenko would have been more of a "Red Tory" (i.e., Progressive Conservative).

In 1996, in an election in a Kirovohrad single-mandate district, Tymoshenko first won a parliamentary seat and joined parliament's largest

faction, the pro-presidential Constitutional Center led by Mykhaylo Syrota rather than Unity, Lazarenko's faction. In the 1998 elections, a dissident oligarch party *Hromada* led by former Prime Minister Lazarenko and Tymoshenko entered parliament when it won sixth place with 4.67 percent of the vote. Dnipropetrovsk Deputy Governor Turchynov had established the center-left *Hromada* in 1994 and transferred the leadership of the party to Lazarenko in 1997. By the March 1998 elections, Lazarenko claimed *Hromada* had recruited 450,000 members, therefore becoming the largest party in Ukraine (the KPU came second with a more genuine 150,000 members). When Lazarenko's parliamentary immunity was lifted in February 1999 and he fled abroad,*Hromada* went into decline as its parliamentary deputies, such as Tymoshenko, deserted the faction.[104] In the same year, Tymoshenko launched the *Batkivshchina* party as a pro-presidential party, and in return, her assets were unfrozen by the Kuchma authorities.

In the 2002 and 2006 elections, BYuT united *Batkivshchina*, the SDPU, and the Ukrainian Peoples Party *Sobor* (Ukrainian Republican Party), with the Reforms and Order party added in 2007. In the 2002 elections, the first that BYuT fought, it came third with 7 percent of the vote. Tymoshenko agreed to not stand in the 2004 presidential elections in return for the position of prime minister if Yushchenko won the elections. BYuT came second in the March 2006 parliamentary elections with 24 percent of the vote and, based on agreements made with Yushchenko's Our Ukraine, had the right to nominate its candidate for the position of prime minister. Forced into opposition, BYuT and Our Ukraine reestablished their alliance in February 2007 and returned to power following the 2007 preterm elections when BYuT increased its support to 31 percent of the vote, only 3 percent less than the Party of Regions. In the 2007 elections, Tymoshenko's political machine became the only national democratic political force to be successful in Eastern Ukraine when it received a large number of votes in Dnipropetrovsk and Kharkiv, two cities that had supported liberal centrist political forces in the 1990s. In the 2012 elections, the United Opposition came second with 26 percent showing the degree to which Tymoshenko's political force—unlike the Party of Regions—was a political machine reliant on a charismatic leader.[105]

The United Opposition also attracted nationalists such as Hrytsenko (Civic Initiative), Tarasyuk (*Rukh*), and Vyacheslav Kyrylenko (For Ukraine!), which pushed *Batkivshchina* to the right, enabling it to increase its cooperation with the nationalist *Svoboda* party and in the process opening up the moderate center-right niche for UDAR. Following the disintegration of Our Ukraine and radicalization of Crimean politics, Crimean Tatars for the first time joined forces with *Batkivshchina* in 2012. Crimean Tatars had run for the Ukrainian parliament in *Rukh* in 1998, in Our

Ukraine in 2002 and 2006, and in NUNS in 2007. Of the eight *Rukh* deputies in the Crimean parliament up to the Russian occupation, seven were Tatars. In the 2014 elections, Crimean Tatars supported the Poroshenko Bloc.

Tymoshenko represented three threats to Yanukovych, the Party of Regions, and the gas lobby.

1. *Territorial*: BYUT's ability to penetrate Eastern Ukrainian territory long considered the monopolistic preserve of the Donetsk clan. The Party of Regions countered the threat in two ways by increasing its monopolization of Eastern Ukraine through absorbing centrist competitors and preventing the opposition taking control of Eastern-Southern Ukrainian key cities, such as Kharkiv and Odesa, where the 2010 local elections showed the opposition had support.
2. *Votes*: Tymoshenko was the only national democratic leader who represented a threat to Yanukovych and the Party of Regions. In the 2007 elections, BYuT received only 3 percent less than the Party of Regions, and in the 2010 elections, Tymoshenko received 3 percent fewer votes than Yanukovych.
3. *Financial Resources*: Tymoshenko made powerful enemies in the gas lobby when she became Ukraine's most vocal opponent of opaque gas intermediaries and these figures raised the specter of revenge as early as in 2009.[106] Although her rhetoric was often anti-oligarch, Tymoshenko—like all Ukrainian political parties—relied on big business for financial support (see Chapter 10).

National Democratic Parties

Rukh split in February 2002 and February 1999, in the latter case a month before *Rukh* leader Vyacheslav Chornovil died in a car accident. In the first case, the split was more ideological and rested over whether-*Rukh* should support the president in his state-building policies or be in "constructive opposition." Former dissident Vyacheslav Chornovil backed the latter, whereas former members of the Soviet Ukrainian *nomenklatura* (e.g., Drach, Pavlychko) believed *Rukh* should adopt a *derzhavnyk* stance. Some former dissidents, such as Mykhaylo and Bohdan Horyn, backed the *derzhavnyk* position and established the KNDS. In 1999, the split in *Rukh* rested over more banal, but highly common problems encountered within Ukraine's political parties—namely, autocratic leaders, personality clashes, male egos, political corruption, and SBU covert operations aimed at splitting democratic parties.

In his memoirs, Kuchma praises Vyacheslav Chornovil as "intelligent and respected" and "communicative" who was "without hatred in his soul." None of the Orange leaders came close to his stature, Kuchma writes, rejecting accusations he was murdered arguing that the authorities would have not had any interest in such an endeavor because he was not a threat to them.[107] Ivan Lozowy, who worked with Chornovil at the time,

agrees and believes Vyacheslav Chornovil's death was more likely to have been an accident rather than the result of a planned assassination.[108] Udovenko, who became *Rukh* leader after Vyacheslav Chornovil's death, was a senior member of the Soviet Ukrainian *nomenklatura* and Ukrainian establishment and moved *Rukh* away from "constructive opposition" toward cooperation with the authorities. In a conversation on September 20, 2000, Udovenko requested $200,000–300,000 per annum from Kuchma for the needs of *Rukh*. Udovenko sought to prove his loyalty to the president by telling Kuchma: "I am your person," pointing out *Rukh* is the president's most loyal and stable faction in parliament, to which Kuchma replies, "I will financially support you and your political force."[109]

After the ouster of the Yushchenko government, he and Ivan Plyushch consulted with Kuchma and Lytvyn about establishing a new political force ideologically similar to Poroshenko's Solidarity that would be neither in opposition (the permitted exception was to the SDPUo and Tymoshenko) nor in support of the president and therefore occupy a similar niche to where Udovenko had taken *Rukh* and Yushchenko would take Our Ukraine. While Poroshenko was still deputy leader of the Party of Regional Revival "Labour Solidarity of Ukraine" (the future Party of Regions), he was also working toward the launch of Our Ukraine whose campaign he would lead in the 2002 elections. In September 2001, at a brainstorming session in Warsaw hosted by the U.S. National Democratic Institute (NDI), participants proposed different names for Yushchenko's new political force and Mykola Tomenko put forward the suggestion of Our Ukraine. To prove their loyalty to President Kuchma, Poroshenko, Yushchenko, and Ivan Plyushch lobbied for Lytvyn to lead Our Ukraine in the 2002 elections but Kuchma refused and installed him as head of ZYU.[110] All three politicians maintained warm relations with Lytvyn that was to prove important in pressuring him to sit on the fence during the Orange Revolution. NDP member Besmertnyy, Kuchma's representative in parliament, became a leading member of Yushchenko's inner circle.

Poroshenko in a similar manner to Yushchenko was loyal to Kuchma[111] and forever sitting on two fences approaching Ukrainian politics as a virtual game in which only Byzantine informal rules applied. Poroshenko outlined his loyalty to President Kuchma in a similar manner to Udovenko, as is evident from the following conversation recorded by Melnychenko:

Poroshenko: "You know that I am yours. Whatever you say Leonid Danylovych, I am a member of your team and will undertake any of your orders!"

Kuchma: "This is understood."

Poroshenko: "Yes, I made a choice in my life and there will be no change."[112]

In June 2001, a Solidarity delegation attended the *Sobor Bratskiv Narodiv* (Congress of Brotherly People's) in Moscow, while at the same time, Poroshenko attended a congress of the national democratic *Rukh* in Kyiv. This was during a period of time when he was seeking to become leader of the Party of Regions *or* Our Ukraine; presumably, for a nonideological and pragmatic politician, it did not matter which party he would lead. Poroshenko was typical of most businesspersons who moved with the way the wind was blowing; in 2011–2012, he was a minister in the Azarov government and a year later an activist in the Euromaidan.

Over the course of Ukraine's second decade of independence, Poroshenko founded the Solidarity faction in parliament in 1998–2002 with presidential assistance, donated his first Solidarity party to the 2001 inaugural congress of the Party of Regions, donated a second Solidarity party to the 2005 inaugural congress of People's Union–Our Ukraine, and backed Yatsenyuk's Front for Change and Vitaliy Kitschko's UDAR while simultaneously launching a third Solidarity party. All three Solidarity parties were and remain virtual projects with the current version having no address, website, or office telephone, making it impossible to join. Business politicians such as Poroshenko are pragmatic and devoid of ideological views who move back and forth effortlessly between diametrically opposing political camps.[113]

Our Ukraine became a moderate center-right opposition bloc of center-right parties built on Yushchenko's popularity as prime minister that wavered between cooperating with moderate pro-presidential centrists and aligning with the radical Tymoshenko-SPU opposition. Additionally, Our Ukraine always was an unwieldy mix of largely virtual national democratic and nationalist parties. The Reforms and Order Party joined Our Ukraine in the 2002 and 2006 elections but in 2007 moved to BYuT. In addition to *Rukh*, Our Ukraine also included countless virtual parties such as the Youth Party; Poroshenko's second Solidarity party, Christian-Democratic Union, Forward Ukraine, and Republican Christian Party (one of the many offshoots from the Ukrainian Helsinki Union).

In the 2006 elections, the number of parties in Our Ukraine declined but the bloc continued to be unwieldy. Eastern Ukrainian pragmatic businesspersons from the Liberal party and the PPPU, the political face of the "Red Director" Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, both quickly defected after the 2002 and 2006 elections, respectively. In the preterm 2007 elections, an even more unwieldy nine parties united Our Ukraine that was renamed NUNS. KUN did not join in protest at Yushchenko's dismissal of its leader (Ivchenko) the year before from the position of chairperson of *Naftohaz Ukrayiny*.[114] Forward Ukraine and the Ukrainian Peoples Party returned to NUNS while the usual suspects remained—*Rukh*, Peoples Union–Our Ukraine (Yushchenko's new presidential party), Christian-Democratic Union, and Ukrainian Republican

Party*Sobor*. Three new virtual parties were included in NUNS: the *Pora* party that ostensibly grew out of the "yellow" (based on the color of its symbols) *Pora* NGO, European Party, and Party of Defenders of the Fatherland. *Pora* became a political party to fulfill Kaskiv's political ambitions, failing at first to enter parliament in 2006 when it was a member of a bloc led by Vitaliy Klitschko with the Party of Reforms and Order. Kaskiv's opportunism was clearly in evidence when he became one of the first NUNS deputies to defect to President Yanukovych and in gratitude was appointed head of the State Agency for Investment and National projects of Ukraine.[115] In the 2006 elections, *Pora* had released a popular video titled "Do not betray the *Maydan*!" that asked Yushchenko *Chomu vony ne sydyat?* (Why are they not sitting [in jail]?).[116] One of those pictured as not sitting in jail was First Deputy Prime Minister Andriy Kluyev, Kaskiv's patron in the Yanukovych team.[117]

Our Ukraine and NUNS did poorly in both the 2006 and 2007 elections, wining four *oblasts* in the first election and only one in the latter, receiving 14 percent on both occasions. In 2007, Yushchenko's Chief of Staff Baloha proved useful to Yushchenko in ensuring NUNS's first place in Transcarpathia *oblast* just as he again proved himself useful three years later when he ensured Yanukovych's lead in the same *oblast* in the first round of the 2010 presidential elections. In 2010–2012, Baloha was minister for emergency situations in the first Azarov government.

Virtual political parties in NUNS had few members and existed merely to stroke their leader's ego and elect their leaders into parliament. Including nine parties in NUNS made it unstable and ungovernable with too many *Hetmans* but insufficient Cossacks capable of working together as a parliamentary team. NUNS grew to 14 parties and civic movements four years later with the addition of United Centre (Baloha), Front for Change (Yatsenyuk), Civic Initiative (Hrytsenko), For Ukraine! (Kyrylenko), and Self Defense (Lutsenko). The formation of NUNS did little to improve Yushchenko's electoral standing and strategic mistakes and weak election campaigns led to Our Ukraine's decline from first place plurality in 2002 to political oblivion in the 2012 elections.

Yatsenyuk, although from the younger generation and an English-language speaker, has suffered from an image problem because of his weak and fluctuating positions.[118] Yatsenyuk's anti-oligarch rhetoric is similarly vacuous to that espoused by other Ukrainian politicians. Yatsenyuk told the 2011 Yalta European Strategy (YES) summit, "We should liquidate the oligarchs" but then quickly turned to Pinchuk and retorted, "Viktor, don't look so nervous, you are not an oligarch."[119] Pinchuk has had a long relationship with Yatsenyuk, helping him receive the position of minister in the Crimean government and subsequently first deputy chairperson of the National Bank under Tihipko. Yatsenyuk was aligned with moderate centrists in the Kuchma camp until 2005

and, although from Western Ukraine, did not show his support for Ukraine's democratic development by standing on the *Maydan* during the Orange Revolution.[120] In 2007, Yatsenyuk was foreign minister for a short period of time and was elected to parliament for the first time in preterm elections by NUNS. Yatsenyuk was briefly a weak parliamentary chairperson from 2007 to 2008 before being elected to parliament and forging an independent political direction by launching the Front for Change party. The disintegration of NUNS in the last two years of Yushchenko's presidency led to its deputies aligning into pro-Tymoshenko (prominent examples were Hrytsenko, Tarasyuk, and Lutsenko) and anti-Tymoshenko camps (Yatsenyuk, Baloha, Ivan Plyushch, Yekhanurov, and Kostenko). Yatsenyuk, in the same manner as Yushchenko at that time, felt more comfortable with pro-regime moderate centrists and Our Ukraine pragmatists than with Tymoshenko's fiery radicalism.

In spring–summer 2009, oligarch Firtash began to provide indirect support to Yatsenyuk's election campaign through the provision of extensive airtime on *Inter* channel. The U.S. embassy in Kyiv wrote that Firtash's upbeat views on Yatsenyuk were an indication he was prepared to support him politically and financially.[121] Akhmetov contributed to Yatsenyuk's election campaign through Yurushev, his business partner and former owner of the Forum bank, who provided office space. Yatsenyuk's main backer was Pinchuk who had regarded him as long ago as 2006 as "a young, progressive politician," and the Pinchuk Foundation and ISD had provided grants for Yatsenyuk's Open Ukraine Foundation. In the 2010 elections, Firtash, Akhmetov, and Pinchuk supported Yatsenyuk because he represented an opposition alternative to Tymoshenko. Kuchma told U.S. Ambassador John Tefft that of the candidates Yatsenyuk had the greatest vision and believed the second round of the 2010 elections was a choice between bad and very bad (i.e., Yanukovych and Tymoshenko, respectively).[122]

After Yanukovych won the 2010 elections, Yatsenyuk sought to become an ally of newly elected Yanukovych in exchange for the position of prime minister. This was the fifth and last attempt to negotiate a grand coalition when Yatsenyuk claimed he controlled 40 NUNS deputies who would support a no-confidence vote in Tymoshenko's government and join a grand coalition with the Party of Regions in return for him becoming prime minister.[123] The Yanukovych team had bad memories of negotiating with Our Ukraine in 2006–2007 and did not take up Yatsenyuk's offer. Yatsenyuk then negotiated with Akhmetov toward forging an alliance in the 2012 elections but these talks were also not fruitful.[124] In 2011–2012, with Tymoshenko imprisoned and therefore no longer a threat to his leadership, and looking ahead to the parliamentary elections, Front for Change merged with *Batkivshchina* to establish the United Opposition, an alliance that only survived until Tymoshenko's release from prison.

In the 2012 elections, the gas lobby moved its support from Yatsenyuk to a new non-Tymoshenko opposition force—UDAR—led by International boxing champion Vitaliy Klitschko (see Chapter 10). A third of UDAR voters are former supporters of Tihipko and the Strong Ukraine party but UDAR "turns out to be a mainly post-Orange force."[125] Many former Our Ukraine leaders such as Iryna Herashchenko (Yushchenko's press secretary) and former Odesa Mayor Eduard Hurfits moved to UDAR. The new party attracted former Yushchenko and Our Ukraine advisers and political consultants, such as Pawlenko and Ukrainian American director of the Kyiv office of PBN Myron Wasylyk who previously worked on Yushchenko and Yatsenyuk's election campaigns. Vitaliy Klitschko was accompanied during his 2011 visit to Washington, DC, by former Ukrainian ambassador to the United States Oleh Shamshur, senior counselor for investment and public affairs at PBN, and Maria Ionova, Myron Wasylyk's wife, an UDAR deputy. Nalyvaychenko, who had led Our Ukraine in 2009–2011, was elected to parliament in 2012 in UDAR.

Pawlenko explained why he moved from Yatsenyuk to UDAR:

> Yatsenyuk made a wrong decision in spring 2009, agreeing to guidance by Russian political technologists and there is no guarantee that he will not repeat the mistake in the future. A politician with an ambition to become the nation's leader needs to have stronger internal vertebrae otherwise, he will be externally guided which is deadly for countries like Ukraine. Vitaliy Klitschko on the contrary, has the necessary political will to bring about the changes. Moreover, generations of voters in Ukraine need—and will possibly demand- new leaders and in this respect Klitschko is the right choice.[126]

In reality there was not much to differentiate between Yatsenyuk and Vitaliy Klitschko. Serhiy Kudelia, external policy consultant who worked on the ideologically vacuous 2012 UDAR election program, was dismayed to find:

> In February 2011, the UDAR party leadership initiated work on a new party program that would position it as a liberal pro-European political force. They worked closely with German consultants from the CDU (Christian Democratic Union) and advisers from the International Republican Institute (IRI). On the Ukrainian side, they gathered a group of about ten experts from different fields and organized a series of joint discussion sessions to work out different parts of the program. There were at least five such sessions where experts debated various policy perspectives. Neither Vitaliy Klitschko nor his immediate deputy Vitaliy Kovalchuk participated in any of these sessions or presented their own ideas to experts working on the program. We were told that Vitaliy Klitschko could not read more than a page at a time. The entire party program was in effect outsourced to an expert community with minimum feedback from the party leadership. The final program draft approved during the June 2011 party congress closely resembled the original

drafts prepared by each of the experts with the minor corrections more stylistic rather than substantive. The party program seemed more important to its leaders as a PR instrument rather than as a guideline for policy-making when they would be in power.[127]

Importantly, the "gas lobby" sought to support a new non-Tymoshenko opposition leader after Yatsenyuk aligned with Tymoshenko when she was imprisoned. The gas lobby, which had nurtured good relations with Yushchenko and Our Ukraine since 2005–2006, invested in UDAR and Vitaliy Klitschko in 2012–2014 and Poroshenko in 2014. Serhiy Kunitsyn, a Crimean political and business ally of Firtash, was elected to parliament in 2012 by UDAR.

Chapters 6 and 7 analyze how political parties and parliamentary politics interact, develop, and implement nationality policies in Soviet and post-Soviet Ukraine. Ukraine's regional diversity and competing mutually exclusive and multiple identities are reflected in Soviet policies analyzed in Chapter 6 and contemporary nationality politics in independent Ukraine in Chapter 7. Together these two chapters span the third to the seventh historic cycles of contemporary Ukrainian history.

CHAPTER 6

Nationality Policies in Soviet Ukraine

The most effective way to destroy people is to deny and obliterate their own understanding of their history.

George Orwell, *1984*

I believe that the Ukrainian language has no perspective.

Yuriy Boldyrev, Party of Regions' Parliamentary Deputy[1]

Moscow granted differing degrees of autonomy to republican Communist Party leaders, depending upon the strategic importance of the republic and strength of the nationalist and dissident movement. In exchange for limited autonomy over nationality and political and economic policies, Soviet republican leaders were required to constrict anti-Soviet nationalism within permitted boundaries or repress nationalism in strategically important republics such as Ukraine. Local autonomy was greatest in republics where anti-Soviet nationalism and dissent was virtually nonexistent—Belarus, Azerbaijan, and the five Central Asian republics.

Soviet nationality policies bequeathed a number of important legacies to independent Ukraine.[2] The emergence of the Ukrainian SSR with recognized borders coupled with Soviet nationality and economic policies that produced cities and towns with Ukrainian ethnic majorities reinforced an all-Ukrainian territorial identity that had largely not existed in the pre-Soviet period. The titular nationality, Ukrainians, came increasingly to look upon their republic as their homeland and the borders of the republic as sacrosanct. In the USSR, the Ukrainian people were associated with a particular territory and Ukrainians became a legitimate people with a distinct titular ethnic group, territory, and administrative entity they had not possessed in the Tsarist Russian Empire. Political elites emerged, some holding national communist leanings that mobilized

cultural, economic, and occasionally political demands during the liberalizing first, third, and fifth historic cycles in Ukrainian history. Magocsi writes that the Soviet system created "a highly educated and nationally conscious Ukrainian stratum of the population."[3] Cultural elites emerged in Soviet Ukraine, and a specific culture and language of a titular nationality became associated with a given republic. Two decades into Ukrainian independence, the state continues to fund a large number of the same Ukrainian-language newspapers it had undertaken in the Soviet era (e.g., *Robitnycha Hazeta* and *Uryadovyy Kuryer*). The majority of newly published private newspapers in Ukraine are more often than not published in the Russian language.

In the Soviet era, ethnic Ukrainians became a majority of the population in the cities of Kyiv and Lviv for the first time in centuries. Respect for state symbols was inculcated in the Soviet Ukrainian population, which assisted in the acceptance in the post-Soviet era of what had been previously derided as "nationalist" symbols (blue and yellow flag and *tryzub*). Institutions, such as a cabinet of ministers, Supreme Soviet (parliament), Academy of Sciences, National Opera, and so forth, were inherited from Soviet Ukraine. In 1944 in the international arena, the Ukrainian SSR was permitted to establish bilateral relations with countries that were used to support the republic's membership in the United Nations (the USSR, Ukraine, and Belarus had diplomatic representations). In October 1945, diplomatic representatives from the Ukrainian SSR participated with 50 other nations in founding the United Nations. Soviet Ukraine's limited international engagement produced a small class of professional diplomats, such as Foreign Ministers Anatoliy Zlenko (1990–1994 and 2000–2003) and Udovenko (1994–1998).

The Tsarist Russian Empire only offered assimilation to Ukrainians because they were designated as "Little Russians"; they were not recognized by the state and not permitted a separate classification in censuses as a distinct people. Putin and Russia's new imperialism continues to believe Ukrainians are part of the "Russian" nation. In the USSR, Soviet nationality policies permitted an accommodation with Soviet Ukrainian identity without this necessarily leading to complete assimilation.[4] Contemporary Ukraine inherited *both* mutually exclusive and multiple identities from the Soviet Union in Western and Eastern Ukraine, respectively, making national integration in the post-Soviet era difficult to achieve. Risch writes that Western Ukrainians found it difficult in the Soviet Union to identify with their fellow Ukrainians because "they were almost like a different ethnic or national group."[5] The gulf between Western and Eastern Ukraine had narrowed in the 1990s, but the gulf widened under Presidents Yushchenko and Yanukovych during the second decade of independence and exploded into violence in the Euromaidan and Donbas.

Soviet nationality policies toward Soviet Ukraine produced *both* intended and unintended outcomes for contemporary Ukraine. In Ukraine's second and fourth historic cycles, Soviet nationality policies led to Russification and Sovietization and the emergence of ethnically Ukrainian *but* Russian-speaking urban centers in Eastern and Southern Ukraine. Soviet nationality policies *also* deepened ethnic Ukrainian identity in Western Ukraine where cities and towns, which in the prewar period had been largely Polish and Jewish, emerged with ethnic Ukrainian majorities and Ukrainian-speaking populations. Soviet rule is often understood as leading to the Russification and stymieing of nation building in Eastern and Southern Ukraine, as Saunders has demonstrated, but traditionally ignores Soviet nationality policies that promoted Ukrainian nation building in Western Ukraine and the city of Kyiv. The capital city of Kyiv became an ethnically Ukrainian city through policies pursed in both the Soviet Union and independent Ukraine. Only 5 and 6 percent of Kyiv's residents respectively hold Soviet and Russian cultural traditions while 81 percent hold Ukrainian, European, and world identities. In Transcarpathia, another example, Soviet nationality policies came down on the side of a Ukrainian national identity over that of an East Slavic Rusyn people. In Transcarpathia, the Soviet Union in effect promoted nationality policies in support of mutually exclusive Ukrainian identity.

These twin developments in Soviet Ukraine strengthening mutually exclusive *and* multiple identities were often the norm in the communist world. Soviet nationality policies preserved and promoted multiple identities, as in Belarus, while other policies supported nation building in Moldova, Azerbaijan, and the five Central Asian republics. In communist Yugoslavia, the Macedonian people benefited from nation building, receiving a standardized literary language in 1950 and an autonomous Orthodox Church from the Serbian Orthodox Church nine years later. Soviet nationality policies promoted multiple identities in the Russian SFSR through merging Soviet and Russian identities, preventing the emergence of Russian mutually exclusive identities within the boundaries of the Soviet Russian republic. The Russian SFSR did not possess republican institutions until the election of Yeltsin as Russian president in 1990. Therefore, the majority of ethnic Russians, as well as many Russians living in Eastern Ukraine, Crimea, and Belarus, came to identify themselves as holding multiple "Soviet" identities. Serbia had developed an ethnic, mutually exclusive identity in the nineteenth century and became the center of a multiethnic federation where it possessed republican institutions and a republican Communist Party separate from Yugoslav institutions and the Yugoslav Communist Party. Unlike Russian identity in the Soviet Union, Serbian national identity was therefore never completely subsumed within an overall Yugoslav identity. Former

president Kuchma explained his experience of how Russians found the disintegration of the USSR more difficult to accept than Ukrainians:

> I lost one country but I found another. This is not something I can say about (the Russian poet and writer) Vladimir Soloukhin and many Russian people. They live with the feeling that they have only lost one (country). I have never met a Russian person who would say that he lost one country—USSR—and found another—the RF, Russian Federation, and Russia.[6]

In World War II, the Nazis murdered a large proportion of the Polish and Jewish inhabitants of Western Ukraine, and a joint operation by the Soviet and Polish communist regimes exchanged the bulk of the remaining Polish national minority with Ukrainians living in Poland. The remaining Ukrainians living in Poland were deported in 1947 to "recovered territories" in northern and eastern Poland. By the 1950s and 1960s, urban centers, state institutions, and the Communist Party in Soviet Ukraine possessed ethnic Ukrainian majorities. Western Ukrainian towns expanded with Ukrainians arriving from the surrounding countryside who had been developing their mutually exclusive identities since the second half of the nineteenth century. This was therefore different to the 1920s in Eastern Ukraine where the local population arriving to work in expanding and new towns and cities held prenational identities who had not transitioned through Magocsi's three stages of nation building and continued to hold *tuteyshi* (local), religious orthodox, or regional identities. It would have been impossible for the Soviet system to reverse Magocsi's three stages in Western Ukraine and undo nearly a century of nation building. In Eastern Ukraine, the third historic cycle reversed limited gains in Ukrainianization in the 1920s, and Russification and Sovietization under Stalin and Shcherbytskyy deepened multiple identities.

During and after World War II, the Soviet regime did not initially introduce Russification policies in Western Ukraine in order to build up support from Western Ukrainians. In contrast in Western Belarus, Russification policies were immediately introduced, following the return of Soviet forces in 1944. The diverse nature of Lviv, the most multicultural city in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire with five ethnic and religious groups (Ukrainians, Poles, Germans, Jews, and Armenians), was erased by two totalitarian regimes. Jews were murdered, Germans left, and Poles were killed and deported. The proportion of Poles in Lviv dramatically declined from two-thirds in 1939 to only 2 percent a decade later, which Risch describes as the "unmaking of Polish Lwow" and the "making of Soviet Ukrainian Lviv."[7] Polish names, monuments, and cemeteries made way for Ukrainian; Lviv's Jan Casimir University, for example, became Ivan Franko State University. In contrast to the Donbas where widespread Soviet street names are still in place, Lviv has changed its street names to

nationalist leaders Ivan Mazepa, Hrushevskyy, Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Petlura, Bandera, and Roman Shukhevych; Galician leader Kost Levytskyy; Transcarpathian leader Avhustyn Voloshyn; and others. In Lviv in the Soviet era, 56 percent of schools conducted classes in Ukrainian and 28 percent in Russian while 78 percent of classes in higher education were in Ukrainian. The Russification of state and party institutions and publications under Shcherbytskyy did not greatly affect Lviv and Western Ukraine to the same extent as the remainder of Soviet Ukraine.

Lviv also became increasingly Ukrainian because fewer Russians settled in the city compared to the three Baltic states. The proportion of Ukrainians grew from a quarter in World War II to 79 percent of Lviv's population by the 1989 census of whom 97 percent declared Ukrainian to be their native language. Similar to Lviv, Lithuanians became a majority of the population in Vilnius that also had a large Polish and Jewish population until World War II. In the Soviet Union, the proportion of Estonians and Latvians declined in Tallinn and Riga, respectively, and it was not until 2006 that Latvians became a slight majority in Riga. By the 2001 census, Lviv and Kyiv had reached similar ethnic Ukrainian and ethnic Russian compositions of 88 to 9 percent in the former and 82 to 13 percent in the latter. To this day Russian is as widely heard in Riga as it is in Kyiv.

MULTIVECTOR SOVIET NATIONALITY POLICIES

In 1971, at the 24th Soviet Communist Party congress, Soviet leader Brezhnev proclaimed that "a new historical community of people—the Soviet people—has arisen in our country." This bombastic claim did not represent the real picture because, as the rapid rise of nationalism in the late 1980s showed, only a small proportion of the Soviet population had evolved into Homo Sovieticus. A decade before Brezhnev's optimistic statement, the program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had supported Soviet nations drawing closer together (*sblizhenya* [*сближения*]) *toward complete unity (sliyianiye* [*слияние*]). From the late 1950s, the term *sblizhenyie* (eventually coming together) was repeatedly used to describe Soviet nationality policy with the final stage the *sliyianiye* (merging) of nations. By the late 1970s, Soviet nationality policies aimed to achieve complete bilingualism among Ukrainians with Russian becoming a second native language. The Eurasianist wing of the KPU, led by Shcherbytskyy, supported "pro-assimilationist developments."[8] Republican KPU secretary for ideology, Malanchuk, strongly supported the policy of *sliyianie* as both inevitable and desirable. Kravchuk, rising up the Communist Party ladder with responsibility for ideological questions, worked alongside Malanchuk. Ukraine's cultural intelligentsia *and* dissidents believed these assimilationist policies represented Stalinism in a different format,

and such views became especially prevalent following the 1972 *pohrom* of Ukrainian dissent and culture.

The national communist, European wing of the Communist Party in Soviet Ukraine opposed these assimilationist policies and supported a return to "Leninist nationality policies" that were allegedly different from Stalinist and Brezhnevite nationality policies because they did not support de-nationalization and Russification. In the late 1980s, Gorbachev followed the same prescription in differentiating between "good" Leninist and "bad" Stalinist policies. In reality, the differentiation was too simplistic because, as Alfred Low points out, "Lenin's works present neither an explicit definition of nationhood nor a concrete statement of the 'laws of development of nations.' "[9] Dzyuba's *Internationalism or Russification?* showed that Lenin's multivolume written works could support national and imperial communist, European, and Eurasianist policies. The KGB confiscated two volumes of Lenin's collected works on Ukraine from Dzyuba's apartment, suggesting Lenin could be dangerous in the wrong hands.

Brezhnev's optimism held true in the Donbas and the Crimea where Stalinism and Nazism destroyed Ukrainian national identity and postwar interethnic mixing created a Homo Sovieticus. This process was assisted by state-directed in-migration of ethnic Russians and other nationalities to Ukraine, Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Moldova, and Kazakhstan, which encouraged Russification and the expansion of bilingualism. In the post-Stalin era, a large influx of ethnic Russians came to live and work in Ukraine, who adopted a hierarchy of multiple identities. In post-Soviet Ukraine until the Donbas conflict, 40 percent of Ukrainians in Eastern and Southern Ukraine defined themselves with multiple Ukrainian-Russian identities. Outside the Donbas, this group has declined as majority pro-Ukrainian and minority pro-Russian group identities have crystalized in response to Russia's new imperialism.

In the Soviet era, the Donbas and Dnipropetrovsk became strongholds of the Eurasianist wing of the Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party, and in the post-Soviet era, political parties, such as the KPU and the Party of Regions, inherited these traditions. In the USSR, parents in mixed marriages, which were especially common in Eastern and Southern Ukraine where they accounted for a third of all marriages, chose a "Russian" identity for themselves and their children. Children in mixed marriages were routinely encouraged to adopt Russian to assist in the advancement of their careers and upward mobility in the Communist Party, particularly following the 1958–1959 language laws that encouraged Russification by permitting parents to choose the language of instruction for their children.[10]

During Khrushchev's well-known secret speech to the 20th Communist Party congress in 1956, he claimed Stalin was embittered by Ukrainian

behavior during World War II and had wanted to dissolve its Soviet republic status and deport all Ukrainians because they were perennially a thorn in the side of the Soviet authorities. "Ukrainians avoided meeting this fate only because there were too many of them and there was no place to which to deport them. Otherwise, (Stalin) would have deported them also," Khrushchev told a congress hall that received his claim with laughter and animation. In the Brezhnev era, assimilation and Sovietization of Ukrainians was a more achievable resolution of the Ukrainian problem. Ukrainians were encouraged to become "younger brothers" of the Russians as the joint rulers of the USSR by assisting them in projecting Soviet power into Moldova, the three Baltic states, and Central Asia. The integration of Ukrainians into the Soviet system as "younger brothers" was similar to the role played by Scots in the British Empire although differences between both cases far outweighed their similarities. Miller classified Ukrainians working inside Ukraine as "non-Russians" and outside as "Russians." This was because, Miller believed, "The role of Scots and the Irish in the spread of the London-based empire would be a useful analogy to the role of Ukrainians and Byelorussians in the Moscow-based Soviet Union."[11] At the same time, Ukrainians and Russians never had the relatively equal relationship that existed between the Scots and English; Scotland retained its autonomy following the 1707 union with England that created Great Britain, and it maintained separate legal, education, and currency systems. Ukraine lost its autonomy between the 1654 Treaty of Pereyaslav and the dissolution of the Ukrainian autonomous state in the late eighteenth century, becoming 10 Tsarist Russian *gubernia* (provinces).[12]

Soviet Ukraine was a key republic for the success or failure of Soviet nationality policies because the assimilation of Ukrainians was vital to the Soviet regime's fashioning of a new Homo Sovieticus. Ukrainians and Belarusians were important in buttressing the East Slavic core of Homo Sovieticus in the face of a rapidly growing Islamic population inside the Soviet Union that threatened to reduce the proportion of Russians in the Soviet population below 50 percent. Ukrainians and Belarusians could be more readily Russified due to the closeness of their languages and cultures to Russian, thereby ensuring ethnic Russians did not become a minority in the USSR when the growth of Islamic peoples was outpacing that of other Soviet peoples. By the late 1970s, Soviet nationality policies increasingly emphasized unity of the East Slavic core and the USSR as the concluding stage of state-building processes that had allegedly begun in the medieval (and similarly multiethnic) Kyivan Rus state. The "eternal unity" of Ukrainians and Russians became the official narrative in Soviet educational and nationality policies and especially in the teaching of history where Ukrainians were deprived of a distinct national identity separate to Russia. Such narratives became obsolete in 2014.

The myth of East Slavic unity left deep roots among Ukrainians who hold multiple identities. The mythology of one tripartite "Russian" people composed of Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians became government policy in 1863, was revived by Stalin, and continued to be believed by a large majority of Russian elites, Putin, and especially Russian nationalists. The Russian Orthodox Church continued to propagate Eastern Slavic unity through its concept of *Russkiy Mir* (Russian World). During the conflict over the Crimea and Donbas, a Kyiv taxi driver said to this author how a war was possible between "two brothers."

In 1954, on the 350th anniversary of the Ukraine's "reunification" with Russia, Soviet leader Khrushchev transferred the Crimean *oblast* from the Russian SFSR to the Soviet Ukrainian republic. The main reason for the transfer was economic but the timing and purpose were symbolic and practical. The Donbas and Crimea were added in 1918 and 1954, respectively, to strengthen Ukraine's ties to Russia, and toward this purpose, they have been highly successful. Putin inadvertently destroyed the Ukrainian-Russian unity he praised, through his occupation of the Crimea seven decades later. In 1979, the 375th anniversary of the "reunification" of Ukraine and Russia was celebrated, followed three years later by the celebration of the "1,500th" anniversary of the founding of the city of Kyiv. These celebrations attempted to forge myths of common unity between three Eastern Slavic peoples who had always allegedly lived harmoniously in a form of a "union" in Kyiv Rus, following the 1654 Treaty of Pereyaslav, and in the USSR. Political figures or movements that sought to tear apart Russian–Ukrainian unity, such as *Hetman* (Cossack Leader) Ivan Mazepa and the Euromaidan, were therefore "traitors" backed by foreign conspiracies; they were not indigenous to Ukraine or supported by the "good" part of the Ukrainian people. The Soviet regime followed its Tsarist Russian imperial predecessor and Russian Orthodox Church in pouring anathema upon Mazepa—as it has on Yushchenko and Poroshenko.[13]

Swiss cantons, Canadian provinces, and U.S. states possessed greater rights and autonomy than individual Soviet republics. Article 72 of the 1977 Soviet Constitution stated that "Each Union Republic shall retain the right freely to secede from the USSR," but like most articles in the Soviet and Soviet republican constitutions, it was not meant to be enforced and Ukrainians and other non-Russian Soviet nationalities who attempted to exercise this constitutional "right" were subjected to political repression. Nationalists who sought Ukrainian independence were by definition "traitors"; they were psychologically unstable and therefore in some cases in need of incarceration in psychiatric hospitals. After World War I, Ukrainian nationalists were viewed as agents of the Germans and Austrians, and in the Soviet era, they were in the pay of "Nazi collaborators" or Western intelligence agencies. Ukrainian patriots

and nationalists continued to be viewed in Moscow, Donetsk, and the Crimea as working on behalf of the U.S. and Western foundations, as during the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan. The Euromaidan, Yanukovych and Putin believed, was a coup financed by the West to put "fascists" into power.

UKRAINIAN DEMOGRAPHIC LOSSES

The last Soviet census took place in 1989, and it was not until 12 years later that Ukraine held its own census, which confirmed a dramatic decline in Ukraine's population by 3 million from 51,706,700 to 48,457,100 Ukrainians. Only two *oblasts* and the city of Kyiv registered small increases in their populations. Such a dramatic reduction in Ukraine's population has only occurred twice in the Soviet era during the two national catastrophes of the *holodomor* and Nazi occupation in World War II. Tim Snyder wrote in *Blooodlands* that as a consequence of the 1933 *holodomor* and Great Terror, "the demographic balance in Soviet Ukraine shifted in favour of Russians."[14] The proportion of ethnic Russians in Soviet Ukraine increased from 16.9 to 22 percent in the three decades between 1959 and 1989, who with the growth of Russified Ukrainians strengthened the overall proportion of Russophones in Soviet Ukraine. High levels of immigration into Soviet Ukraine changed its ethnic and social balance, and by the 1989 census, a third of Ukraine's population were immigrants and descendants of immigrants (examples of these include oligarch Akhmetov, Yanukovych, and Azarov). The number of Russians living outside the Russian SFSR grew by 37 percent, a figure three times greater than the increase of Russians in the Russian SFSR.

Historian Yuriy Shapoval describes Ukraine as caught between two totalitarian systems, losing millions of peoples during the 1930s and 10 out of the 32 million official Soviet deaths during World War II. This represented one of the worst cases of population decline in Europe with only two other countries, Belarus and Poland, suffering greater losses. The population of the city of Kyiv during World War II declined from 930,000 to 180,000. One in three of the Soviet armed forces were from Soviet Ukraine of whom a third perished. Krawchenko estimated that Ukraine lost half of its male and a quarter of its female population through civil war, famine, Soviet repression, and World War II.[15] The Russian population did not suffer similar declines in numbers because the *holodomor* never affected the majority of the territory of the Russian SFSR and the Nazi invasion only occupied a small proportion of the republic. In contrast, Soviet Ukraine was at the center of the *holodomor* and Great Terror and was fully occupied by the Nazis. Snyder calculated that 3.3 of the 5 million Soviet deaths from the 1933 famine took place in

Mass rally in the Bykivnya forest near Kyiv at the site of a mass grave of 100,000–200,000 victims murdered in the late 1930s during Joseph Stalin's Great Terror, May 1989. (Ukrainian Press Agency)

Ukraine, with the majority of the remainder in Kazakhstan. As Snyder points out, "During the years that both Stalin and Hitler were in power, more people were killed in Ukraine than anywhere else in the bloodlands, or in Europe, or in the world." Ukrainians died in millions, "in the greatest artificial famine in the history of the world."[16] Added to the *holodomor* was the Great Terror that engulfed Ukraine in the 1930s, murdering elites and intellectuals within the republic's cultural, religious, and national communist social groups. Added to this, during the Nazi occupation, 40 percent of towns and villages and 31 percent of industrial enterprises destroyed in the USSR were in Soviet Ukraine.[17]

Tatars have also suffered from a steep decline in their numbers in the Crimea. In the 1926 Soviet census, Tatars numbered 25 percent of the peninsula's population, then only 17 percent less than the number of ethnic Russians. This represented a decline from the 1897 Tsarist census where Tatars had accounted for 36 percent of the Crimea's population, 3 percent higher than the number of ethnic Russians. Tatars were permitted to return to the Crimea in the late 1980s during the more liberal Gorbachev era and by the 2001 census account for approximately 15 percent of the Crimean population compared to 58 percent who are ethnic Russians. In the twentieth century, the Crimea therefore underwent a major transformation in its ethnic composition that is again changing following Russia's occupation.

In terms of national identity, Ukraine's population has also reidentified itself in the post-Soviet era in an evolutionary process between 1991 and 2014 that speeded up during the Donbas conflict with Russia that heralded the growth of Russian-speaking Ukrainian patriotism in Eastern and Southern Ukraine. The core group reidentifying itself is the quarter of Ukrainian families who have mixed parents and traditionally chose ethnic "Russian" in the Soviet census; 60 and 75 percent of Russians and Jews respectively married outside their ethnic group in the Soviet era

compared to only 18 percent of Ukrainians, a figure that increases to a third in some regions of Eastern Ukraine. A typical example of ethnic reidentification was Kuchma, who was born in Chernihiv but spent most of his adult working life in the Russian-speaking city of Dnipropetrovsk. In 1990, the only occasion when Kuchma was elected to the Ukrainian parliament, he registered his ethnicity as "Russian" but changed it to "Ukrainian" two years later when he became prime minister. Ukraine's first defense minister, Kostyantyn Morozov, was born in Donetsk, and his parents registered their family as "Russian" in the Soviet era. When Ukraine became an independent state, Morozov researched into his family history and found it to be Ukrainian and he also reidentified himself as a Ukrainian.[18]

In 1989–2001, a growing number of women began registering their children as Ukrainian during births. In addition, the birth rate dropped to a greater degree in urban than rural areas and therefore the number of registered Ukrainian births increased. Ethnic Russians are primarily an urban group in Ukraine while mixed marriages are nearly three times more prevalent in urban than rural areas. Meanwhile, villages in Ukraine are primarily composed of ethnic Ukrainians. The number of ethnic Russians in Ukraine could be much lower than the number registered by the 1989 Soviet census because many Russians are from mixed Ukrainian and Russian households. By the 2001 census, the share of Ukrainians and Russians had changed, with the proportion of Ukrainians growing from 73 to 78 percent and that of Russians declining from 22 to 17 percent. The number of Ukrainian speakers barely increased and changes were of Russians reidentifying themselves as Ukrainians in Russian-speaking regions of Ukraine, a process that speeded up in 2014. The census figures give us a good snapshot of demographic changes but because Soviet and Ukrainian censuses do not provide the option of declaring one's identity as bi-ethnic, they failed to register the high number of Eastern Ukrainians with multiple identities.

The proportions of Ukrainians and Russians living in independent Ukraine in the 2001 census returned Ukraine to the same proportions registered in the 1959 Soviet census, thereby to some degree reversing Russification trends under Shcherbytskyy. Independent Ukraine also reversed the trend in Russification of education, with the proportion of teaching conducted in the Ukrainian language growing to cover three-quarters of pupils and students. This also represented a return to levels found in the 1950s before the onset of mass Russification in the Shcherbytskyy era.[19]

The reduction of over three million Russians in Ukraine's population represented a decline by a quarter in their overall share of the Ukrainian population because of ethnic reidentification, higher rural birth rates, and out-migration. Out-migration of Russians and in-migration of Tatars in Crimea led to a 7 percent decline in the share of the Russian population,

from 65 to 58 percent. If Ukrainian sovereignty had remained over the Crimea and these trends had been permitted to continue, Russians would no longer have commanded a majority of the Crimea's population by the next Ukrainian census. A radical decline in the Russian population by nearly half in Western Ukraine was an outcome of pressure to assimilate and high levels of out-migration. The census registered a decline of 12 to 24 percent of the Russian population in Odesa and Donetsk, a change that had not influenced multiple identities in these two regions until 2014.

The Ukrainianization of the capitol city of Kyiv, where schools shifted to the Ukrainian language in the early 1990s, continued a trend already begun in the Soviet era. The Ukrainian share of Kyiv's population has risen each decade by 20 percent in the half-century leading up to the 2001 census. In the 1897 Tsarist Russian census, Ukrainians accounted for only a fifth of Kyiv's population; that is, a quarter of today's ethnic composition. The post-Soviet city of Kyiv adopted a Declaration of Independence in 1991, became the center of the 2004 Orange Revolution and 2013–2014 Euromaidan, and hosted the 2012 EUFA European football championship. Since 1991, Central Ukraine has been a political swing region, voting for Kuchma in 1994, Yushchenko a decade later, and Poroshenko in 2014. In fact, some of the biggest transformations in national identity in 1989–2001 took place in Central Ukraine where the proportion of students studying in Ukrainian doubled during this period.

The language factor proved to be one of the most difficult questions in the 2001 census as it has been in long-established democracies such as Canada. Western scholars have criticized continued use of the Soviet concept of native language as not providing a true reflection of the language situation in Ukraine; instead, they have proposed an alternative "language of convenience" (i.e., the language of everyday use). If "language of convenience" is used, Ukrainianophones and Russophones are roughly equal in proportion in Ukraine, compared to the use of "mother tongue" that finds Ukrainian speakers to be larger in number. Although native language is far from a perfect definition of language use, two factors suggest it would be unwise to pigeonhole language users.

First, one should never ignore the symbolic importance of "mother tongue" whether in Ukraine or other countries such as Ireland where *Gaeilge* (Gaelic) is defined in the constitution as the first official language of the Republic of Ireland (with English being a second official language) although it is spoken by only a minority of the Irish population. In Ireland, a symbolic attachment to the Irish language is divorced from the fact that English is more widely used in daily communication; the Irish mega rock band U2 never, for example, sing in Gaelic. There are sizeable groups of Russophone Ukrainians who assert that the Ukrainian language is at the root of their national identity, and this has inevitably grown since 2014. Fournier points out that Russophone Ukrainians who declare

Ukrainian to be their native language see it as possessing an "emblematic function" and symbolic role.[20] In 1998, members of the Ukrainian-British diaspora who traveled to Kyiv to watch the historic first-ever football game between Ukraine and Russia were astonished to hear Kyivites shout obscenities in the Russian language at Russian football fans.[21] It was, after all, Kharkiv football fans who coined the widely popular "Putin Khuylo" song that has spread into tee-shirts, scarves, car number stickers, and even toilet paper. Putin also underestimated the high levels of Ukrainian patriotism among Russian-speaking Ukrainians.

Eastern Ukrainians may also hold a symbolic attachment to the Ukrainian language but at the same time do not view Russian to be a "foreign language." Kuchma took a centrist position between Ukrainian-language radicals in the national democratic camp on the one hand and Russophiles who denigrated Ukrainian on the other. Ukrainians who do not hold an emotional or symbolic attachment to the Ukrainian language, such as former president Yanukovych or Prime Minister Azarov, would be unlikely to declare their native language as Ukrainian and are far more likely to look upon even moderate state support for the Ukrainian language as "enforced Ukrainianization" and a threat to the Russian language. This Eurasianist and Russophile perception of the Ukrainian language gave birth to the 2012 language law that elevated the Russian language to official status.[22]

Second, a large number of Eastern Ukrainians are bi-ethnic and bilingual and therefore pigeonholing Ukrainians into two neat categories (Russophone *or* Ukrainianophone) does not always reflect every day realities. Ukrainianophones with mutually exclusive identities are commonplace in Western Ukraine where ethnic Ukrainians represent nearly 100 percent of the population and the Russian language is not widely taught in schools. In Donetsk and the Crimea, the proportion of Russians in the local population is the highest in Ukraine. Galicia, on the one hand, and Donetsk and the Crimea, on the other, are therefore two polar opposites.

Soviet and Ukrainian censuses *both* failed to bring out the complexity of Ukraine's ethnic and linguistic inheritance. In the 2001 census, 67 percent of the population defined Ukrainian as their native language, and among the 78 percent of the country who are ethnic Ukrainians, 85 percent declared the Ukrainian language to be their native language. At the same time, many Ukrainians prefer to use Russian (42 percent) rather than Ukrainian (58 percent) in everyday life. Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians are to be found in Western Ukraine while bilingual and bi-ethnic Russian-speaking Ukrainians are more prevalent in Eastern Ukraine.

The 2001 census reflected nationality and socioeconomic changes during a period of socio-economic depression (Ukraine suffered one of the largest declines in GDP [gross domestic product] in the former USSR)

in 1990s. The next census will be taken following important influences on national identity, such as the Orange Revolution, Euromaidan, and conflict with Russia coupled with greater historic knowledge of events such as the *holodomor*, which is now viewed as a genocide by most Ukrainians.

From 1991 to 2012, Ukraine's population declined from 51.6 to 45.6 million because the number of deaths exceeded that of births, deteriorating socioeconomic conditions and out-migration from Ukraine. Ukraine is eighth out of the top 10 countries with the highest death rate and has the highest death rate in Europe at 16.1 per 1,000 inhabitants, which is higher than its birth rate of 10.5 per 1,000 inhabitants (see Table 6.1). Every tenth Ukrainian dies before reaching the age of 35 because of health factors. Ukrainian men have a relatively low life span of 62 compared to women with 73 (with a Ukrainian average of 69.5 compared to 78.6 in the European Union). This had been made worse by the decline in the Soviet healthcare system, alcoholism, widespread tobacco smoking, and poor diet. *Salo* (pork fat or lard) remains a highly popular Ukrainian national cuisine eaten with copious shots of vodka.

Millions of Ukrainians are working abroad semilegally or temporarily visiting neighboring countries in shuttle trade. Often a "temporary absence" abroad turns out to last many years when migrant workers illegally overextend their visas. In some West Ukrainian *oblasts*, such as Transcarpathia and Ivano-Frankivsk, at least one male is absent from each household, which contributes to social problems and poor educational results for children left behind with grandparents. Ukraine's former Parliamentary Commissioner for Human Rights Nina Karpecheva claimed that in the 1990s upwards of seven million Ukrainians were seeking work abroad due to poverty and unemployment, a figure that is probably exaggerated; nevertheless, in some European Union countries, such as Italy, Greece, and Portugal, the number of Ukrainian migrant workers is very high.[23] In 2011, remittances from Ukrainian migrant workers in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Russia totalled $7 billion or the equivalent of 4.2 percent of Ukraine's GDP.[24] According to the International Organization on Migration, over 6 million Ukrainians are migrants, or a seventh of Ukraine's population, of whom half are under the age of 35.[25] The seven *oblasts* of Western Ukraine are a socioeconomically deprived region where employment is scarce, and the region as a whole only contributes 17 percent to the country's GDP, less than the city of Kyiv (18 percent). Slovakia and Belarus have populations similar in size to Western Ukraine but at the same time have six to seven times larger economies.[26]

A 2001 UN projection of future population trends calculated that Ukraine's population would continue to decline by as much as 40 percent through to the middle of this century. Ukrainian demographic experts believe the UN projection of the Ukrainian population declining to

Table 6.1

Quality of Life Index (Selected Countries) 2013

Rank	Country
1	Switzerland
21	Italy
34	Greece
33	Poland
40	Cuba
49	China
51	Turkey
54	Serbia
56	Romania
60	Egypt
61	Bulgaria
70	Azerbaijan
72	Russia
74	Kazakhstan
75	Pakistan
76	Angola
77	Bangladesh
78	**Ukraine**
80 (last country)	Nigeria

Note:
"The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) attempts to measure which country will provide the best opportunities for a healthy, safe, and prosperous life in the years ahead. Its quality-of-life index links the results of subjective life-satisfaction surveys—how happy people say they are—to objective determinants of the quality of life across countries."
Source:
"The Lottery of Life: Where to Be Born in 2013," *Economist*, November 21, 2012, http://www.economist.com/news/21566430-where-be-born-2013-lottery-life?fsrc=scn/tw/te/co/worldinNov25.

33 million by the year 2050 to be too dramatic and they project a figure of 36 million.[27] One factor that could contribute to Ukraine's further population decline is the AIDS epidemic that is growing faster in the former USSR than anywhere else in the world, except Africa. Ukraine has the highest rate of AIDS infection in Europe with 1 percent of the adult population estimated to be infected by HIV (with junkies using the same needles as the main contributor to the spread).

THE SOVIET STATE AND ANTINATIONALISM

The association of the imperial metropolitan language, in the case of the Soviet Union the Russian language, with prestige and higher social status was the norm in many nation-building and imperial projects. A similar British nationality policy of elevating English and downgrading local languages took place in Wales (since King Henry VIII), Ireland, and, to a lesser extent, Scotland. The French language expanded in Brittany and other provinces outside Île-de-France and in the process regional languages and identities were marginalized and belittled.

A revival of the Ukrainian language took place under Shelest in Ukraine's third historic cycle but, following the 1972 *pohrom* in the two decades of the fourth historic cycle, Eurasianist nationality policies elevated the Russian language to a higher status. The Ukrainian language again became associated with a primitive, rural past with no future, as described by the Party of Regions deputy Yuriy Bondarenko (see his quote at the beginning of this chapter). The Soviet construction of Ukrainian identity ("national in form, socialist in content") was narrowly defined during the Shcherbytskyy era through permitted vehicles such as peasant folklore, Cossacks, and the censored writings of national bard Taras Shevchenko.

Russophones do not necessarily see what is viewed as de-nationalization and Russification by patriotic and nationalistic Ukrainianophones in the same manner. Similar responses could probably be found in French regions such as Brittany where some would view the transition to French in positive terms as part of the process of modernization while others would deride the damage done to Breton culture and language. Honchar's novel *Sobor* condemned the loss of national language and culture in the pursuit of Soviet Russian modernization. The majority of KPU, Party of Regions, and especially Crimean Russian nationalist supporters, viewed assimilation to Russian national identity, culture, and history as a progressive process because it took place as part of the process of modernization and industrialization.[28] Little wonder that Soviet identity is very much associated with the Russian language.

In the Shcherbytskyy era, Eurasianist nationality policies harbored a chauvinistic and paternalistic attitude toward the Ukrainian language and culture. After visiting Soviet Ukraine in the 1960s, Ukrainian-Canadian John Kolasky wrote, "Russians are everywhere with their arrogant overbearing attitude; their contempt, sometimes veiled but often overt, for the Ukrainian language, their open display of a feeling of Russian superiority."[29] If a Ukrainian dissident or KPU leader had said this, he or she would have been accused of being a "bourgeois nationalist"; the irony is that Kolasky was not a member of one of the three wings of the émigré OUN but until then a pro-Soviet Canadian communist.[30]

Antinationalist tirades targeted émigré OUN groups, domestic nationalists, prodemocracy dissidents, and national communists who were all defined as "bourgeois nationalists" (similar to today's misuse of "fascists"). The Soviet understanding of "bourgeois nationalists" was very broad and included individuals and groups in Soviet Ukraine and the West who promoted democracy and human rights, patriots who defended the Ukrainian language and culture, moderates who supported greater autonomy for Soviet Ukraine within a looser confederation of Soviet republics, and nationalists who demanded Ukrainian independence from the USSR.[31] As Wilson writes, hostility to "Ukrainian nationalism" has always been present in the Soviet state and "the Donbass's hostility to Ukrainian nationalism in 1917–21 is echoed in contemporary politics,"[32] as demonstrably seen in the torture, violence, and murders committed against pro-Ukrainian politicians, Euromaidan activists, and priests in the DNR and LNR.

The Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party and KGB linked "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" with fascism and World War II Nazi collaborators, Ukrainian émigrés, and fifth columnist anticommunists acting with the support of Western intelligence agencies, seeking to destroy the Soviet Union. "Bourgeois nationalists" became an unscientific catchall phrase used by Eurasianists in the fourth historic cycle that covered the entire political spectrum. Julian Birch concluded that the Soviet authorities viewed "Ukrainian nationalists" as "anyone possessing an elementary sense of national dignity, anyone concerned with the fate of Ukrainian culture and language and someone who failed to please Russian chauvinists, Great Russian bully."[33]

The Soviet Communist Party and KGB increasingly viewed support for the Ukrainian language and culture by dissidents and the political opposition as examples of "Ukrainian nationalism," and being publicly proud of speaking Ukrainian would lead the KGB to view a person suspiciously as an ideological subversive. The authorities made school pupil Nina Lashchenko resign from the *Komsomol* because of her participation in the *Homin* (Echo) choir that sang patriotic and folk songs after "she was also accused of speaking Ukrainian in a Ukrainian school." The Communist Party organization at her school asked her why "You insist on speaking Ukrainian everywhere. Why is this necessary?"[34] Nationalist activist Anatoliy Lupynis recounted how the KGB had asked him during an interrogation:

> Why do you converse exclusively in Ukrainian? What prompted you, one who had been speaking Russian during the first three years at the institute, to start speaking Ukrainian? Are you not aware that the official language of our country is Russian and that in the future all nations will speak Russian? Why did you grow a moustache?[35]

Bizarrely, we can only conclude that not only speaking Ukrainian but also growing a Cossack handlebar moustache had become signs of "bourgeois nationalism" in the eyes of the KGB.

The KPU, the Party of Regions, and Crimean Russian nationalists have inherited the chauvinistic and Ukrainophobic attitudes of the Eurasianist wing of the Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party toward the Ukrainian language and culture. In post-Soviet Ukraine, chauvinistic and openly hostile attitudes toward the Ukrainian language and culture continued to remain entrenched in some regions of Eastern and Southern Ukraine and the Crimea. In May 1992, the Simferopil train station ticket office refused to sell this author a train ticket to Kyiv when I spoke in Ukrainian. A traffic police officer in Odesa and a resident of Donetsk described the Ukrainian language, respectively, as the "language of calves" and the "language of swine." Such views have their origins in the second and fourth historic cycles of Ukrainian history in the Soviet Union when the Ukrainian language was described as a "Bandera-ite tongue" and the Eurasianist wing of the Communist Party of Ukraine and KGB viewed all nationally conscious Ukrainians as "nationalists."[36] Discussing these contemporary cases of Russian chauvinism, Motyl pointed that "a frequent refrain in Ukrainian dissident writings were the complaint that fellow citizens would sneer at them when they spoke Ukrainian and tell them to speak 'human'—namely Russian."[37] Such views, fanned by the Yanukovych presidency and Putin's Russia, have left a deep imprint; in spring 2014, journalists who traveled to the Crimea and Donetsk found that using the Ukrainian language made them automatically suspect as "Western Ukrainian Banderites."

Two decades into Ukrainian independent statehood, Fournier found that Kyiv school students remained reluctant to speak Ukrainian in class for fear of appearing to be too "nationalist."[38] Speaking the Ukrainian and Belarusian languages continued to be associated with "nationalism" and opposition to the ruling authorities, an attitude partly reinforced by national democratic deputies wearing Ukrainian-embroidered shirts in parliament during parliamentary protests. The continued association between speaking Ukrainian and Belarusian and antiregime nationalism is evident from these two examples. In March 2001 at Kyiv's main train station a large number of young Ukrainian speakers from Western Ukraine were arrested in conjunction with riots in Kyiv. The second occasion was in Minsk in 2006 and 2010 when protestors in tent cities were targeted if they spoke Belarusian.[39] Ingrained Russian chauvinist attitudes toward the Ukrainian and Belarusian languages were commonly found in some regions of Eastern and Southern Ukraine and more broadly in Belarus. Widespread disillusionment with the failure of the Orange Revolution to bring about change and high level of political instability during the Yushchenko presidency reinforced the view among Eastern

Billboard with the inscription "For a pure nation!" with two letters written in the form of the Nazi SS and Our Ukraine leader Viktor Yushchenko giving a Nazi salute, Donetsk, October 2003. (Vakhtang Kipiani, ed., *Istorychna Pravda*)

Ukrainian elites that Western Ukrainians were too incompetent and "backward" to rule Ukraine. Sociologist Oleh Pokalchuk believes, "Unfortunately for most people, Ukrainian is not a language used in business; it is rather a language of people who could never hold (power) once they obtained it. People subconsciously perceive Ukrainian to be a language of political losers."[40]

Soviet antinationalist tirades deepened regional divisions by creating an image of Western Ukrainians as the nationalist "Other." The Polish communist regime also participated in the anti-Ukrainian nationalist campaign through books penned by hacks such as Edward Prus.[41]

Inhabitants of Western and Eastern Ukraine hold different attitudes toward the Soviet Union and Russia. Eastern Ukrainians have never viewed Soviet power as imported and alien because they had lived under Soviet rule since the founding of the USSR during which their Ukrainian territorial and multiple identities were reinforced. Eastern Ukrainians have never viewed Russia as a foreign country in the same way as they view, for example, Estonia or Poland. Eastern Ukrainian attitudes toward Russia were largely until 2014 benign, and it is therefore not surprising they did not feel comfortable with anti-Russian, Ukrainian nationalist formations. Eastern and Southern Ukrainians had never viewed nationalist

forces that fought against Soviet power as Ukrainian patriots because they believed they collaborated with the Nazis during World War II and fought against heroic Soviet armed forces. Studies by the U.S. Rand Corporation think tank showed Eastern Ukrainians held positive attitudes to Soviet armed forces, constituted a high proportion of the Soviet middle officer ranks, NCOs, and sergeants. In the Soviet Union, Ukrainians were prized for their discipline and fighting spirit.[42]

Although far larger numbers of Russians than Ukrainians volunteered for military service in Nazi military forces, the Soviet Communist Party and KGB did not unleash ideological tirades against émigré Russians accusing them of collaboration with the Nazis. The formation of a single Galicia division under German control was far fewer than the 10 Russian divisions of the Russian Liberation Army (ROA) in the Germany *Wehrmacht* led by former Soviet General Andrei Vlasov. The Russian National Liberation Army (RONA) led by Bronislav Kaminski had as many personnel (10,000–12,000) participating in the unit as the Galicia division and committed numerous atrocities, including assisting the Nazis in the crushing of the Warsaw uprising during August 1944. The Soviet regime could have organized anti-Russian nationalist ideological tirades because the émigré NTS (People's Labour Alliance), which was also financed by the U.S. government, had grown out of the collaborationist Vlasov movement. Émigré Russians, Russian dissidents, and the Russian political opposition were not targeted by the Soviet regime because democratic and nationalist Russian dissident and émigré groups never constituted a separatist threat to the territorial integrity of the USSR. Meanwhile, the privileged status of the Russian language and culture meant Russian dissidents and anticommunist émigrés had few grounds to complain about national discrimination and never described themselves as national democrats (in the same manner as non-Russians). Russians opposed to the Soviet regime were therefore never accused of "bourgeois nationalism"; that is, as Motyl pointed out, Russian "nationalists" were not in fact nationalists but chauvinists and xenophobes.

The Soviet regime spent a large amount of resources condemning "bourgeois nationalism" at home and abroad in the 1970s and first half of the 1980s when tirades against Ukrainian émigrés intensified. In 1960, the Soviet Union established the KGB-controlled Society for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad (commonly known as *Tovarystvo Ukrayiny* [The Ukrainian Society]) that specialized in attacks on Ukrainian "nationalist" émigrés. Similar societies were established for Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians—but not for Russians and other Soviet nationalities. Soviet Ukrainians could not subscribe to *Tovarystvo Ukrayiny*'s two weekly newspapers *Visti z Ukrayiny* and its English-language equivalent *News from Ukraine* because they were only available outside the USSR. The two newspapers became a major source of disinformation and accusations against individual members of the Ukrainian diaspora who were

Hundreds of thousands of *Rukh* supporters and People's Council opposition deputies celebrate the 500th anniversary of the founding of Zaporizhzhyan Cossacks, Zaporizhzhya, September 1990. (Ukrainian Press Agency)

depicted as "Nazi collaborators" with much of this disinformation originating in KGB files. The two newspapers contained information about trials of Ukrainian "nationalists" in the USSR and analysis of the allegedly perfidious ways in which Ukrainian émigré organizations were seeking to undermine Soviet power through their local "puppets." The KGB and *Tovarystvo Ukrayiny* specialized in linking "nationalist" émigrés with Ukrainian dissidents and cultural activists in order to buttress their claim they were not authentic homegrown movements but inspired by outside "Nazi war criminals" and Western intelligence agencies.[43] Linking homegrown groups to Western-funded centers continued to this day to influence Russian and Belarusian leaders and Ukrainian political forces who have inherited Eurasianist conspiracy theories and traditions.

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY ON THE CUSP OF INDEPENDENCE

Ukraine in 1991 inherited mutually exclusive and multiple identities that have proven difficult to reconcile, and of Ukraine's four presidents

only Kuchma succeeded in promoting national integration. The formation of a Ukrainian national identity for the majority of Ukrainians living outside Western Ukraine largely took place within the confines of a Soviet republic and they became socialized into Soviet political culture. This socialization resembled the process undertaken in Soviet Belarus where for the majority of Belarusians their identity emerged during the seven decades of Soviet rule. The outcome of nationality policies in Soviet Belarus is reflected in Belarusian multiple identities being more popular than ethnic Belarusian mutually exclusive identities. President Lukashenka, who has a popular support base among those who hold a Belarusian Homo Sovieticus identity, clearly reflects the greater popularity of Soviet Belarusian multiple identities. Nationality policies in Soviet Ukraine reinforced multiple identities in Eastern and Southern Ukraine although—unlike in Belarus—they do not constitute a majority of the Ukrainian population and have been discredited by Yanukovych's kleptocracy and Russian malfeasance.

Multiple, bi-ethnic, and Soviet identities existed throughout Eastern and Southern Ukraine but were strongest in the Donbas and the Crimea. A survey conducted two decades into Ukrainian independence by the Razumkov Ukrainian Centre for Economic and Political Studies (hereafter Razumkov Center) found the inhabitants of Donetsk and the Crimea holding a primary allegiance to Soviet cultural identity (rather than Russian or Ukrainian culture). In Donetsk and the Crimea, 37 and 32 percent of the local population, respectively, declared that they held a Soviet cultural identity. In Donetsk, Ukrainian and Russian cultural identities have similar adherents (26 and 22 percent, respectively) while in the Crimea, Russian is more popular than Ukrainian (31 and 19 percent, respectively). Neighboring Dnipropetrovsk, a bulwark against Russian-backed separatism, in contrast has a large majority who hold a Ukrainian cultural identity (55 percent). Yanukovych's home base of Donetsk has a larger Soviet identity than the Crimea and far more than in Kuchma's home base of Dnipropetrovsk. In Galicia, in contrast, less than 2 percent of the population holds a Soviet cultural identity.[44]

Donetsk and Luhansk *oblasts* had nearly 500 streets named after Soviet leader Lenin—the highest number in Ukraine. Street names in Luhansk and Donetsk are virtually nearly all from Soviet history with very few named after Ukrainian national heroes or historical events.[45] Eastern and Southern Ukrainians and Crimeans held greater positive views of the Soviet Union and Soviet leaders, including in some regions of Stalin. A 2013 survey on Ukrainian attitudes to Stalin found that 37 and 22 percent of Ukrainians have negative and positive views of him, respectively. The most positive views of Stalin were to be found in Eastern (36 percent) and Southern (27 percent) Ukraine[46] and the most negative in Western (64 percent) and Central (39 percent) Ukraine. The highest number of

Ukrainians who would like to live under a new Stalin is to be found in Eastern Ukraine (26 percent) and the lowest in Western Ukraine (5 percent). Hans von Zon writes that the "Donetsk model" that emerged by the late 1990s is an "extension of Soviet civilisation" with the "total suppression of dissent and unbridled corruption."[47] Luke Harding describes the popular mood in the Crimea as Russian but a "more fitting description would be pro-Soviet with nostalgia for the USSR almost universal."[48]

The 1989 Soviet and 2001 Ukrainian censuses did not ask if Ukrainians held more than one identity. Surveys and polls, on the other hand, conducted since 1991 in Eastern and Southern Ukraine and the Crimea have found that between 27 and 40 percent of those regions' population simultaneously hold Ukrainian *and* Russian identities; that is, they held multiple identities.[49] Only a third of the inhabitants of the region that traditionally voted for Yanukovych and the Party of Regions held a mutually exclusive identity.[50] Bi-ethnic Ukrainians are usually Russophone and sometimes prefer to describe themselves as holding a Soviet identity. A third of Russians possess multiple identities compared to a fifth of Ukrainians, which is a reflection of the integration of Russian and Soviet identities in the Soviet Union. A greater number of Russians in Ukraine therefore viewed the USSR as their homeland than did Ukrainians. Russians in Western and Central Ukraine were more similar to Ukrainians in holding mutually exclusive identities. Thirty-seven percent of Ukrainians in Eastern Ukraine held bi-ethnic multiple identities compared to only 4 percent in Western Ukraine, a figure that has changed since 2014.

The Donbas does not possess an ethno-cultural "community consciousness" and regional identity is grounded in territorial and economic terms.[51] Ukrainian and Russian ethnic nationalist parties have received very little support within the Donbas, and until the arrival of Russian nationalists and fascists in 2014, political mobilization had been through multiethnic political alliances, such as the KPU and the Party of Regions. The Donetsk coat of arms reflects the region's multiple identities, fusing Tsarist, Soviet, and Ukrainian symbols. There are a large number of non-Slavs within local business and political elites and the Party of Regions.

In Soviet Ukraine, 55 percent of marriages in the Donbas were mixed, which represented the highest number in the republic, and only a third of marriages were between two ethnic Ukrainians. The Kyiv International Institute of Sociology found that bi-ethnic Ukrainians are more pronounced in the South (37 percent) and East (45 percent) of Ukraine, where they formed the voter base of the KPU and the Party of Regions. In the West (6 percent) and Center (15 percent), there are fewer bi-ethnic Ukrainians and there are a majority of Ukrainians hold mutually exclusive identities. Conversely, there are fewer Ukrainians with mutually exclusive identities in Eastern and Southern Ukraine (40 and 34 percent,

respectively) than in the West and Center (93 and 78 percent, respectively). Ukrainians and Russians with multiple identities in Eastern Ukraine have tended to not vote for national democratic and pro-European political forces, which will change as a consequence of the rapid change in national identity in reaction to Russia's new imperialism.

In 1991, Ukraine inherited a country with competing, mutually exclusive, and multiple identities influencing its language preferences, views of history, relationship to Russia, and support for European or Eurasian integration. Most importantly, mutually exclusive and multiple identities influenced how each side viewed the other and, as analyzed in Chapter 7, to what extent they could overcome their divisions and build an independent civic state after 1991. As Chapter 7 shows, greater success in national integration of these two identities was possible in the 1990s because of moderation on both sides and due to the balanced nationality policies pursued by President Kuchma. On the one side, moderate democratic forces emerged from the Soviet dissident movement and cultural intelligentsia holding mutually exclusive identities while, on the other, centrist political forces emerged from the *Komsomol* democratic platform and senior *nomenklatura* of the Communist Party with both mutually exclusive and multiple identities. Why the political landscape and therefore nationality policies changed in the second decade of Ukrainian independence is the subject of analysis in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 7

Nationality Policies, Regionalism, and the Crimea in Ukraine

In effect there is a two party system in our country. Post-Soviet (Ukraine) confronts pro-European (Ukraine) where the past clashes with the future.

Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk[1]

Nationality policies in Ukraine pursued under the country's first three presidents during Ukraine's fifth historic cycle became radically different under Yanukovych. Presidents Kravchuk, Kuchma, and Yushchenko agreed on the need to support the Ukrainian language but differed over how, and over what period, to increase its use in the educational system. Ukrainian language use, as this chapter shows, expanded the greatest under Eastern Ukrainian President Kuchma. Presidents Kravchuk and Yushchenko adopted nationality and language policies that promoted mutually exclusive identities commonplace in Western Ukraine while President Kuchma fashioned a centrist compromise that promoted moderate, mutually exclusive policies, supported in Western Ukraine, with tolerance toward multiple identities and the Russian language that placated Eastern Ukrainian concerns. In contrast to these policies, President Yanukovych promoted Eurasianist and Soviet nationality and language policies.

LANGUAGE POLICIES

Kuchma campaigned in the 1994 elections for Russian to be elevated to "official language," which has always been a confusing term because some voters understood this to be the same as a state language. Ukrainian opinion polls have always found lower majorities in favor of Russian to become a state language than for Russian to be made into an official

language. Kuchma claimed he was unable to implement his election promise because changes to language policy were within the competence of parliament; nevertheless, he recalled, "in most instances, (Russian) *de facto* was a second state language." Although supporting the use of Russian in an official capacity in Eastern Ukraine and not treating it as a foreign language, Kuchma had always been opposed to upgrading Russian to a state language because this "would mean the de facto split of the country."[2] He continued to stand by this statement in 2012 when, together with Kravchuk, he criticized the newly adopted language law.[3] In other words, Kuchma supported a centrist compromise that rejected language policies perceived to be hostile to Russian *or* Ukrainian. As with many of his other policies, Kuchma's position on language made him therefore more flexible than Yushchenko and Yanukovych.

Although elected by Eastern Ukrainians, Shulman concluded that, "Once in office, however, Kuchma pursued a set of policies, both rhetorically and in practice, geared more to the promotion of the ethnic national identity than the Eastern Slavic national identity, although there were tremendous weaknesses and inconsistencies in this endeavour."[4] Volodymyr Kulyk wrote that the Ukrainian language did not advance greatly during Ukraine's independence because of an "ambivalent state policy that sought to promote Ukrainian without prohibiting or, in most cases, even inhibiting the use of Russian in the public domain."[5]

During Kuchma's second term in office, state policies attempted to deal with Russification of the media. In December 1999, the same month Yushchenko became prime minister, the newly established State Committee for Information Policy, Television and Radio, headed by former *Rukh* leader Drach, worked with the National Council for Television and Radio to increase Ukrainian-language content on television and radio. The president, whose members were primarily from the Labour Ukraine, SDPUo, and Renewal of Regions,[6] parliamentary factions and parliament appointed the other half. The government established a Presidential Council on Language Policy headed by Deputy Prime Minister Mykola Zhulynskyy who was director of the Taras Shevchenko Institute of Literature at the National Academy of Sciences.

In September and November 2000, two presidential decrees aimed to provide tax breaks on Ukrainian-language books and to increase use of the Ukrainian language in the business sector. Newspapers from Russia with Ukrainian editions (e.g., *Komersant-Ukraina*) were obliged to publish some articles in Ukrainian and open an office in Ukraine. In 2003–2004, new legislation required half of television and radio broadcast advertisements to be in Ukrainian.

But as is so often the case in Ukraine, reality trumped official programs. Lozowy, Drach's secretary, revealed that "Government work has been a revelation in that I knew things would be bad but I did not know how bad.

No one does any work, practically speaking; the ruling attitude is 'it can't be done' and there is a lot of sabotage going on." Lozowy described the management of State Channel One as "run by incompetents who are corrupt and only interested in becoming 'mini oligarchs.' "[7] Incompetence, herein understood as the inability to get things done (or use power to achieve objectives), proved yet again to be a problem faced by national democrats.

Ukraine's first three presidents upheld the view that the proportion of pupils educated in a language should approximate the proportion of the corresponding ethnic group within the population. In January 2000, the Presidential Council on Language Policy Issues approved the government program "On Additional Measures to Expand the Use of Ukrainian as the State Language," which came into force through a government program approved in the following year. The program outlined steps for the testing of the Ukrainian language proficiency of state officials, introduced policies aimed at the de-Russification of the sports and cultural spheres, and introduced new taxation policies to regulate the import of publications. The latter objective aimed to counter the large import of books from Russia where taxes were lower, which meant Russian-language books were far cheaper than to purchase Ukrainian-language books. Eighty percent of books purchased in Ukraine continue to be in Russian.

Some Eastern Ukrainian and Crimean Russophones would have viewed these language policies as attempts to radically spread Ukrainianization and thereby represent a threat to the Russian language, but in fact, they were quite moderate in comparison to language policies in Canada's Quebec province and Belgium, and elsewhere in Europe. Federal employees in Canada need to have proficiency in both official languages (English and French) although the French language is not commonly spoken in the majority of Canadian provinces.

Yushchenko expanded Ukrainian nationality policies and affirmative action for the Ukrainian language through a requirement for the dubbing of foreign films into Ukrainian; but this was only one of a few Ukrainianization projects that Yushchenko promoted. During Yushchenko's presidency the proportion of children taught in Ukrainian rose by only 3 percent from 78 to 81 percent, a similar increase to that under Kravchuk where the proportion only increased by 5 percent from 49 to 54 percent. In contrast, during Kuchma's two terms in office, the proportion of schoolchildren taught in Ukrainian grew by 20 percent from 56 to 77 percent. Eastern Ukrainian President Kuchma proved to be a more successful Ukrainianizer than Western Ukrainian President Kravchuk and Yushchenko because he was willing to compromise and was never perceived as hostile to the Russian language.

It was always more of a myth than reality that Yushchenko was a radical Ukrainianizer and the uproar in Moscow and in Eastern Ukraine

and the Crimea at his allegedly "nationalistic" policies sidestepped the fact that they were not fundamentally different to those undertaken under Kuchma. An exhaustive decree on state language policy came only 10 days before the end of his presidency and would be therefore ignored by his successor.[8] Why had he waited five years before issuing the decree and, more bizarrely, then supported a presidential candidate who would anyway squash its implementation?

Tolerance and Opposition

Ukraine's first three presidents promoted nationality policies to encourage ethnic Ukrainians to become Ukrainian-language speakers. This nationality policy undermined Soviet "imperial hybridity" and multiple national identities commonly found in Eastern Ukraine and therefore potentially reduced the voter base of the KPU and Party of Regions. During the decade leading up to the 2010 elections, Eastern Ukrainian resistance had grown, first against the promotion of policies geared toward an outcome of "ethnic Ukrainians should speak Ukrainian" and second the official view of ethnic Russians classified as a national minority. Russians redefined in such a manner would reconfigure the hierarchy of state-approved identities with the former "peasant bumpkins" (Ukrainians) now on top that would be unfathomable to chauvinists and old and new Russian imperialists.[9] As Fournier points out, the Russian language plays the role of "a marker of imperial hybridity" for Russians and Russophone Ukrainians who hold multiple identities.[10] Following the adoption of the 2012 language law, six *oblasts* (Odesa, Donetsk, Zaporizhzhya, Kherson, Mykolayiv, and Dnipropetrovsk) and nine city councils (Odesa, Kharkiv, Kherson, Mykolayiv, Zaporizhzhya, Dnipropetrovsk, Luhansk, Donetsk, and Sevastopol) declared Russian to be their regional language.

One factor why opposition grew to language policies was a consequence of Eastern Ukrainians being more hard-line and intolerant on language issues than Western Ukrainians: 34 percent of Eastern and only 23 percent of Western Ukrainians believe their choice whether to buy a book is decided by whether it is in the Ukrainian or Russian languages.[11] Tolerance of the Russian language is high throughout the majority of Ukraine and the majority of Ukrainians know Russian. At the same time, a large number of Russophones (such as Azarov who had lived in Ukraine for a long time) have, as in the Soviet Union, never bothered to learn the Ukrainian language: "Ukraine's language condition is thus only half ideal. For the society to be truly European and thus liberal, tolerant, and functional, that part of the population which lacks proficiency in Ukrainian should acquire some proficiency in Ukrainian; that part which is intolerant of Ukrainian should become tolerant of Ukrainian; and that part

which is unwilling to hear or speak Ukrainian with Ukrainian-speakers should acquire the willingness to hear or speak Ukrainian with Ukrainian-speakers."[12]

Motyl continues:

> Each of Ukraine's Presidents—Leonid Kravchuk, Leonid Kuchma, Viktor Yushchenko, and even Yanukovych—has in point of fact behaved according to European principles. Whatever their personal private linguistic or cultural preferences, they have all made a public effort to be liberal and tolerant in just the way described above. The vast majority of Ukraine's national democrats also adopt the above posture. The only political forces that are, in both principle and practice, linguistically illiberal and intolerant are the anti-Russian *Svoboda* party, the anti-Ukrainian Communists, and the anti-Ukrainian Regionnaires—as well as most of their respective constituents. Illiberal and intolerant Ukrainian-speakers probably comprise no more than 5 percent of the total population, while illiberal and intolerant Russian-speakers probably comprise about 40 percent. Unsurprisingly, the vast majority of the latter are concentrated in the Regionnaire stronghold in the south and east of the country.[13]

Opponents of European nationality policies supported a Soviet "imperial hybridity" with a shared Russian language, blurred cultural boundary, and strict hierarchy where Russian is at the top of the pie and Ukrainian very much at the bottom. In addition, because they believe Russians and Ukrainians are essentially one people, policies to divide them into two separate peoples with two different languages are artificial, and Ukraine could not integrate into Europe. Both President Putin and Prime Minister Azarov assumed ethnic Russians to be the same as Russophones ("compatriots") and in the process inflated the number of "Russians" living in Ukraine. The Russian Orthodox Church and its local Ukrainian Orthodox Church, to which President Yanukovych was closely affiliated, did not see themselves as a church catering for ethnic Russians but for Eastern Slavs and Russophones.

University of Vienna linguist Michael Moser is a specialist on the Slavic languages in general and Ukrainian in particular. Moser writes that although declaring Ukrainian language legislation to be in accordance with the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, it is in fact only the Russian language that has been promoted under the slogan of "human rights for the native language." Moser believes President Yanukovych and the Party of Regions have not provided support for regional or minority languages and have done virtually nothing to meet the demands of Ukrainianophone citizens of Ukraine with regard to spheres where Ukrainian is obviously underrepresented, as in the media.[14] Moser believes that, "those representatives of the party in power who take an active part in Ukrainian language policy routinely refer to the Ukrainian language and identity only along patterns that have been well-

known since Russian imperial and Soviet times. . . . They stick to an image of Ukrainian as an incomplete or "soiled" language of little or no value as compared to the "great and powerful" Russian language."[15]

Moser is critical of policymakers in the Yanukovych administration, and writing about Kolesnichenko says, "The same person who routinely refers to 'European values' and the necessity of the democratization of Ukraine, particularly in the sphere of language legislation, routinely makes statements that present him as a totalitarian politician of a neo-Stalinist type, who has cultivated a remarkable post-Soviet new-speak filled with hate rhetoric." Kolesnichenko cited the Council of Europe to back his jointly authored language law but he was never committed to European values—as clearly seen when he became one of the authors of the antidemocratic laws adopted on January 16, 2014. After the Euromaidan, Kolesnichenko fled from Ukraine and is a wanted fugitive.

Ukrainianization of the educational system under Kuchma took place with the assistance of Tabachnyk who was then deputy prime minister for humanitarian policies. Tabachnyk became an opponent of broadly similar language policies during Yushchenko's presidency and overturned these policies as minister of education. Tabachnyk condemned four policies that had been promoted by President Kuchma, both of whom he had served. These included (1) recognition of the *holodomor* as genocide, (2) unification of Ukrainian Orthodox churches, (3) formulating an objective stance toward OUN-UPA, and (4) NATO membership. Tabachnyk also condemned Yushchenko's stance on the Russian language as a language of "foreign occupation."[16] Tabachnyk was made education minister in 2010, following lobbying by the Russian Orthodox patriarch. Moser writing about Tabachnyk says that in the educational sphere,

> Tabačnyk has made all possible efforts to cut the use of Ukrainian language and foster the use [of] Russian instead. This concerns preschool, school, and university teaching as well as the production of textbooks or the procedures of entrance exams. Tabachnyk continues to deny the very existence of the Ukrainian nation even as Minister of Ukraine.[17]

Tabachnyk described the Ukrainian language as "not a required language,"[18] a view that Boldyrev would wholeheartedly support. The U.S. human rights think tank Freedom House recommended that Yanukovych, "dismiss Education Minister Dmytro Tabachnyk, arguably the most polarising official in the cabinet, for sowing unnecessary and dangerous divisions within Ukraine over issues of identity, language, and education."[19] Much of Tabachnyk's rhetoric was picked up by Donbas separatist leaders and Russian nationalists who came to their aid.

(Top) Protest by *Rukh* and Ukrainian-language society Prosvita in front of Kyiv's All-Union (Vladimir) Lenin Museum on *Ploscha Leninskoho Komsomolu* (Leninist Komsomol) Square, March 1991. (Bottom) Protest and riot against a new language law in front of the renamed Ukrainian House on European Square with a placard with a picture of Taras Shevchenko reading "Language. Fatherland. Ukraine," July 2012. (Ukrainian Press Agency and UNIAN)

The 2012 Language Law as a Return to Russification

The Party of Regions and presidential candidate Yanukovych campaigned in every election for Russian to be elevated to a second state or official language; among non-Russian member states of the CIS, only Belarus and Kyrgyzstan have adopted the former. Legal niceties were irrelevant for President Yanukovych and the Party of Regions who sidestepped the constitution by the adoption of a language law drafted by Kivalov and Kolesnichenko. Its supporters claimed the law was in accordance with the Council of Europe's Charter for Regional or Minority Languages that Ukraine signed in May 1999 and ratified in May 2003.[20] The charter is meant to protect languages that are under threat and not dominant languages, such as Russian. In addition to entrenching Russian in Eastern and Southern Ukraine the law increases support for the Party of Regions among Hungarians in Transcarpathia and Romanians in Chernivtsi *oblasts*.

The adoption of the language law on the eve of the 2012 elections by 248 votes[21] crowned three years of Eurasianist nationality policies. Whether undertaken deliberately or not, the law gave the greatest boost to the nationalist *Svoboda* party, which had not been expected to enter parliament but ended up receiving 10.44 percent of the vote and coming third in the city of Kyiv. The new language law did not increase support for the Party of Regions, as it was supposed to do, as the party lost two million votes in the 2012 elections (see Chapters 3 and 5).

Educational Institutions

The Ukrainian language was elevated to a state language in a new law adopted in 1989 when Ukraine was still a Soviet republic and a year before the democratic opposition won seats in the Soviet Ukrainian Supreme Council. Ukrainian became a state language in the 1996 constitution, which was maintained in the revised constitution adopted in December 2004 and introduced in 2006 and 2014. Poroshenko opposed making Russian a state language and he will follow the moderate Ukrainianization policies undertaken by Kuchma. Since 1991, the Ukrainian language has replaced Russian in Western Ukrainian educational facilities and state institutions. Elsewhere in Ukraine, the Russian language never became "foreign" and the expansion of Ukrainian in education and state institutions became a gradual process. Ukrainianization of the education system continued under Ukraine's first three presidents and spread to most regions, except the Donbas and the Crimea where the proportion of pupils and students taught in the Ukrainian language remained low. Under President Kuchma, the proportion of schoolchildren and students learning in Ukrainian grew every year to over 80 percent and those

studying in Russian declined. By the end of Kuchma's presidency, a majority of students in every Ukrainian region received instruction in Ukrainian except in the Donbas where it ranged between 14 and 17 percent and in the Crimea where it was used by only 1 percent of classes. The Southern and Eastern Ukrainian *oblasts* of Odesa and Zaporizhzhya have between 45 and 47 percent of students studying in Ukrainian. Using a 1:1 Ukrainian:Russian language ratio in 1991, the balance had shifted 3:1 in favor of Ukrainian-language education by 2010 when 82 percent of school children were taught in Ukrainian with the Russian language remaining dominant in only the Donbas and Crimea. Ternopil *oblast* had the highest use of Ukrainian in the educational system (97.6 percent).[22]

Print and Electronic Media

The gradual growth of the Ukrainian language in the educational system is at variance with developments in the print media, especially in magazines published for the new middle class and business and economic newspapers and journals where the use of Ukrainian language has declined.[23] The growth of Russian-language media did not dent middle-class support for the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan. Since 1991, the majority of independent publications or translations of Western lifestyle and women's and other magazines published for Ukraine's middle class are in Russian. Jed Sunden, an American with no Ukrainian diaspora connection, primarily launched Russian-language publications in Ukraine, the best well known of which was *Korrespondent* magazine. Over two-thirds of newspapers and 90 percent of the annual circulation of magazines are published in Russian. Ukrainian-language newspapers with similarly large circulations as Russian language newspapers only exist in Lviv (e.g., *Ekspress* and *Vysokyy Zamok*) and Kyiv (*Hazeta po-Ukrayinski*).

Two Ukrainian-language magazines for women, *Pani* and *Vona*, closed during the 2008 global financial crisis, leaving only the Soviet era *Zhinka* magazine still available for those who wished to read women's magazines in Ukrainian. The number of Ukrainian-language newspapers halved during the first two decades of Ukrainian independence while the situation surrounding magazines became even more catastrophic with the proportion of Ukrainian-language magazines declining from 90 to only 10 percent. Eighty percent of books sold in Ukraine are in Russian, which, together with the dominance of Russian-language newspapers, is a higher proportion than that found even under Shcherbytskyy—let alone under Shelest.

Use of the Ukrainian language in electronic media is more regulated than that in print media. Nevertheless, only 28 percent of radio broadcasts are in Ukrainian, a figure that is declining, and less than the mandated

50 percent required by legislation. A quarter of television channels use only Ukrainian compared to 47 percent that is in Russian while another 31 percent are in both Ukrainian and Russian; the 2008 official provision for Ukrainian was 80 percent. In August 2012, a month after the adoption of the new language law, the National Television and Radio Broadcasting Council of Ukraine removed the requirement to denote "language" in future applications for licenses.

The Ukrainian language has fared better in the music sphere. Alexander Sparinsky, a Kyiv-based composer, musicologist, and producer, explained five changes that had taken place:[24]

The first important change was the ability of amateur authors, performers, singers, and other groups to create and implement their own compositions, songs, and works as a self-contained work of art. In the USSR, what determined whether a work was attractive or popular was the author's membership of the Union of Composers, an archaic Stalinist institution whose job was to control and steer the music sphere. Works by those who were not members of the union were treated badly, banned, and excluded from TV and radio broadcasting. The second change was the possibility of authors to present their musical creations to a maximum number of students, and not only within Ukraine or the former USSR, but internationally. In the Soviet Union if your work was published abroad the authors were expelled from the Union of Composers, they became outcasts, and lost their jobs.

He continued:

The third change, of course, with the acquisition of Ukrainian as a state language, music began using Ukrainian more than compared to the Soviet era—although no one then forbid the use of Ukrainian in songs or operas. The change in attitude and increased general relevance of the Ukrainian language in the public environment made it aesthetically attractive to use. This included the field of Ukrainian-language pop, rock, and rap beginning with *Vika* and *Braty Hadyukyny* in the first half of the 1990s, and Ruslana winning the Eurovision Song Contest in 2004 and more recent experiments by *Okean Yelzy, Skryabin* and *VV (Vopli Vidopliassova)* rock band and singer Oleh Skrypka. Fourthly, it became possible to openly sing previously banned songs by *Sichovi Striltsi* (soldiers of the UNR) and UPA and some bands such as *Mandry* and *Tartak* modernised the lyrics by combining folk and rock. This in turn enriched the treasure of Ukrainian music, increased the number of listeners and those with knowledge of their people's musical history. Finally, a large number of musicians and performers have moved into the academic world although problems remain in higher education and teaching methodology and the low quality level of most teachers in music. Currently, the outdated Union of Composers is unable to meet the demands of the modern music world in Ukraine.

Globalization, the Internet, and the English Language

During the two decades leading up to Ukrainian independence, young Ukrainians increasingly identified with Western rather than Ukrainian rock music and culture. "During the 1970s, a majority of young male Ukrainians constructed their own identity by rejecting elements of Ukrainian popular culture. They tried to look and behave 'coolly,' like their Western idols of hard rock and glamour rock."[25] Moscow became a conduit for Western influences through the Russian language: young people devoured Western authors in Russian translations, read about Western music in Soviet Russian-language periodicals, and watched Western films dubbed into Russian—trends that have not radically changed in post-Soviet Ukraine. Young Ukrainians preferred to read *Rovesnik* that the *Komsomol* began to publish in 1962 rather than its Soviet Ukrainian equivalent *Ranok* because the latter was more cautious and conservative. By the late 1970s, the majority of young people in Eastern Ukrainian cities had switched to using and writing in Russian, which had greater prestige, and it became unfashionable among intellectuals to read Ukrainian-language publications.

Western music was—and continues to remain—an important avenue for Russification that began in the 1980s when disco clubs controlled by the *Komsomol* emerged and replaced the replaying of patriotic Ukrainian songs with rock and pop songs in English and Russian. In the Shcherbytskyy era, official recordings of Western music released by the state owned *Melodiya Company* included Russian-language comments and the majority of local rock and pop bands switched from Ukrainian into Russian because the fashionable language of young "rockers" became Russian. In the 1970s and 1980s, the West was largely associated with modern progress, great music, cool fashions, and making money. Becoming a young "rebel" led to young Ukrainians switching to the Russian language and distancing themselves from what was perceived as backward Soviet and Soviet-Ukrainian culture.

An identification with the West and the consumption of Western rock therefore "led to the gradual Russification of popular culture in Dnipropetrovsk, a trend that took place elsewhere in Soviet Ukraine."[26] Although Ukrainian language music has made tremendous gains since 1991, dominating the carnival atmosphere of the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan,[27] this has not undermined the influence of Russian as the vehicle through which many Ukrainians still absorb Western products and globalization. The American owner of Gala Radio told this author that it made no difference which language his radio used and his radio stations use Russian.[28] As with music, so also with films. In the late Soviet era,

Western films became more popular than Ukrainian language films that were of poorer quality and subjected to tighter censorship by Moscow. Today, the majority of Western films purchased in Ukraine are pirate copies dubbed into Russian. President Yushchenko controversially supported dubbing Western films into Ukrainian for cinema audiences, but the plan was dropped under Yanukovych and the pirate market was never affected.

Resistance to the learning of English has led to low levels of integration of Ukrainian elites within European and Western intellectual circles. In the first two decades of Ukrainian independence, the authorities moderately supported English in the education system. Although 20–30 percent of Ukrainians claim to speak English it is very poor and only an abysmally low 4 percent regularly consume information in English.[29] During Yanukovych's presidency, education policies placed an even lower importance on the English language. Kyiv Mohyla Academy Dean Serhiy Kvit said, "Today, English is perceived by the authorities to be a destructive factor that could undermine the so-called 'progressive' Ukrainian (post-Soviet) system of higher education and research. Poor knowledge of English, or lack of it, is a problem of all post-Soviet states, a fact that is completely ignored by the Ukrainian government." Minister of Education Tabachnyk dropped the requirement to know English for students applying to higher education institutions and attempted to expand this policy to private educational institutions, such as the Kyiv Mohyla Academy. At a Kyiv meeting in December 2014 attended by Ukrainian and foreign investigative journalists, only a fifth of local participants knew English.

President Yanukovych was the only world leader who could not speak English during the April 2010 Washington nuclear summit. In the words of *Ukrayinska Pravda* reporter Leshchenko, he resembled a "provincial bureaucrat" when compared to Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan at the 2012 Yalta European Strategy summit.[30] However, Yanukovych was not alone and only a small minority of oligarchs and party leaders speak English; learning English has yet to become a priority for Ukraine's post-Soviet generation. In September 2012, not a single member of the largest Ukrainian business delegation to visit Washington DC, who were all in their 30s and 40s, was an English speaker, and all except one could not speak Ukrainian.[31] Their presentations came across as that of "neo-Soviet bureaucrats'."[32] At the November 2013 "Strategic Dialogue with Ukraine" in Kyiv organized by the World Economic Forum, on a pre-dinner panel with the Moldovan, Croatian, and Hungarian prime ministers and deputy prime ministers, Azarov was the only one who did not speak in English.[33]

Only a minority of parliamentary deputies speak English, and Ukrainian provincialism exists across the Ukrainian political spectrum and among business leaders. The Party of Regions has hired Western political consultants more than any other political forces in Ukraine and has an English-

language page on its party website. The websites of *Batkivshchina* and Front for Change, on the other hand, did not and after they merged into the United Opposition continued to not have English-language pages (Tymoshenko's web page has an English page).[34] UDAR has English-language pages but Poroshenko's virtual Solidarity party does not even have a website. English-speaking Yatsenyuk, Klitschko, and Poroshenko are exceptions while Yushchenko, although married to a Ukrainian-American, and Tymoshenko, whose daughter married an Englishman and studied at the London School of Economics, never bothered to learn English. Lazarenko did not find time to learn English during his seven years spent in a U.S. prison from 2006 to 2012. Free classes to learn English on the Euromaidan were poorly attended and novelist Kurkov, an ethnic Russian living in Kyiv, wrote in his diary: "If we want to join Europe any time soon, we need to put more effort into learning foreign languages."[35]

A large majority of Ukrainians continued to consume the products of the Western world through the prism of the Russian language and via Moscow because of the domination of the Russian language and cultural products in independent Ukraine. Soviet Ukraine was isolated from the outside world and there were no direct flights from Kyiv to the outside world. Since 1991, Ukraine is an internationally recognized country with diplomatic representatives in most Western countries, and 30 airlines fly from two Kyiv international airports to over 60 countries. Since 1991, little Russian provincialism has not retreated to the same extent as Kyiv's airports have opened up to the outside world.

The continued weakness of the English language within post-Soviet Ukrainian elites ensures that the Russian language continues to be widely perceived as more of a global language than Ukrainian.[36] Eighty two percent of Ukrainians do not purchase Ukrainian-language books, and judging by the dominance of Russian-language books in Kyiv's bookstores, when they read foreign literature it is likely to be in Russian translation—as was the case in the USSR.[37] The roots of this Little Russian provincialism sunk deep roots during the Shcherbytskyy era.

The rise of the Internet and World Wide Web has expanded use of the English language globally but this has been less prevalent among young Ukrainians many of whom continue to use Russian. The Ukrainian language is in decline among young Ukrainians, falling from 41 to 30 percent in 2003–2010 at home, 34 to 22 percent among friends, and 36 to 23 percent at work. The highest use of Russian and greatest growth of bilingualism are to be found within the youth group that grew up in the post-Soviet era in independent Ukraine and who supported the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan.[38] Only 27 percent of young Ukrainians compared to 63 and 83 percent of Russians and Azeris, respectively, are proud of their country.[39] Greater respect for Ukraine as a country among this age group would inevitably translate into higher Ukrainian-language use.

The dominance of the Russian language as the agent of globalization for many young Ukrainians is evident when they play computer games in Russian,[40] prefer Russian-language search engines,[41] very frequently choose Russian domains such as mail.ru as their free email addresses (rather than the widely prevalent Gmail, Hotmail, or Yahoo), buy computer products and technology at Russian-language online stores, and use pirated software dubbed into the Russian language. Forty percent of Ukrainians use the Internet, half the number in the United States and Europe and 10 percent less than in Russia. But, Ukrainians—especially in the government (including in the government and security sensitive Ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs)—use Russian-controlled yandex.ru as their search engine rather than Western search engines such as yahoo or google. Although the Orange Revolution was the world's first Internet revolution, social media played a more important major role in the Euromaidan[42] as Facebook and Twitter were only launched in February 2004 and March 2006, respectively. While Facebook users such as *Ukrayinska Pravda* journalist Nayem played a key role in mobilizing Ukrainians during the early days of the Euromaidan, the influence of social media is not clear-cut in Ukraine. *VKontakte* has 20 million account holders in Ukraine, nearly seven times more than Facebook users with 3 million (up from 1.6 million in 2010), and the Russian social media is the most visited social network site in Ukraine.[43] Forty percent of Ukraine's Internet users are registered with *VKontakte*, and some of its users may well have supported Russia's occupation of the Crimea and mobilized separatists and counterrevolution in the Donbas. The BBC reported that *VKontakte*, which is more popular than Facebook for DNR and LNR activists, was used to recruit mercenaries for the Donbas, to exchange information about logistics, and as "a key platform for would-be fighters to coordinate their actions."[44] Confounding this social media environment, Russia adopted in 2014 a new Internet law that demands web providers and Internet firms provide personal data, including *VKontakte* and Russian email accounts (which are often used by Ukrainians) to the FSB.[45] "Whoever controls VK could have far-reaching implications for millions of social media users in Eastern Europe," an in-depth report pointed out.[46]

HISTORY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

Ukraine's cultural and academic elites—Serhiy Komisarenko, Zhulynskyy, Yukhnovskyy, Dzyuba, Ivan Kuras, Valeriy Smoliy, Vasyl Kremen and other state officials and intellectuals—dominated government positions under Ukraine's first three presidents in humanities policy, education, and culture. Ukrainian nationality policies under Kravchuk, Kuchma, and Yushchenko did not fundamentally differ over

strategy and goals—only in how quickly to attain them. The attitudes of all three presidents toward Ukrainian history did not radically differ over important questions such as the 1917–1920 struggles for independence and the 1933 *holodomor*. Yushchenko differed in only one respect from his two predecessors, in vocally campaigning to rehabilitate nationalist leaders in the 1940s. At the same time, school and university textbooks[47] were inclusive and have included Ukrainian nationalists alongside Soviet military forces within an overall Ukrainian history of World War II. State policies toward the teaching of Ukrainian history under these three presidents have been extensively analyzed by Western and Ukrainian scholars.[48]

Ukraine's first three presidents upheld founding myths of Ukraine's independence within a European, Ukrainophile historiography closely associated with historian Hrushevsky. Under Kuchma, a monument to Hrushevsky was unveiled in central Kyiv. Ukraine's first three presidents viewed Kyiv Rus as a proto-Ukrainian state, which was reflected through their support for the rebuilding and restoration of monuments to Kyiv Rus rulers, cathedrals, and buildings, such as the *Zolota Vorota* (Golden Gates) in Kyiv. The official state narrative glorified Ukrainian Cossacks and *Hetman* Mazepa, who established a military alliance with the Swedish Empire in the early eighteenth century in an unsuccessful war against Russia for Ukrainian independence. The state narrative downplayed the 1654 Treaty of Pereyaslav as a military alliance with Russia (rather than a union of both states), was critical toward Tsarist and Soviet nationality policies toward Ukraine, and described the *holodomor* as genocide. *Hryvnya* currency notes, introduced in 1996, include portraits of Kyiv Rus leaders and Mazepa.[49] Post-Soviet Ukrainian historiography discussed conflict and tension between Ukraine and Russia and in doing so moved away from the Tsarist and Soviet historiographical frameworks that downplayed them.

In October 2006, President Yushchenko issued a decree on the "All-Sided Study and Objective Coverage of the Ukrainian Independence Movement and Facilitation of the National Reconciliation Process." The decree tasked the government and the National Academy of Sciences to develop a comprehensive review of the participation of Ukrainians in World War II and other conflicts in the twentieth century and provide this in the form of balanced information to Ukrainian society. The decree called for the preparation of a draft law on the social status of participants in Ukrainian independence movements between the 1920s and the 1950s and on legally recognizing organizations that fought for Ukrainian independence during those four decades.[50] The decree primarily covered participants in the 1917–1920 independent governments and nationalist groups in the 1940s and 1950s, not dissident and opposition movements in the 1960s–1980s, and was most contentious when dealing with OUN and UPA.

Major changes to the teaching of history took place under Yanukovych.[51] Viktor Mysan, a historian and author of Ukraine's school textbooks, warned that "everything that is researched, created, and written since 1991 cannot be re-written burnt, drowned and destroyed." The Party of Regions and KPU took control of three state institutions that have shaped public opinion and academic discourse on historical topics. Party of Regions parliamentary deputy Valeriy Smoliy was installed as head of the Institute of History, National Academy of Sciences, and KPU member Olha Hinzburh was appointed head of the State Archive Service. Communist Party historian Valeriy Soldatenko from Yanukovych's home base of Donetsk replaced Yukhnovskyy as director of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory. From 1976 to 1984, Soldatenko had been a senior researcher at the Institute of the History of the Communist Party that came under the aegis of the central committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, a branch of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Soldatenko had written the 1990 Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party statement that belatedly admitted that a famine had taken place in Soviet Ukraine in 1933 but blamed it on agricultural disorganization due to collectivization and bad weather. Soldatenko continues to stand by the 1990 KPU statement denying that the *holodomor* was an artificial famine. It would be unimaginable for Israel to appoint a Holocaust denier to head the Yad Vashem Museum, which would be a great affront to six million Holocaust victims.[52] Under Presidents Kuchma and Yushchenko, the SBU released Soviet archives to the public domain about Soviet crimes against humanity and the *holodomor*, but in 2010, these archives were closed, and historians who had used the archives came under SBU scrutiny. The archives were reopened under Poroshenko.

The Yanukovych administration promoted facets of Soviet Ukrainian national identity running counter to anticommunist and pre-Soviet national heroes. Belarusian President Lukashenka similarly developed a state ideology that builds on Soviet Belarusian national identity;[53] in Belarus and Ukraine a quarter (and in Russia a majority) of the population are nostalgic for the Soviet past. Under Yanukovych, the Soviet legacy was less criticized, and new Ukrainian school textbooks provided a more benevolent view of the Soviet period by editing out historical events where there had been conflict between Ukraine and Russia. Tabachnyk removed references to de-Stalinization in the 1950s and the ending of Soviet state repression while replacing dissidents and writers (such as Dzyuba and Svitlychnyy) with Communist Party officials. Historian Kulchytskyy wrote that the Yanukovych administration represented a political force "that stands on Soviet positions" and asked "How is it possible to not speak about the heroes of the Ukrainian liberation movement, about the *shistdesyatnyky*? This is simply ridiculous!" Yukhnovskyy condemned

the exclusion of dissidents by saying, "People should know everything that took place in our history."[54] The year 2012 was the first year since Ukraine became an independent state that registered a decline in the number of schoolchildren being taught in Ukrainian, and this trend was set to continue if Yanukovych had remained in power; little wonder to Ukrainian nationalists and patriots the atmosphere felt like "back to the future" in the 1970s. Other examples of reversals in nationality policies took place in films, and the Oleksandr Dovzhenko National Centre, the only institution in Ukraine that restores, maintains, and studies Ukrainian-language films, was leased to a Russian company.[55]

These changes were a reflection of four factors: (1) historical amnesia in the Donbas (see Chapter 10), (2) hostility on the part of Ukrainophobes in the Party of Regions to Ukrainian mutually exclusive identity, (3) disinterest in nationality policies on the part of other members of the Party of Regions, and (4) placating Russian concerns. President Yanukovych's 2010 statement on the anniversary of the July 1990 Declaration of Sovereignty reflected his understanding of Ukrainian independence as having been brought about by the Soviet Union, not by pre-Soviet nationalist and patriotic movements and leaders.

> "Twenty years ago, in adopting the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine, our state made a decisive step towards independence. It was not an easy decision ... And yet they voted for a document that essentially opened a new page in the history of Ukraine," he said. Yanukovych reminded Ukrainians, "Do not forget that all previous attempts to obtain sovereignty ended in failure. It should be remembered that the Soviet Union, albeit with only limited sovereignty, laid the foundations for Ukraine's economic and cultural power without which future independence would have been impossible."[56]

The myth of Ukrainians seeking an independent state throughout one thousand years of history provided a core framework for speeches by Ukraine's first three presidents in their commemoration of Ukraine's August 24 independence day. The August 24, 1991, Declaration of Independence states that independence was the culmination of "the thousand-year tradition of the state development of Ukraine." Ukraine's "thousand year" struggle for autonomy and independence became the main paradigm of the official state narrative. Yanukovych's speeches on the anniversaries of the Declarations of Sovereignty and Independence downplayed or no longer mentioned Kyiv Rus as the first Ukrainian state,[57] the Cossack era, the Central *Rada*, Ukrainian nationalists, and Ukrainian dissidents in the USSR.[58] The Party of Regions never participated alongside national democratic political forces and the SPU in annual commemorations to celebrate the January 1918 Declaration of Independence. In January 1990 a human chain from Kyiv to Lviv to

commemorate the 1918 unification of Western and Eastern Ukraine was held by *Rukh* and Ukrainian activists. Twenty-three years later during the Euromaidan a similar human chain was held, organized by Ukraine's post-Soviet generation of activists, this time from Kyiv to the Polish and also the EU border signifying Ukrainians' desire to become part of Europe.[59]

The Holodomor and Ukrainian National Identity

De-Stalinization has always been central to the demands of Ukraine's cultural intelligentsia, the political opposition, and at times senior members of the Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party. Since 1991, de-Stalinization became symbolically important as a source of legitimacy for Ukraine as an independent state to prevent a repetition of calamities such as the *holodomor*. In a December 1991 appeal for Ukrainians to vote for the referendum on independence, then Parliamentary Chairperson Kravchuk described a "yes" vote as a "guarantee against deliberate famine and state terror." Maria Sniher, an 87-year-old pensioner living in a village near Kyiv, said, "I remember how they caught children and ate them during the famine. We saw little that was good in our lives and pray that our grandchildren will live better."[60]

In 1983, on the 50th anniversary of the *holodomor*, the Ukrainian diaspora launched the process of commemorating the *holodomor* and condemning the Soviet regime that had engineered it. Robert Conquest's book *Harvest of Sorrow*[61] and the documentary film *Harvest of Despair* were two products of the campaign to bring international attention to the *holodomor*. In 1985, a congressional commission on the *holodomor* headed by James Mace was established, which conducted archival and oral history research. In 1993, the commission donated to the Ukrainian authorities 4 volumes of findings, 10 volumes of archival materials, and 200 cassettes of oral history recordings of famine survivors.

By the late 1980s, *perestroika* and *glasnost* liberalized the Soviet media and scholarly studies permitting a discussion of "blank spots" in Soviet and Ukrainian history that included the *holodomor* and Stalinist Great Terror. Nevertheless, the KPU resisted recognizing the *holodomor* until 1990. In independent Ukraine, countless books, collections of documents, films, and documentaries were published and produced on the *holodomor*. In 1998, Kuchma issued a decree that the fourth Saturday in November would be a day of commemoration for the *holodomor* and a decade later plans were laid to build a large monument and museum. On the 70th anniversary in 2003 the Ukrainian parliament issued a special resolution on the *holodomor*[62] and President Kuchma through Deputy Prime Minister Tabachnyk promoted an international campaign for the *holodomor* to be recognized as genocide, a campaign that was continued by Yushchenko.

The domestic campaign and educational policy was largely successful, and by 2014 a large majority of Ukrainians believed the *holodomor* was an act of genocide committed against Ukrainians.[63] Internationally, the campaign proved to be less successful although 17 countries recognized the crime as genocide. Three-quarters of Ukrainians who voted for independence in the December 1991 referendum did not agree with the statement that Stalin was a great leader while Ukrainians who opposed or were agnostic about independence (both groups influential in the Donbas and Crimea) held a benign view of Stalin. The European Parliament, Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), and other international bodies condemned the *holodomor* as a crime against humanity but preferred to be cautious and not use the term *genocide*.[64]

Snyder's authoritative book *Bloodlands*, which begins with a chapter on the 1933 artificial famine, believes the *holodomor* was a genocide committed against the Ukrainian people. He differentiates between deaths in the Kazakh and Ukrainian collectivizations of agriculture, arguing the former was an outcome of Soviet economic policies while the latter was a deliberate policy of mass starvation undertaken by the Soviet state. "Stalin seemed determined to display his domination over the Ukrainian peasantry, and seemed even to enjoy the depths of suffering that such a posture would require," Snyder wrote.[65] When discussing the famine in parts of Russia, Snyder writes: "Nevertheless, the policy with respect to Ukraine was special, and lethal. Seven crucial policies were applied only, or mainly, in Soviet Ukraine in late 1932 or early 1933."[66] Soviet Ukraine was a major center of mass murder, including in the city of Stalino (the name for Donetsk until 1961). The entire country experienced "regular and massive executions, over enormous and numerous pits."[67] During World War II, 87 mass graves of victims of the Great Terror were opened up in the Western-Central Ukrainian town of Vinnytsya alone.

In 2006, differing political attitudes in Ukraine to the *holodomor* were evident when three Orange parties adopted a new law on the 1933 famine; the Party of Regions and KPU did not vote for the law.[68] Liberal centrist parties under Kuchma would have backed the law showing to what degree the Party of Regions was a different political animal. Yushchenko stated after the vote "those who deny the famine today hate Ukraine deeply ... What they deny are not history—they deny Ukrainian statehood."[69] The question of whether the *holodomor* was an act of genocide raises the question of who undertook the crime against humanity—Russia, Russians, the Soviet Union, or simply communism. There is also the question of morality; Yushchenko's condemnation of the KPU and Party of Regions for not supporting the 2006 law on the famine did not prevent his close cooperation with the latter political force against BYuT that had voted for the legislation.

On February 25, 2010, the day of Yanukovych's inauguration, the removal of the *holodomor* section from the presidential website (www.president.gov.ua) was a signal of the impending counterrevolution. The section on the *holodomor* returned a year later on the presidential website but in an abridged format of Ukrainian and international legislation and photographs.[70] Under Yanukovych, the Ukrainian state no longer participated in annual commemorations of the *holodomor* held since 1998. In April 2010, Yanukovych told the PACE that, "We consider it incorrect and unjust to consider the *holodomor* a fact of genocide of a certain people."[71] Yanukovych described the *holodomor* as "a common tragedy" of the Soviet people and in doing so adopted the position of the Russian government. Kulchytskyy and Snyder pointed out that the death rate in Russian regions (excluding the largely Ukrainian-populated Kuban and the Kazakh Autonomous Republic) was in the region of hundreds of thousands of lives—not millions as in Ukraine—and both scholars believe the *holodomor* was a genocide.[72] In addition, Russians do not see the 1933 famine as a national tragedy in the same manner as Ukrainians and have not erected a single monument to the famine anywhere in Russia.[73] The only museum of Soviet political repression, housed in the Perm Gulag where many Ukrainian political prisoners died, was closed down in summer 2014. In 2008, on the 75th anniversary of the *holodomor* the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory published a 21-volume *National Book of Memory* about the *holodomor* (each over 1,000 pages long) that includes extensive memoirs, analysis, documents, and photographs.[74] As discussed in Chapter 10, Donetsk suffered tremendously from the *holodomor* and Great Terror and is the only *oblast* with two volumes devoted to it. No similar large-scale (especially state-backed) research and publications have been undertaken on the 1933 famine in Russia.

Even putting aside the question of genocide, the majority of Western and Ukrainian scholars would argue that the *holodomor* was primarily directed against the Soviet Ukrainian republic and was *not* a Soviet-wide phenomenon. The Russian state is covering up Soviet crimes against humanity and rehabilitating Stalin; in Russia there are no museums and monuments to the victims of communism, and in 2015 the museum dedicated to crimes against humanity in Perm-36, the last surviving camp from the Stalin era, and Memorial organization established in the late 1980s to investigate Soviet "blank spots" of Soviet history was closed down by the state in 2015. The rehabilitation of Stalin and the statist interpretation of Russian history "is a justification for unaccountability and absolution of past crimes."[75] Russia's new national school textbooks depict the Soviet era in a positive manner and describe mass repression and the Gulag as the unavoidable costs of Soviet modernization; Stalinism is called "Stalinist socialism" while Gorbachev is painted in negative terms. Russia took a strong exception to Yushchenko's use of the

holodomor in nation building (see Russian President Dmitry Medvedev's open letter to Ukraine's President Yushchenko in Box 11.1) which Yanukovych took into account when he came into office by downplaying the *holodomor* and adopting Russia's position on a host of other questions.[76]

New historical myths highlighted the "Great Patriotic War" that inevitably brought out a positive role for Stalin as the leader who led the Soviet Union to victory while ignoring his three-year collaboration with the Nazis. "Stalin made Galicia Ukrainian and not Bandera or Shukhevych," Boldyrev said. Focusing on the "Great Patriotic War" (in contrast to a more inclusive World War II narrative) marginalizes Stalinist crimes in the 1930s and in 1939–1941. Soviet nostalgia has led to historical revisionism by: (1) replacing World War II with the Great Patriotic War; (2) flying the Soviet flag on state holidays, which is a provocative act to patriotic and nationalistic Ukrainians; and (3) permitting communist and Russian nationalist allies to rehabilitate Stalin.[77] Dina Khapaeva writes that the Great Patriotic War myth was "constructed to suppress memory of the Gulag, to rename and suppress the memory of the irrational, unjustified sufferings of the victims of the Soviet system." The war myth "prevented reflection on the responsibility for Soviet crimes," ignoring three years of Stalin's collaboration with Hitler while refusing to accept that Nazism and Stalinism were equally criminal totalitarian ideologies.[78] In 2009, the Parliamentary Assembly of the OSCE adopted a resolution to annually commemorate on August 23 (the date of the 1939 Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact) the memory of victims of Nazi and Soviet crimes against humanity.

Although monuments to Stalin began to appear in Eastern and Southern Ukraine after Yanukovych came to power, the revival of a cult of Stalin received only partial state support in Ukraine while in Belarus and Russia it is fully supported. A monument to Stalin was erected by the KPU in Zaporizhzhya in May 2010, and monuments were unveiled elsewhere in Eastern and Southern Ukraine. David Marples, writing about Belarus, says, "The Lukashenka presidency has defined the modern state based on Soviet myths and respect—if not glorification—for the 'achievements' of Stalin as a ruler." He adds, "It has fostered a single interpretation of the Soviet years that not only continues the glorification of the Great Patriotic War, but also manifestly ignores the Stalinist repressions, including the NKVD massacre of prisoners at Kurapaty on the outskirts of Minsk, where mass graves were uncovered in the late 1980s."[79] During state holidays, Russian nationalists in the Crimea, KPU, and Party of Regions supporters would often stand under banners of Stalin.

Contemporary Antinationalism

Antinationalist ideological campaigns in the Soviet Union have left an indelible imprint on the mind-sets and political culture of Ukrainians

(Left) Communist Party and other supporters hold placards praising Stalin during the opening of a monument to him in Zaporizhzhya in May 2010. (Right) A statue of a young child suffering from famine stands at the entrance to the museum and memorial to the holodomor in Kyiv opened in 2008 on its 75th anniversary while the placard reads "The *holodomor* is a bloody crime committed by communist-fascists." (Zenon Zawada and Taras Kuzio)

holding multiple identities that has been further transformed by state-directed Russian television hostile to the Euromaidan and Ukrainian identity in general. The Soviet nationality policy of mobilizing Soviet Ukrainians against "bourgeois nationalism" was revived by post-Soviet Ukrainian leaders in the 2002 and 2004 elections in the face of the emergence of the new threat from "Ukrainian nationalism"—Yushchenko and Our Ukraine—who were dubbed as extremists by conflating *"Nashism"* (from *Nasha Ukrayina* [Our Ukraine]) with Nazism. In October 2003, when Our Ukraine was to have held a congress in Donetsk, billboards showed Yushchenko giving a Nazi salute (see illustration on p. 231).

In the 2004 elections, fake nationalists wearing SS-style uniforms marched in Kyiv, pretending to be Yushchenko's supporters. Yanukovych's election campaign literature instructed journalists to "show the threat of the coming to power of Yushchenko backed by nationalists, oligarchs and extremist circles."[80] Television programs paid for by the Party of Regions integrated World War II Nazi meetings with Yushchenko's election campaign. The Party of Regions paid for a rolling advertisement on Luhansk *oblast* state television that called upon voters: "Let us make the right choice! We will not permit them to defile the memory of our fathers and mothers. *Nashism* will not prevail!"[81] Yanukovych's U.S. representatives talked up Yushchenko's alleged "anti-Semitism" and his links to nationalist émigrés who were painted as Nazi collaborators. Yushchenko was depicted by the Donetsk authorities as a "nationalist monster" and a "fascist, Nazi," Yuriy Andrukhovych recalled. Deputy Prime Minister Kolesnikov, who as mayor of Donetsk was reportedly

"This is how their Ukraine looks" (top) and "Ukraine open up your eyes" (bottom). A 2004 election poster prepared by Russian political technologists working for the Yanukovych campaign, which portrays "nationalists" (i.e., Viktor Yushchenko) dividing Ukraine into three "sorts" with the lowest third category in Eastern and Southern Ukraine, the territory that a decade later was defined as "New Russia" by Russian President Vladimir Putin. (Taras Kuzio)

behind the billboards, described his Orange opponents as "nationalist bandits,"[82] language that is a throwback to Soviet views of nationalist partisans who operated in Western Ukraine in the 1940s.

Donbas's "negative identity" equating Kyiv with "fascism," whether in the Orange Revolution or in Euromaidan, drew on conservative Russian Orthodox values, Soviet historical myths such as the Great Patriotic War, defense of Russian language and culture, myth of the Donbas "feeding Ukraine," and anti-Westernism directed against the United States and NATO. The growth of Russian nationalism and promotion of Eastern Slavic Orthodox civilization meant "the rhetoric of the Kremlin was more or less congruent with the identity politics of the Party of Regions."[83] In a replay of late 1920s' Stalinist repression of mythical Ukrainian underground nationalist organizations, the Russian occupation authorities in the Crimea have detained seven people for allegedly belonging to *Pravyy Sektor*, including film director Oleh Sentsov.

Soviet nostalgia and antinationalist culture is a product of three factors: (1) the Party of Regions attracted former voters who had supported the

KPU, Progressive Socialists, and pan-Slavic political parties; (2) the Party of Regions shared the Communist Party's core voter bases in the Donbas and Crimea; and (3) the Party of Regions integrated Kolesnichenko and others who had been activists in Russian nationalist NGOs and pan-Slavic parties and organizations. Kolesnichenko is a leader of the human rights public movement Russian-speaking Ukraine founded in March 2008.[84] The then Parliamentary Chairperson Lytvyn complained to the 2012 Party of Regions congress, without directly mentioning his name, that Tabachnyk should stop, "disdainfully, continuously and systematically evaluating these or other regions of Ukraine" in a clear reference to his long record of insults against Galicians.[85]

Tabachnyk began campaigning against the rehabilitation of nationalist leaders immediately after Yushchenko came to power. Describing the prevailing atmosphere as "anti-communist hysteria," he described the Yushchenko administration as "fascism on the march" in a phrase that could have been taken from any Communist Party ideological manual and condemned the "amputation of historical memory." Education Minister Tabachnyk's new concept for school textbooks returned Ukraine to the Soviet position on Ukrainian nationalists as "murderers" and "Nazi collaborators." Tabachnyk forcibly asserted that "Stepan Bandera and Roman Shukhevych will remain in history as nationalists, and organisers of mass murder and they will forever be stained by the brush of collaborationism."[86]

The Soviet era view of dissidents and nationalists as "Nazi collaborators" was revived in the form of attacks on "fascists" in the February 2001 open letter that was ironically also signed by Yushchenko (see Box 2.1). Anti-fascist rhetoric was used extensively by the Party of Regions in opposition (2005–2010) and in power (2010–2014) against the national-democratic and nationalist opposition. This rhetoric was expanded in the run up to the 2015 presidential elections with anti-fascist rallies organized throughout Ukraine in May 2013 to counter opposition protests.[87] The anti-fascism campaign was led by Andriy Kluyev and ideologically driven by Russian political technologists.[88] Kolesnichenko established a center to investigate Nazi war criminals in Ukraine.[89] Parallels with similar activities during the Shcherbytskyy historic cycle could not be clearer as the center's mandate has a direct ideological lineage to the KGB-run *Tovarystvo Ukrayiny,* which specialized in searching for alleged war criminals within the Ukrainian diaspora. At the same time, in many ways this was worse when the Party of Regions and KPU deputies called upon the Polish *Sejm* to support the Senate in denouncing Ukrainian nationalist violence during World War II. Former president Kravchuk denounced the deputies as having committed "national treason," the majority of whom had, while denouncing Ukrainian nationalist violence, ignored commemorations of the *holodomor* that had murdered millions more people. Kravchuk said, "It is difficult to see the Communist Party of Ukraine

during Shcherbytskyy's time appealing to the Polish (Communist) party with a request to issue a statement on the Volyn events as a genocide committed by Ukrainians against Poles. For this was still the Communist Party of Ukraine that could distinguish between what is honourable for the people and what is subservience and the actions of political morons."[90]

Party of Regions deputies have perennially raised the demand that Western Ukrainians stop imposing their values on Eastern Ukraine. "Galicians should understand they are spongers in this country and, like all spongers, they ought to know their place by not imposing their values on the rest of us while understanding who feeds them, who supports them and who has the right to their own values," Boldyrev said.[91] Such doctrinaire views readily fed into violent counterrevolution against the "fascist" Euromaidan. Antagonism toward Galician Ukrainians has a long Tsarist Russian and Soviet history that has been linked to allegations that nationalists collaborated with the Austrians in World War I and Nazis during World War II. Boldyrev believes the Ukrainian diaspora in North America is "organically tied to the collaborationist period of World War Two."[92]

Parliament's permission for the Soviet flag to fly on May 9, 2011, to celebrate victory in the "Great Patriotic War" inevitably provoked violence between Russian and Ukrainian nationalists in Lviv in which a Ukrainian nationalist was shot and wounded. The former leader of Luhansk branch of *Svoboda* said the violent clash was organized to deepen "the formation in the eyes of everyday Ukrainian citizens of a negative image of the nationalist movement."[93] The KPU campaigned in the 2012 elections against "bourgeois nationalist bands" and organized a "Day of Remembrance for OUN-UPA Terrorist Bandits."[94] In Kharkiv and Odesa, billboards called upon Ukrainians to not vote for the "nationalist" opposition *Batkivshchina* and UDAR because they support the official recognition of OUN-UPA.[95] Party of Regions slogans prepared for the 2012 elections included "We will not permit a rewriting of history!" and condemnations of the heroization of "war criminals and their collaborators" and the "fascisation of society." These slogans could have been lifted from a Soviet Communist Party ideological manual and were no different from Soviet antinationalist tirades.[96]

Anti-Americanism and Conspiracy Theories

During the 2004 elections the state strategy of antinationalism was coupled with anti-Americanism that had been an additional standard component of Soviet ideological tirades, and the mass distribution of overtly hostile anti-American posters was reminiscent of the worst period of the Cold War. Anti-American discourse in Ukraine attacked the alleged U.S. interference in Ukraine and portrayed U.S. policies as racist,

(Left) Antifascist rally in Odesa in May 2013 organized by the Party of Regions that equated the opposition with "fascism," sowing the seeds for future hostility during and after the Euromaidan. The banner reads "Fascism will Not Pass." (Right) The opposition countered with a poster by depicting the regime as "fascist" because its security forces were heavy-handed, the Party of Regions acted like the Soviet communist ruling party, the opposition and democracy were repressed, and there was a cult of the leader. (Taras Kuzio)

xenophobic, militaristic, and imperialist. Books depicting Yushchenko as unfit to be Ukraine's president and a U.S satrap were widely published and circulated in the 2004 elections. This was coupled with mass printing of anti-American posters and leaflets linking Yushchenko to the CIA, the George W. Bush administration, and U.S. foreign policy. Anti-American discourse in Ukraine was duplicitous because it was launched at the same time as Ukraine officially declared its intention of seeking NATO membership. Meanwhile, anti-American posters with slogans such as "Yankee Go Home!" were circulated after President Kuchma and Prime Minister Yanukovych had sent the third largest military contingent in support of U.S.-led coalition forces in Iraq.

Tabachnyk is convinced Yushchenko was a U.S. puppet put into power by the "CIA-engineered" Orange Revolution and that he was under Washington's control. Prime Minister and Party of Regions leader Yanukovych told U.S. Ambassador Taylor that the Americans installed President Yushchenko into power, a similar view that the Euromaidan was a Western-backed coup.[97] Many Ukrainians who voted for Yanukovych viewed the 2004 Orange Revolution in a similar manner to Russian and Belarusian leaders as an American-directed conspiracy against Russia. Spymania and conspiracy theories were staples of Soviet novels from 1947, two years before the USSR began to launch periodic anti-American campaigns. Conspiracy thinking continues to pervade ruling elites and political leaders across the Russian and Ukrainian political

elites who inherited from the Soviet Union the culture of using an image of a foreign enemy to consolidate the country.[98] Kuchma, SBU Chairperson Leonid Derkach, even Poroshenko,[99] and most likely others believed Kateryna Yushchenko was a CIA spy. In the two weeks running up to the 2002 elections the documentary entitled *PR* broadcast on ICTV and 1+1 television channels alleged that Western conspiracies were being hatched by the U.S. ambassador, "CIA spy" Kateryna Yushchenko, and George Soros to overthrow Kuchma. In December 2003, only two weeks after the Rose Revolution, 289 deputies (nearly a constitutional majority of parliament) voted to establish a Temporary Commission to Investigate Facts behind Foreign Intervention in the Financing of the Election Campaign in Ukraine through Non-Governmental Organisations Which Exist on Grants from Foreign States. The bizarrely named commission ignored Russian financing of politicians and political technologists in Ukraine while at the same time claiming it would be reporting on the "need to close the tap of *any* kind of foreign influence into Ukrainian politics."[100]

Many cables from the U.S. embassy in Kyiv testify to Yanukovych believing the Orange Revolution was not a genuine popular protest but one orchestrated by the West. At congresses of the Party of Regions, Yanukovych and delegates routinely described the Orange Revolution as a Western-backed coup d'etat—similar language to that used against the Euromaidan.[101] In a book co-authored by Communist Party ideologue Hryhoriy Kryuchkov and Tabachnyk, they equated the rise of "fascism"

(Left) Viktor Yushchenko dressed as Uncle Sam says "...BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, SERBIA, KOSOVO, IRAQ... YOU ARE NEXT!" and (right) US president George W. Bush says "YES! YUSHCHENKO IS OUR (P)REZYDENT!" in support of his election with a play on the word Rezydent hinting he is a US spy. Election posters prepared by Russian political technologists working for Yanukovych's 2004 election campaign. (Taras Kuzio)

in Ukraine with Yushchenko and claimed Orange political forces planned the Orange Revolution one to two years before it happened with "massive financial, material-technical and other forms of assistance" from the United States, Germany, and other Western "sponsors." The assistance was allegedly dispatched to (Orange) "right-liberal and national-extremist forces" and "nationalist-chauvinist forces" who they condemned as "aggressive" forces and in their fantasy world were convinced *Pora* and *Znayu* NGOs were "militarised units" prepared by "foreign instructors."[102] During the Euromaidan, Russia also claimed—without any proof—that the U.S. embassy in Kyiv was training nationalist activists.

NATIONAL MINORITIES AND REGIONALISM

Ukraine's elites and political parties (with the exception of the nationalist right) have held a consensus on the provision of support for national minority rights. National democrats supported the national revival of minorities because their main concern was Russification and de-nationalization. National minority leaders largely had good relations with national democratic political forces such as *Rukh* until the Yushchenko era when national minorities, such as Hungarians and Romanians, began to increasingly vote for the Party of Regions and presidential candidate Yanukovych. Party of Regions deputy Ivan Popecku, a Romanian from Chernivtsi, heads Ukraine's delegation to the PACE and was head of the Sub-Committee on Human Rights, National Minorities and International Relations in parliament's Committee on International Relations.[103] Three factors accounted for this change. First, some national minorities felt Yushchenko was becoming too "nationalistic" in his nationality policies, particularly his campaign to rehabilitate controversial nationalist historical leaders. Second, the Party of Regions is a far more efficient political machine in exchanging patronage for votes. Third, the 2012 language law gave the minorities regional language autonomy. Relations between Hungarians and Ukrainians and Rusyns in Transcarpathia had been good and their realignment with the Party of Regions came at the same time as the capture of Transcarpathia by the Baloha clan. In the December 1991 referendum, Romanians had been one of the few groups in Ukraine to vote against independence and relations have been poor with Ukrainians in Chernivtsi *oblast*.

In the 1990s, regional elites believed greater regional devolution was a solution to incompetent and erratic central government policies, a view that was reflected in the names of the Party of Regional Revival and the Party of Regions. At the same time, regional devolution became a means for quick enrichment through free economic zones established in 1999 in Donetsk and elsewhere in Ukraine closed by the Tymoshenko government six years later. After her government closed free economic zones in Transcarpathia and Donetsk, receipts to the budget grew

markedly by 26 percent, the zones had benefited businesspersons Medvedchuk and Baloha in the former and Andriy Kluyev in the latter zones.

Ukraine does not possess one regional divide but far broader diversity that overlaps and is mutually reinforcing. Shulman writes,

> The oft-heard portrayal of a Ukraine bifurcated between west and east really does capture a fundamental facet of the country, even if the boundary between west and east is large and indistinct, and there is some variation within each region. Further, there is little evidence that ethnic, linguistic, and regional differences have declined and if anything, the 2004 elections suggest that they are more intense now than in 1994. The most divisive political issues, from the standpoint of national unity, have long been the ones that relate to the construction of ethnic national identity and, recently, the degree of centralization of power.[104]

Separatism has never become a threat to Ukraine's territorial integrity except in the Crimea in the first half of the 1990s, and the Donbas conflict would not have emerged into a violent showdown to the degree it became without massive Russian support and incitement. The bigger problem is reconciling regionalism with national integration; evidence from other regionally divided countries such as Canada, Belgium, Spain, and Italy points to regionalism as a permanent feature of most nation-states.

In the second decade of Ukrainian independence, politicians on both sides of the regional divide have exacerbated regional divisions. Writing at the end of the Kuchma presidency, Shulman pointed out, "The regionalization of the central government has greatly damaged national unity by giving the impression that the government does not work in the interests of the entire country, but for the benefit of particular individuals, clans, and regions. Many in the west saw the centre under Kuchma as dominated by Eastern Ukrainians. In their view, the corruption, oligarchic rule, and perceived 'Little Russian' mentality emanating from the centre was in essence exported from Eastern Ukraine to the rest of the country." The Kuchmagate crisis, 2004 elections, Yushchenko's glorification of 1940s' nationalists, the Party of Regions radical opposition, and the election of Yanukovych have together contributed to deepening Ukraine's regional divisions.

In the 2004 elections, the Yanukovych election campaign inflamed regional divisions and brought Ukraine to the brink of violence. During election campaigns, the Party of Regions has supported divisive policies such as elevating Russian to a state language, dual citizenship, and Ukraine's membership of the CIS Single Economic Space and CIS Customs Union.

Public support for separatism in Ukraine has remained low with 84 to 90 percent of Ukrainians opposed to the breakaway of Galicia, the Donbas, or the Crimea. Five percent support the separation of Galicia from Ukraine, ranging from a very low 1 percent in Western Ukraine to 10 percent in the Donbas. Inflamed regional divisions have led to

discussions about changing Ukraine's borders. In 1994 and 2004, Donetsk held referendums and congresses, respectively, calling for greater political autonomy, federalization, and separation from Ukraine as responses to the alleged threat of "Western Ukrainian nationalism." Violence and terror on the scale found in the Donetsk separatist conflict was unheard of in the Crimea and other parts of Ukraine. Crimean separatism in the first half of the 1990s never turned violent because different leaders were in power in Ukraine and Russia than in 2014.

Galician intellectuals called for federalism and autonomy when Kuchma increasingly became pro-Russian.[105] In 2010, Western Ukrainian writer Andrukhovych initiated a discussion about whether Donetsk and Crimea should remain within Ukraine.[106] Andrukhovych believed if national democratic political forces returned to power and the Donbas were again to launch a separatist congress, as it did in Syeverodonetsk, Kyiv's ruling elites should have the political will to agree to their demand.[107] Andrukhovych and Mykola Ryabchuk initially supported a military campaign against the separatists and following victory the holding of a democratic referendum that would have asked the regions' residents if they desired to remain part of Ukraine *and* integrate into Europe or join Russia and the CIS Customs Union.[108] They believed Kyiv—not Moscow—had the legal right to decide the fate of the Donbas, and its residents in turn should understand that a vote to remain part of Ukraine meant a future with Europe—not with Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the creation of a new dividing line where the cease-fire came into force may lead to this becoming a de facto permanent border, a view that Andrukhovych would now support.

Andrukhovych believed Donetsk and the Crimea do not feel they belong to the Ukrainian nation because they are part of the Russian people and explained this by drawing on examples of deep-seated antagonism found in Donetsk to *anything* and *everything* Ukrainian. "That is, they aggressively block any kind of Ukrainian movement there. This is blocked not in response to some kind of repression but because in truth the local population does not want it. They find Ukraine a foreign place. Ukraine is for them foreign and uninteresting, they are even apathetic towards it."[109] The irony is that the greatest hostility to Ukrainianization comes from Donetsk and the Crimea where it has barely penetrated. Violent Ukrainophobia on the part of Donetsk separatists has some local roots that can be traced to the Soviet and post-Soviet eras.

THE CRIMEA

In 1944, the Soviet authorities abolished the Crimean autonomous republic within the Russian SFSR and ethnically cleansed Crimean Tatars and deported them to Central Asia on charges of collaborating with the

Table 7.1

Crimea's Ethnic Composition, 1897–2001 (percent)

Census	Russians	Ukrainians	Crimean Tatars
1897	45.3		34.1
1921	51.5		25.9
1939	49.6	13.7	19.4
1979	68.4	25.6	0.3
1989	67	25.8	1.6
2001	58.5	24.4	12.1

Note:
Eastern Slavs were collectively included in a "Russian" group in the 1897 census in the Tsarist Russian Empire and in 1921 on the eve of the formation of the USSR.
Source:
Gwendolyn Sasse, *The Crimea Question: Identity, Transition, and Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 275.

Nazi occupying forces. In 1954, the Crimea *oblast* was transferred from the Russian SFSR to the Ukrainian SSR, and in January 1991, a Crimean referendum overwhelmingly approved upgrading the peninsula to an autonomous republic. In 1996, on a visit to the United Kingdom, former president Kravchuk told the author he believed at the time that he had no choice but to agree to hold the referendum because if he had refused Crimean elites would have petitioned the Supreme Soviet to return the peninsula to Russia. Crimea is the only region in Ukraine with an ethnic Russian majority, which declined from 65 to 58 percent between the 1989 and 2001 censuses (see Table 7.1).

Crimean separatism represented a threat to Ukrainian territorial integrity in only the first half of the 1990s. Of the 30 percent who participated in the dubious March 2014 Crimean referendum only 15 percent backed union with Russia—not the officially recorded 97 percent.[110] Between 1992 and 1995, relations were tense because of Kyiv's desire to minimize the delegation of powers to the peninsula and Crimea's demand to maximize these powers. Under Kuchma, two of Crimea's three main political forces—centrists and the KPU—supported the maximum delegation of powers to the Crimea but opposed separatism. Russian nationalists who advocated the separation of the Crimea from Ukraine and its return to Russia took power in January 1994 when Meshkov won the newly created Crimean presidency. Three months later, his nationalist allies took control of the Crimean parliament but their combined influence proved short-lived due to infighting and the abolishing in March 1995 of the Crimean presidency. In October 1998, the KPU and centrists in Crimea were able

to reach an agreement with Kyiv on the parameters of a new Crimean constitution that recognized Crimea as part of Ukraine, which the Ukrainian parliament ratified three months later. In 1998–2002, the KPU and centrists (led by Kunitsyn) marginalized Russian nationalists in a cohabitation whereby pro-Kuchma centrists ran the government while the KPU (led by Hrach) led parliament.

In the March 2002 elections, the KPU, contesting the elections to the Crimean parliament as the Hrach bloc, suffered a decline in its representation to 28 out of 100 seats. The propresidential bloc that contested the elections as the Kunitsyn Team became the largest parliamentary faction with 39 seats, most likely as a result of state administrative resources, and it was able to form a 67-seat parliamentary coalition with leftist deputies.[111] However, in Crimean elections to the Ukrainian parliament the KPU remained the most popular party in the peninsula. Russian nationalists only successfully won votes in the Crimean city of Sevastopol, but elsewhere in the Crimea they were unpopular. Notably, prominent leaders of the Crimean Tatar *Mejlis* were included in Our Ukraine's lists in elections to the Ukrainian parliament. A large proportion of Crimean Tatars were able to vote for the first time in the 2002 elections because 90 percent of Tatars residing in the Crimea had by then obtained Ukrainian citizenship. In the 2002 elections, seven Tatars were elected to the Crimean Supreme Council, representing half of the 14 seats they had been proportionately allocated in the 1994–1998 Crimean parliament before these reserved seats for national minorities were abolished in new election legislation.

These political configurations changed in the post-Kuchma era when the Crimea, together with much of Eastern and Southern Ukraine, voted overwhelmingly for the Party of Regions that established its dominance over the Crimea, spelling the end of political pluralism. After being marginalized for a decade from the mid-1990s to the middle of the first decade of this century, Russian nationalists in the Crimea received an infusion of life when the Party of Regions united with Tsekov's Russian Bloc and the Russian Community of the Crimea (ROK) in the 2006 elections. Russian nationalist and therefore separatist political influence grew after they were brought from marginalization by the Party of Regions which contested the Crimean parliamentary elections in an alliance with them within the For Yanukovych! bloc. A third of the 44 For Yanukovych! bloc deputies were from Russian nationalists, including Crimean Parliamentary First Deputy Chairperson and ROK leader Tsekov.[112] Russian political technologist and Putin adviser Konstantin Zatulin had brokered the electoral alliance on behalf of Putin, including negotiating places for favored Russian Bloc members.[113] In the Crimean parliament elected in 2010, 8 of the 17 deputies in the For Yanukovych! bloc were members of the Russian Bloc. Yanukovych's rejuvenation of Crimean Russian nationalism provided a ready-made fifth column during the peninsula's

Russia's annexation, and in the September 2014 local elections, the majority of Party of Regions and Russian nationalist deputies became deputies from the United Russia party and the (loyal nationalist) Liberal Democratic Party of Russia who received 70 and 5 seats, respectively.

The 2006 legislative elections in Crimea followed similar trends to those in the Ukrainian parliament. The For Yanukovych! bloc elected 44 of the 100 seats with the pro-Russian *Soyuz (Union)* party and the Kunitsyn bloc each obtaining 10 seats, followed by the KPU with 9. Orange political forces obtained only a combined 13 percent of the votes, with most of these coming from Crimean Tatars who have traditionally voted for national democratic parties, such as *Rukh* and Our Ukraine. In the 2010 elections, the Party of Regions drew on state-administrative resources provided by newly elected President Yanukovych to engineer an outright parliamentary majority in the Crimean parliament. In 2012, the Russian nationalist organization NTS ran for the first time in a parliamentary election and received its two best results in Sevastopol and the Crimea.[114] This Party of Regions–Russian nationalist alliance that emerged in 2006 facilitated Russia's annexation of the Crimea eight years later.

Crimean Tatar Demands and Concerns

The Tatars have many unfulfilled demands relating to their position in Crimean society and their low status in the local economy. As long-time voters for *Rukh* and Our Ukraine they placed great hopes in Yushchenko that were never fulfilled, and although they are a national minority similar to Hungarians and Romanians, they could not defect to the Party of Regions. Tatar leaders told U.S. Ambassador Taylor they had established a successful dialogue with Kuchma who traveled to the Crimea several times a year and they expected more from Yushchenko but in reality there was less contact.[115] Yet again, Yushchenko proved to be lethargic and no match to his predecessor as a state builder and policy maker.

Tatars raised four legal demands through the *Mejlis* of the Crimean Tatar People (*Qırmtatar Milliy Meclisi* [Crimean Tatar] and *Меджліс Кримськотатарського Народу* [Ukrainian]), the central ruling body of the *Qurultai* (National Convention) of Crimean Tatars founded in 1991 to act as a representative body for the Crimean Tatars before the Ukrainian authorities, Crimean government, and international organizations and led for most of its existence by veteran former dissident Mustafa Dzhemilev. These demands included, first, recognition of Tatars as the indigenous national group in the Crimea; second, recognition of the 1944 deportation of Tatars from the Crimea to Central Asia as an act of genocide (the anniversary is commemorated on May 18 each year); third, adoption of legislation to provide for the formal rehabilitation of Crimean Tatars, which could lead to restitution of their property

(Top and middle) Russian special forces (termed "Green Men" because they had no country insignia) invading the Crimea, and (bottom) Cossack ("self-defense") paramilitaries, March 2014. (Yuriy Lukanov)

and land; and fourth, restoration of guaranteed representation in the Crimean parliament that had existed earlier.

Although 75 percent of Tatars live in rural areas they only possess a small proportion of usable land in the Crimea. Prior to their deportation in 1944, Tatars accounted for 70 percent of the population along the southern coast of the Crimea that has become an area where they are effectively barred from living because of its high value to tourism and property developers (until the Russian annexation that destroyed the tourist business). Tatars who have migrated to the Crimea have found their former homes (or those of their family) occupied by Russian settlers, which has prompted demands for restitution. Moreover, the authorities have failed to allocate sufficient resources for returning Tatars to build new housing, which has resulted in the growth of shantytowns. A significant proportion of the Crimean Tatar population was effectively forced to work in the shadow economy, exposing themselves to the risk of violence from organized criminal groups who control operations at many markets in the peninsula. Tatars accounted for 12–15 percent of the population of Crimea, but it was estimated they only comprised around 4 percent of the official working population.

In addition to socioeconomic concerns, Crimean Tatars have religious and educational demands that include construction of mosques of which there are only 200 compared to 1,700 in 1944. The limited provision of Tatar-language schooling is sufficient to cater to only 14 percent of Crimean Tatar children, leading to accusations that the authorities have revived Soviet-era Russification policies. In the Crimea there were 15 secondary schools with Crimean Tatar as the main language of instruction, 18,000 pupils studied Crimean Tatar as a separate subject in secondary schools, and 6,000 secondary school pupils studied in the Crimean Tatar language.

In the spring of 2014, the Council of Europe, OSCE, and United Nations found no evidence of discrimination against Russian speakers in Ukraine or in the Crimea, but they were concerned at discrimination against Crimean Tatars and Ukrainians in the Crimea.[116] The Russian occupation authorities had removed Tatar- and Ukrainian-language radio and television, and Islamic, Jewish, and Ukrainian religious and civic buildings and cemeteries became targets for extremist vandalism. Crimean Tatars fear for their future after Russia's annexation of what they see as their homeland. The Crimea has long been the most xenophobic region of Ukraine, and racist intolerance toward Tatars is widespread. Crimean–Tatar relations have been tense and at times violent, involving local Russian nationalists. These have included Crimean Prime Minister Sergei Aksyonov, who moved from the Transdniestr region of Moldova to Crimea in 1989 and was leader from 2010 to 2014 of the neo-fascist *Russkoe Yedynstvo* (Russian Unity, formerly called *Avanguard* [Avanguard] from 2008 to

2010]) party and a former organized crime mobster with the nickname "Goblin." Although his party only received 4 percent in the 2010 Crimean parliamentary elections, Aksyonov played an important role in facilitating the Russian annexation of the Crimea, and his reward was being chosen by Russia to be its local leader, becoming prime minister after the 2014 Crimean elections. The similarity of the names (Aksyonov's Russian Unity and Barkashov's Russian National Unity Party) suggests they were close ideological allies united in their xenophobia and neo-Nazism. In April 2014, Ukraine banned the Russian Unity party and Russian Bloc. They together with the communists and Party of Regions praised Stalin's ethnic cleansing of the Tatars. The only observers Russia could find for the March 2014 and November 2014 internationally unrecognized Crimean referendum and DNR–LNR elections, respectively, were from European nationalist and fascist milieus who found common cause with Putin in their hostility to the EU, the Euromaidan, and Islam. The Eurasian Observatory for Democracy and Elections, headed by members of the neo-Nazi Parti Communautaire National-Européen Luc Michel and Jean-Pierre Vandersmissen, organized the observers.

After Russia's annexation of the Crimea in spring 2014, the peninsula was flooded with Cossacks and paramilitaries that raised tensions with Crimean Tatars. In March 2014, Tatar Reshat Ametov, who had earlier expressed support for the Euromaidan and opposed the Russian occupation, was murdered followed by the killing of three other Tartars. In May 2014, the annual commemoration of the Soviet ethnic cleansing of Tatars was banned, which would remain in place. The unofficial Tatar parliament and Tatar media outlets have been closed, their flags and symbols desecrated, Tatar leaders have been banned from reentering the Crimea, and the Crimean Tatar community has been accused by Russian security forces of supporting "extremism."[117] For Crimean Tatars, the Russian occupation of 2014 was their worst year of repression since 1944, and by the following year over 15,000 had left and moved to Ukraine.

Racism and Xenophobia in Ukraine and the Crimea

Attempts to come to grips with racism and xenophobia in Ukraine only began under Yushchenko, ironically accused of being the most nationalistic of Ukraine's four presidents. The first policies were launched in 2006 and in October 2007, and a decree was laid out to combat racism and xenophobia and ban some Nazi and skinhead groups, most of who have ties to Russian groups.[118] After three institutions were disbanded that had played an important role in combating intolerance and educating the public, Ukraine's ability to combat racism and anti-Semitism eroded under Yanukovych. In December 2010, the State Committee on Nationalities and Religion that had been coordinating the work of the Inter-Agency

Working Group to Combat Xenophobia and Ethnic and Racial Intolerance, and the working group, which had brought together state institutions, government departments, and civil society NGOs, were both disbanded.[119] The Inter-Agency Working Group had adopted a "Plan of Action to Combat Xenophobia and Racial and Ethnic Discrimination in Ukrainian Society" for the period 2008–2009 and 2010–2012 but was only able to implement the first of these. The work undertaken by these two bodies was not transferred to other government departments or state institutions, and the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) reported that "it remains the case that there is no body in Ukraine that is clearly and specifically entrusted with combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and intolerance."[120]

A third important institution closed under President Yanukovych was the Human Rights Monitoring Department in the Interior Ministry that was a setback to the development of a uniform system of monitoring racist incidents and neo-Nazi and skinhead groups. The Human Rights Monitoring Department had also, together with the Inter-Agency Working Group, brought together civil society NGOs, state institutions, and government departments. The ECRI warned, "The risk is that the momentum that was starting to build and progress that was beginning to be made through the Inter-Agency Working Group towards combining forces to tackle racism in an integrated and strategic manner will be lost and that efforts in this field will become increasingly scattered and ineffective." The closure of the State Committee and Working Group "created a vacuum in the responsibilities for leading this work."

The greatest reported number of racist and anti-Semitic attacks are in Kyiv with others taking place in Dnipropetrovsk, Luhansk, Kharkiv, Odesa, and Crimea (Sevastopol and Simferopil). Further attacks were reported in Zhitomir, Vinnytsya, and Cherkasy. There were fewer reports of racist and anti-Semitic attacks in Western Ukraine.[121] The Party of Regions had little interest in fighting its own ingrained prejudices. Soviet and multiple identities in the Crimea are "associated with nationalistic tendencies," "characterised by conflict beliefs" and "enemy image," particularly toward Tatars and other national groups who seek language rights.[122] The belittling of Ukrainian language and culture has traditionally been undertaken in the Crimea alongside anti-Tatar and anti-Muslim stereotypes. Mykhaylo Bakharev, editor of the popular *Krymskaya Pravda* newspaper, has repeatedly said that the Ukrainian language is "artificial" and spoken by the uneducated part of population. He believes no Ukrainian nation exists and that the Ukrainian state has no future. Well-known Crimean television anchor Yuriy Pershykov has a long record of producing xenophobic anti-Tatar reports on *Inter* channel.

Racism and xenophobia are most widespread in the Crimea, and the ECRI condemned the fanning of anti-Tatar discourse and anti-Tatar "hate

speech" by the Crimean authorities, especially under Yanukovych. The ECRI stated:

> As noted elsewhere in this report, anti-Tatar sentiment remains an issue in Ukraine and appears to have increased in recent years as politicians' rhetoric has given it a semblance of respectability. Local politicians' tendency to ignore or deny the specific problems faced by Crimean Tatars also pushes the latter to seek their own solutions and voice their identity more strongly. The end result is a risk of radicalization rather than resolution of the issues, to the detriment of Crimean society as a whole and Tatars in particular as targets of prejudice. ECRI observes that there is a need for the authorities actively to combat prejudice against Crimean Tatars while working to raise the majority population's awareness and understanding of the problems they face.[123]

Pro-Russian groups in the Crimea play on anti-Tatar sentiments and fan racial stereotypes that nurture high levels of xenophobia. Crimean Tatars have long complained that school textbooks used in Crimean schools and higher education, paid for by Ukrainian taxpayers, include inflammatory and historically inaccurate material that continue to accuse them of collaboration with the Nazis.[124] Russian nationalists in the Crimea, not surprisingly in Ukraine's most xenophobic region, sought to maintain a constant level of interethnic tension.[125] *Bratstvo* and Natalya Vitrenko, leader of the Progressive Socialist Party and People's Opposition bloc, have incited racial hatred of Crimean Tatars, fanned anti-NATO protests, denouncing Ukrainian nationalist groups from the 1940s as "fascists" and American lackeys. They lobbied Putin and the state *Duma* to increase their defense of Russians and Eastern Slavs in the Crimea.[126] These sentiments encouraged from 2006 by the Party of Regions and in particular cultivated during Yanukovych's presidency paved the way for the Crimea's annexation and violent separatism in the Donbas.

The Party of Regions's alliance with Russian nationalists in the Crimea stoked interethnic conflict and exacerbated anti-Tatar xenophobia. An example of a xenophobic Party of Regions leader was former head of the Crimean Interior Ministry and Crimean Prime Minister Mohilyov. Crimean Tatars protested at Mohilyov heading the Crimean government because of his reputation for ruthlessness in suppressing Tatar protests in 2007 and because as interior minister he had written a xenophobic opinion commentary for *Krymskaya Pravda*, supporting Soviet leader Stalin's ethnic cleansing of the Crimean Tatars.[127] Crimean parliamentary leaders told U.S. Ambassador Taylor that Crimean Tatars betrayed the USSR in World War II and a majority of Crimea's inhabitants viewed Tatars as traitors.[128] In 2012, KPU leader Symonenko defended the ethnic cleansing of Tatars in a speech given in the Ukrainian parliament saying, "In order to save the Crimean Tatar people they were deported from the Crimea.

Why? The presence of these criminals (in the Crimea) would inevitably have led to civil war."[129]

Intolerance of national minorities in the Crimea has led to low-level violence between Russophone Slavs and Tatars. Russian Bloc members of the For Yanukovych! bloc in the Crimean parliament "are well-known in Crimea for their sporadic attacks on Crimean Tatars."[130] Crimean Russian nationalists, Cossacks, and For Yanukovych! deputies were involved in attacks against Crimean Tatars with rocks, hand grenades, and Molotov cocktails at the Azizler (Saints) holy site in Bakhcharay in July and August 2006. The then leader of the Russian Bloc and Crimean deputy, Oleh Rodivilyov, instigated the attacks that left approximately 100 Crimean Tatars seriously injured.[131] The homes of Crimean Tatar activists have been bombed, Tatar journalists murdered, and Tatar activists sentenced to lengthy prison sentences for acts of civil disobedience. The most serious violence has erupted over the misuse of historic Tatar sites, such as the former imperial seat of the Tatar Khans in Bakhcharay. Clashes took place during protests against attempts to build apartments and business offices on ancient Tatar sites and cemeteries. Tatars had also undertaken acts of civil disobedience to bring attention to their plight, particularly over social issues such as the lack of land allocated to them by the local authorities and changes to the criminal code that have led to severe punishments for illegal seizures of land.

The presence of Russian Cossacks from the Transdniestr frozen conflict and Northern Caucasus, two regions plagued by interethnic violence since the 1990s, has stoked conflict. Russian Cossacks in the Crimea are traditionally Ukrainophobic, intolerant of all religious denominations other than Russian Orthodoxy (as witnessed in the Donbas); they were able to wear paramilitary uniforms without legal sanction and fly Russian imperial banners and flags.[132] The paramilitary Crimean Cossack Union, allied with the ROK and Russian Orthodox Church, is a dangerous and active pro-Russian force in the Crimea,[133] and many of its members were former or serving Interior Ministry and SBU personnel.

Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov provided financial and other resources to the Russian Bloc and ROK through two foundations (see Table 7.2). A U.S. cable reported that Russian military intelligence (GRU) in the Black Sea Fleet fanned interethnic tensions and provided financial and publishing resources to pro-Russian groups in the Crimea. Harding writes that following Yushchenko's election, "Moscow begins a systematic, organised campaign to finance pro-Russian groups in Crimea that culminated in its occupation."[134] During the Yushchenko presidency, Russian covert activities in the Crimea were routinely condemned and the Ukrainian authorities placed Moscow Mayor Luzhkov and other officials on visa black lists. In summer 2009, two Russian diplomats were declared persona non grata after the Ukrainian authorities alleged they had been covertly

supporting Russian nationalists and separatists in Odesa and the Crimea.[135] This more aggressive SBU stance against Russian subversion contrasted with the relative passivity of the Kuchma era, when Russia began issuing passports in the Crimea, and especially with the collusion with Russian intelligence services under Yanukovych.[136] While focusing on the Crimea the SBU ignored Russian-backed separatist groups in Eastern Ukraine such as *Oplot* founded in Kharkiv that joined separatists after the Euromaidan. Such groups were ignored by the SBU during Yanukovych's presidency, prompting Kurkov to write in his diary, "Sometimes I have the impression that the SBU would not notice its own existence."[137]

JEWS

Jews have lived in Ukraine for over a millennium, and Ukraine is the home of Yiddish culture and where the rebirth of modern Hebraism took place. Meylakh Sheykhet, director of the Union of Councils for Jews of the former Soviet Union, said "For the Jewish people, Ukraine is a cradle—where religious movements were founded, where a high Jewish culture existed."[138] At the end of the nineteenth century, Ukraine had the largest concentration of Jews in the world, 3 million or a third of world Jewry. Two-thirds of Ukrainian Jews lived in urban areas, and they constituted a third of the urban population. On the eve of World War II, the 3 million Jews living in Ukraine constituted two-thirds of the Jewish population found in the USSR.

The Jewish population in Ukraine suffered from three *pohroms* that have left a powerful legacy on Jewish culture and have poisoned Ukrainian-Jewish relations. *Pohroms* took place during the seventeenth-century Cossack wars against Poland, at the turn of the twentieth century when Russian nationalists fanned them in the Tsarist Russian Empire, and during the 1917–1920 civil wars and national liberation wars in the former Tsarist Russian Empire. The Nazi genocide of World War II had the most devastating impact.

The social-democratic UNR was the first government in history to grant Jews autonomous status and its relations with Jewish political parties was generally amicable. Jewish political parties backed the UNR opposing the Bolsheviks and especially the White supporters of the Russian Provisional Government who were the most responsible for *pohroms*. Jewish political parties supported the UNR's strivings for autonomy in a reconfigured Tsarist Russian Empire but did not support the UNR's January 1918 Declaration of Independence. *Pohroms* committed by Whites, Bolsheviks, and individual UNR units and anarchist bands loyal to Nestor Makhno devastated many Jewish communities when Ukrainian independent governments were unable to establish control over many

Table 7.2

Pro-Russian Groups in the Crimea

Name	Political Affiliation	Active in Ukraine	Russian Support
Russian Community of Crimea (ROK)	Controlled the Russian Bloc and Crimean Cossack Union	Russian Bloc	Moscow-Crimea and Moscow-Sevastopol Foundations
Russian Bloc	Political face of ROK	Allied with Party of Regions in For Yanukovych! bloc (2006 and 2010)	For Yanukovych! bloc brokered by Russian political technologist Konstantin Zatulin
Crimean Cossack Union	Paramilitary organization and most extreme of pro-Russian groups. Some members are local interior ministry and SBU personnel	Active in Crimea, Odesa, and Donbas	ROK, Don, and Kuban Cossacks in Russia
Proryv (Breakthrough)	Tiraspol, Transdniestr separatist region of Moldova	Banned	Russian military intelligence in Transdniestr and the Black Sea Fleet
Eurasian Youth Union	Pan Russian Eurasia Movement	Banned	Oleksandr Dugin
Sevastopol-Crimea—Russia Front	Active in Sevastopol	Banned	Moscow-Sevastopol Foundation
Progressive Socialist Party and People's Opposition bloc	Extreme leftist breakaway from the Socialist Party of Ukraine	Marginal political force in Ukraine. Active only in Crimea and Donbas	Under Kuchma reportedly received assistance from the presidential administration

areas of Ukrainian territory. The UNR held court-martials of some of the perpetrators of *pohroms*.[139]

In the 1920s and 1930s, the relationship of Jews to the Soviet state followed the same pattern as that for Ukrainians whereby indigenization and national rebirth in the first historical cycle in the 1920s was followed by Stalinist repression in the second historic cycle in the 1930s. In 1923–1934, Jews in Ukraine had benefited from a program of indigenization:

Yiddish was recognized as an official language; and Jewish schools, publications, and theaters were opened. Support for Jewish culture and education ended at the same time as Ukrainianization came to an end in the early 1930s when Jewish intellectuals were arrested and sent to the Gulag or murdered.

World War II brought the fourth and biggest calamity for Jews in Ukraine since the seventieth century during which 2.5 million of the 4.8 million Jews in the expanded USSR (following the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact) were murdered by Nazis and local collaborators. In Western Ukraine, only 2 percent of the prewar Jewish population survived. In September 1941, 33,771 Jews were murdered at Babi Yar near Kyiv in the largest single massacre in the Soviet Union committed by the Nazis. Other groups massacred at Babi Yar included thousands of Soviet prisoners of war, communists, and Gypsies (Roma), with estimates of 100,000–150,000 additional victims. In February 1942, 621 nationalists (mainly from the OUNm underground in Kyiv), including the Ukrainian poet and nationalist activist Olena Teliha and her husband and the renowned Bandurist Mykhaylo Teliha, were murdered at Babi Yar. In the 1990s, a plaque commemorating Olena Teliha was unveiled in the Kyiv Opera House.

Local collaborators assisted the Nazis in all occupied territories in Europe, and this was unfortunately no different in Ukraine. "Apart from the involvement of individuals and some organised auxiliary units, the Ukrainian population did not take part in these acts of genocide. Despite the penalty of death for aiding Jews, a number of Ukrainians, among them (Greek Catholic) Metropolitan Andriy Sheptytskyy, tried to save Jews."[140] The issue of Nazi collaborators, and to what extent former Ukrainian police had been involved in war crimes, but later defected to OUN and UPA, has been a source of intense scholarly and Ukrainian émigré debate to this day. The issue was clouded by Soviet antinationalist campaigns inside and outside Ukraine that targeted individuals, such as Ukrainian-American John Demanjuk, and the entire Ukrainian diaspora communities in the United States and Canada.

In the 1960s, liberalization was again beneficial to both Jews and Ukrainians (as in the 1920s), permitting them to focus on the revival of their culture and education. Relations were amicable between national communist members of the KPU, cultural intelligentsia, dissidents, and Jewish community activists. Ukrainian and Zionist prisoners of conscience were natural allies in the Gulag. Well-known Ukrainian liberal intellectuals and dissidents Dzyuba, Sverstyuk, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Leonid Plyushch, and many others worked with Zionist and Jewish dissidents such as Zisels, Moysey Fishbeyn, Yakov Suslenskyy, and Avram Shifrin. On the pages of the *samvydav Ukrayinskyy Visnyk*, Ukrainian dissidents supported Jewish cultural demands and their right to emigrate.

What was life like for Jews in Soviet Ukraine? Alex Frishberg grew up in the USSR, and his family immigrated to St. Louis, Missouri, United States in 1975 when he was 11 years old. He recounts life in Soviet Ukraine in the 1960s and early 1970s:

> When I was nine, during Soviet times, my parents sent me to a children's camp. One of the kids said, "your last name is Frishberg. This means you're a kike." That night all of my "friends" beat me up because I was a Jew. Then the Communist Party instructor came by and asked "Who started this?" Everyone pointed at me. As a result, I was punished and could not watch the movie or have any ice cream. When my parents came to visit me at the weekend, I told them honestly, "I don't know what a kike is, but I don't want to be a kike anymore." The same thing would systematically happen to Jewish boys in the Soviet army but with much harsher consequences and often resulting in suicides.

Frishberg continues:

> As you grew older, your life as a Jew in Soviet Ukraine was that of a second-class citizen. For example, Jews were unofficially allocated only 3 percent of entrants in medical schools and 5 percent in engineering schools. That was why my mother had to travel to Vinnytsya to attend medical school because Kyiv's medical schools had reached their quota for Jews. All of these factors were the reason behind why we decided to immigrate to America leaving everything behind. In America, nobody cares if you are Jewish or not; it is only your abilities which matter.[141]

The majority of Jews lived in big Russian-speaking cities such as Kyiv, Odesa, and Dnipropetrovsk, which made them more susceptible to Russification. By 1970, 84 percent of Jews in Ukraine claimed Russian to be their mother tongue, which grew to 89 percent by the end of that decade. As a discriminated religious minority most Jews sent their children to Russian-language schools to ensure they succeeded in Soviet society. This was not unusual; Jews in Quebec aligned with the Anglophone community, and after left-wing Francophone separatists took power in the early 1970s, many migrated to Toronto. Jewish-Canadian writer Mordecai Richler was an outspoken opponent of Francophone separatists.

Only 20 percent of Soviet Jews spoke Yiddish as their mother tongue or as a second language while even fewer (2 percent) declared Ukrainian to be their mother tongue. In the late 1980s, Jews again joined Ukrainians in participating in national revival and democratization. Jewish *neformaly* published in Kyiv *Khadashot* (Jewish Organizations in Ukraine) and *Vozrozhdenie* (Society of Jewish Culture), in Chernivtsi *Information Bulletin* (Jewish Socio-Cultural Fund), and in Lviv *Shofar* (Alekheym Society of Jewish Culture and Language). Jewish *neformaly* closely cooperated with the UHS whose documents were often reprinted in their *samvydav*

publications. In the December 1991 national referendum, Jews overwhelmingly supported Ukraine's independence.[142]

Jewish emigration from Eurasia had been in two waves, first in the 1970s for political reasons and second in the 1990s because of economic and to some extent political factors. The 1989 Soviet census counted only half a million Jews in Ukraine of whom approximately 80 percent have since immigrated to Israel and other countries. By the 2001 Ukrainian census, the number of Jews had dropped to a historic low of 100,000; nevertheless, they continued to represent the fifth largest Jewish community in Europe and the tenth largest in the world.

Jewish life in Ukraine during the quarter of a century of Ukrainian independence has flowered, again similar to that which took place during the first and third historical cycles of liberalization in the 1920s and in the 1960s. Independent Ukraine provided Jews *and* Ukrainians with the ability to undertake affirmative action for their languages and cultures. Frishberg returned to Ukraine in 1992 where he opened a legal practice. He explains the changes he has encountered over the last quarter of a century: "After the Soviet Union ceased to exist, state-sponsored anti-Semitism did not find much public support in Ukraine (unlike in Russia). Initially, negative attitudes toward Jews were passively carried over from the Soviet Union; even my mother-in-law, upon learning that her daughter was going to marry a Jew, said, 'Honey, why do you need these problems in your life?' She knew well enough that being Jewish involves having additional problems although she herself did not dislike Jews."

At the same time, Frishberg points to positive changes in independent Ukraine: "Frankly, I have not encountered anti-Semitism in Ukraine since 1991. If anything, these days Jews are especially respected for their good business sense, acumen and abilities. Just take a look at the top oligarchs in Ukraine and you will see how many of them are Jews. This would not be possible if state-sponsored anti-Semitism continued to exist. Anti-Semitism is far higher in Europe and parts of the US south than in Ukraine."

The 2001 census recorded 104,000 Jews in Ukraine, but Jewish organizations believe the real figure is between 200,000 and 400,000 with the largest populations in Kyiv (60,000–75,000), Dnipropetrovsk (30,000–40,000), Kharkiv (20,000–25,000), Odesa (18,000–22,000), and Donetsk (10,000–12,000). Only 3,100 declared Yiddish to be their native language. Jewish life in Ukraine has flowered since 1991, and there are over 250 Jewish organizations and 300 Judaic religious congregations registered in Ukraine as well as 100 Jewish charitable NGOs. The city of Kyiv has become the "Jerusalem of Eastern Europe"[146] while Dnipropetrovsk with its multifaceted Menorah complex, the world's largest Jewish center, has the second largest synagogue in Europe. Umbrella organizations include VAAD, the most authoritative, controlling 266 organizations in 90 cities

and the cofounder of the Euro-Asian Jewish Congress in 2002. The All-Ukrainian Jewish Congress and All-Ukrainian Union of Jewish Public Organisations "United Jewish Community of Ukraine" (OEOU) launched by Rabinovych were established in 1997 and 1999, respectively. Kolomoyskyy is president of OEOU and since 2010 president of the European Council of Jewish Communities. Oligarch Pinchuk is also active in Jewish organizations and cultural life. Ukraine officially recognizes Jewish cultural and educational institutions, including day, Hebrew, and Sunday schools; two teaching colleges; International Solomon University in Kyiv; Jewish People's University in Dnipropetrovsk; and faculties in Judaica in Lviv and Dnipropetrovsk universities. Lviv's Catholic University is one of the foremost centers of Jewish studies in Ukraine, and Zissels and Jewish organizations have offices in the Kyiv Mohyla Academy.

In October 2012, a large Jewish cultural center with a Holocaust museum opened in Dnipropetrovsk.[147] Religious synagogues and artifacts, including 700 Torah scrolls confiscated by the Soviet authorities, have been returned to Jewish communities. Kyiv, the seat of the Ukrainian Chief Rabbinate, has three Jewish congregations, three Jewish newspapers, and two Jewish professional theater companies. All told, the Jewish community in Ukraine publishes 19 newspapers and magazines.

In 2010, a major breakthrough in Ukraine's Jewish community was the launch by Jewish-Ukrainian oligarchs Kolomoyskyy and Vadym Rabinovich of the first Jewish 24-hour news channel JN1 that survived through to spring 2014. Kolomoyskyy and Rabinovych's partnership went separate ways in 2014 with the former governing Dnipropetrovsk *oblast* bordering the separatist conflict and the latter elected to parliament in the Opposition Bloc. British-born Peter Dickinson, publisher of *Business Ukraine* and *Lviv Today* magazines and producer of JN1 24-hour Jewish TV news channel who has lived in Ukraine since the late 1990s, explains the background to the channel:[148]

> A number of post-Soviet Jewish tycoons have sought leadership positions within existing Jewish representative bodies or have founded their own organisations. As well as JN1, Kolomoyskyy and Rabinovich established the EJU (European Jewish union) in spring 2011 and the organisation succeeded in drawing the ire of many of Europe's existing Jewish groupings by declaring the creation of a European Jewish Parliament and holding an online ballot. In other words, after decades in the shadows, Soviet Jewry's most prominent tycoons are becoming far more global and sophisticated in the scale of their ambitions.

Dickinson explains why this is important:

> The launch of JN1 was part of a broader trend over the past decade which has seen the Jewish oligarchs of the former USSR seeking higher international profiles and

more international clout. For as long as anyone could remember, the Jews of the former Russian Empire had been cast by the affluent Americans and the heavyweight Israelis in the role of poor relations in the rhythm of global Jewish life. In terms of our channel's mission, our aim was to cover as wide a range of Jewish news and Jewish opinion as possible and become something along the lines of a Jewish World Service. The niche for an international Jewish news network was completely vacant until JN1 was launched and so I think it is fair to say that the owners—both TV businesspersons themselves—viewed it as a window of enormous opportunity.

Anti-Semitism in Ukraine

With three major pohroms and genocide committed against Jews since the seventeenth century it is not surprising that the Jewish community in Ukraine is sensitive to the existence of anti-Semitism. In comparison to high levels of support for nationalist and neo-Nazi political parties and movements in neighboring Romania, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Russia, the nationalist right has never had widespread public support in Ukraine and *Svoboda*'s 10 percent in the 2012 elections represents a third of the combined vote of the nationalist-populist right in Austria. Hannah Rosenthal, special envoy to monitor and combat anti-Semitism, believes anti-Semitism is not a widespread phenomenon in Ukraine: "Ukraine's performance has also improved over the past five years. The number of anti-Semitic acts of vandalism has decreased by more than half in 2010. Moreover, due to joint pressure exerted by the Ukrainian government, NGOs and the Jewish community on the Interregional Academy of Personnel Management (MAUP), we have witnessed a sharp decline in the publication of anti-Semitic articles, proving that we can succeed if we work together."[149] The peak of anti-Semitism occurred in 2005–2007 when MAUP received extensive foreign financing from Libya and Iran and published a large volume of publications.[150]

Anti-Semitism in Ukraine draws on the legacy of Soviet "anti-Zionism" in Eastern Ukraine and the Crimea. In the late Stalin era, "anti-cosmopolitanism" represented "thinly veiled, though unacknowledged, anti-Semitic overtones."[151] Soviet anti-Semitic campaigns, disguised as anti-Zionism,[152] were promoted since the late 1940s by the Eurasianist wing of the Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party, which helps to explain why anti-Semitism has traditionally been part of Russian, Soviet, and pan-Slavic nationalist discourse (see Chapter 5).[153] In the late 1940s and early 1950s, one of the first anti-Zionist campaigns, the so-called Doctors Plot, led to the closure of Jewish theaters and Yiddish publications and the arrest of Yiddish writers.

In the Soviet Union, Jews and Zionists were attacked as agents of Western enemies of the Soviet Union in the same manner as were Ukrainian nationalists. Beginning in 1947 the Soviet secret police and

Communist Party followed attempts at dialogue between Jews and Ukrainians and Howard Aster and Potichnyj give examples from Soviet archives of Soviet disinformation intended to inflame Jewish–Ukrainian relations. The Soviet authorities also ignored and marginalized the Nazi genocide in order to not distract from their own narrative of the "Great Patriotic War" and three years of Soviet collaboration with Nazi Germany. Administrative documents and maps erased Jewish culture and history "as if the Jewish people had never existed there although some cities had 50 percent or 60 percent Jewish populations before the war." Sheykhet, who befriended Ukrainian nationalist Yuriy Shukhevych in the Gulag, said: "They wanted to fully destroy the understanding of the past, as if it had never existed. Jewish schools and synagogues were closed." Nazis and Stalinists used former Jewish tombstones to build roads.[154] The Soviet regime ignored the Babi Yar massacres, as they did the Jewish Holocaust in general, and President Kravchuk was the first Ukrainian leader to visit Babi Yar to commemorate the 50th anniversary of this crime against humanity. In 2011, Pinchuk financially supported the excellent exhibition "Shoah by Bullets: Mass Shootings of Jews in Ukraine in 1941–1944" in Kyiv's Ukrainian Home.

Indeed, Frishberg's personal experience of living in Ukraine is reflected in data provided by the VAAD who reported "over the last four to five years, there has been a continuous decline in the number of anti-Semitic publications in the press; in the number of acts of vandalism of cemeteries, memorials, and synagogues; and the number of assaults on the streets of Jewish people." VAAD added that in addition there has been a decline in negative attitudes toward Jewish persons in public opinion polls[143] and "in everyday life, Jews in modern-day Ukraine are not in danger of ideologically motivated violence."[144]

While nationalists from the *Svoboda* party and far smaller *Pravyy Sektor* NGO provided volunteers for Euromaidan self-defense units these were at the same time multinational. Three Jews, two Georgians, and an Armenian and Belarusian were among the "Heavenly Hundred." One of the Jews—Alexander Shcherbatyuk—has two children who attend a Jewish school in Chernivtsi and *Pravyy Sektor* gave a gun salute at his funeral. *Pravyy Sektor* elected two deputies in October 2014, one of whom—Boryslav Bereza—is Jewish. Two other Jewish protestors—Joseph Shiling and Yevhen Kotlyar—also died from snipers during the Euromaidan. A Jewish *sotnya* (company of 100 volunteers) was led by five former IDF (Israeli Defense Force) veterans and included an Orthodox Jew and Jews worked as medical volunteers on the Euromaidan. Asher Joseph Cherkasskyy, a Hassidic Jew, volunteered to join one of the Dnipro battalions funded by Kolomoyskyy.[145] Therefore, it is no wonder that Jewish-Ukrainian tycoon Pinchuk when asked about anti-Semitism on the Euromaidan replied "It's bullshit" as Ukraine's largely

Russian-speaking Jews back Ukraine's imperfect democracy over Putin's mafia state and new Russian imperialism. Ukraine has the freest Russian-language media in the world.

Tens of Jewish-Ukrainian businesspeople, academics, religious leaders, journalists, and cultural figures rejected in an open letter to President Putin his justification for invading and annexing the Crimea. They pointed out that most Ukrainian Jews are Russian speaking and they do not need "defending." Zissels, vice president of the World Jewish Congress and chairperson of VAAD, does not believe anti-Semitism is growing in Ukraine, pointing to 27 anti-Semitic "incidents" in Ukraine in 2013 compared to 612 in France, 800 in the United Kingdom, and a very high 1,300 in Germany. Chief rabbi of Ukraine Yaakov Don Bleich was a prominent speaker at Euromaidan rallies. In fact, Western journalists who have visited the DNR and LNR point to the presence of neo-Nazis and xenophobes such as from the Russian Party of National Unity.

Contemporary anti-Semitism in Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia draws on Soviet campaigns against "Zionism." In 1963, the Soviet Ukrainian Academy of Sciences published Trofim Kichko's book *Judaism without Embellishments* and four years later a propaganda campaign against so-called cosmopolitanism and Talmudism linked Zionism with Nazism. The Ideological Commission of the Soviet Communist Party of Ukraine, then under the leadership of Shelest, criticized the publication by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences of this notorious anti-Semitic book that contained anti-Jewish caricatures reminiscent of Nazi propaganda. Anti-Zionist (in reality anti-Semitic) books were supported by the Eurasianist wing of the Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party. Similar anti-Zionist campaigns were unfurled in communist Poland and elsewhere in Eastern Europe at that time. Belarusian President Lukashenka, whose regime's ideology rests on a foundation of Soviet Belarusian nationalism, continues to propagate "Anti-Zionist" propaganda.[155] The Odesa-based Russian nationalist *Rodina* party has routinely fanned anti-Semitism in the newspaper *Nashe Delo* sponsored by party leader and Party of Regions deputy Ihor Markov. Anti-Semitic articles have been published in the newspaper of the Russian nationalist party ZUBR.

Ukrainian surveys have also shown higher levels of anti-Semitism in Eastern and Southern Ukraine and the Crimea than in Western Ukraine.[156] The U.S. State Department's 2011 report on human rights practices in Ukraine recorded anti-Semitic violence and vandalism in Central, Eastern, and Southern Ukraine (Kyiv, Pavlohrad, Sumy, Kirovohrad, Dnipropetrovsk, Cherkasy, Melitopol, and Mykolayiv) and the Crimea (Sudak and Sevastopol).[157] Anti-Semitic attacks, vandalism, and inflammatory articles were published in local newspapers in Odesa, particularly directed against former mayor Hurfits who had allied with

Our Ukraine and in 2012 was elected to parliament by UDAR.[158] These anti-Semitic campaigns usually appeared during election campaigns, such as that directed against Tymoshenko in 2010. In the 2002 elections, the NDP, usually classified within the moderate wing of centrist parties, published many anti-Semitic cartoons and articles in its publications that I collected as an OSCE long-term observer in Vinnytsya and Odesa *oblasts*. The Vinnytsya Jewish religious community wrote to the OSCE Election Mission complaining that the NDP newspaper *Narodna Khvylya* (March 14, 2002) "represents the views of the *oblast* head and therefore places under question the absence of anti-Semitism in state policies."[159]

The U.S. State Department's 2011 report on human rights practices in Ukraine cited anti-Semitic programs aired by the radio show *Vik* on Kherson National Television and Radio Broadcasting Council. The one anti--Semitic incident in Western Ukraine listed in the 2011 U.S. State Department's report was against a Jewish cemetery in Ternopil. VAAD's 2012 survey of anti-Semitic slurs pointed out that they were directed against opposition leaders as much as against the authorities and that violence and desecrations took place in Eastern and Southern as well as in Western Ukraine.[160]

Transcarpathian Exceptionalism

Divided loyalties are quite common in Europe and in other regions of the world. Macedonians who arrived in Toronto prior to World War II possessed a Macedonian-Bulgarian orientation while those arriving from communist Yugoslavia had developed a separate Macedonian identity. Magocsi, Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto and Honorary Chairperson of the World Congress of Rusyns, believes the Rusyn revival is therefore not a unique phenomenon in Europe because it is part of a general trend following the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe. National minorities, such as Bretons and Corsicans in France, and regional groups, such as the Rusyns of Slovakia, have used this newly available political space to revive national identities previously hidden from view by homogenizing nation-states. The revival of a Rusyn orientation is therefore taking place alongside the revival of national minorities throughout Europe.

In Transcarpathia, competition between Ukrainian and Rusyn orientations divided Eastern Slavs in interwar democratic Czechoslovakia where censuses defined *Ruski* as collectively embracing those who held "Great Russian," Ukrainian, and Carpatho-Rusyn identities. Following World War II, Soviet nationality policies in Transcarpathia redefined Ukrainians and Rusyns (who also called themselves Rusnaks) collectively as "Ukrainians." Soviet nationality policy came down on the side of Ukrainians because of two factors. First, the Soviet authorities supported a Ukrainian

orientation to legitimize their claim that the annexation of the region, as in Galicia, Volhynya, and Northern Bukovina, constituted a "reunification of Ukrainians." Soviet leaders sought to justify their annexation of Western Ukraine in ethnic terms even though geopolitics was more important. Second, the Communist Party was unpopular in Western Ukraine and therefore support for Ukrainian national identity was a means to attract nationally conscious Ukrainians in the same manner as indigenization in the 1920s when the Bolshevik Party had been unpopular in Soviet Ukraine.

That Transcarpathia was different could be seen even in the Soviet era when its migrants who traveled to Lviv spoke in Russian, which came easier than Ukrainian,[161] a product of Russian émigré influence during the interwar period and recent introduction of Ukrainian-language schooling. Since 1991, a minority of Transcarpathian Ukrainians have redefined themselves as Rusyns with the greatest revival of Rusyns taking place in neighboring Slovakia. There has been less reidentification in Poland because since 1947 they live far away from their ancestral Carpathian homeland following *Akcja Wisła*. An earlier study by Magocsi published over two decades before the USSR disintegrated had concluded that the Ukrainian orientation proved to be enduring in Transcarpathia, "because of the specific culture of the region and the demands of political reality."[162]

The limited sociological data available to scholars on national identity in the region suggests this conclusion remains largely the case but, because national identity is always in a process of change, this could change over time. Nevertheless, there are two issues that require attention. The first is Kyiv's ignoring of the December 1991 referendum where 78 percent voted "yes" for regional self-government (the word *autonomy* was not used). Decentralization is inevitable as part of a comprehensive overhaul of Ukraine's Soviet era territorial-administrative system. The second is Ukraine is the only European country that has not recognized Rusyns as a nationality. Ironically, it was under Yushchenko that in March 2007 the Transcarpathian *oblast* council voted overwhelmingly by 72 to 2 to recognize Rusyns as a nationality at the regional level. Five months later, the Transcarpathian *oblast* council voted to introduce a Rusyn anthem and flag.[163] The 2012 language law, whose annulment Parliamentary Chairman Turchynov overturned, granted Rusyn regional language rights in schools and other state institutions. In denying the recognition of Rusyns at the national level who do not seek to create a separate state or change international borders, Kyiv is merely opening the door to intervention by Russian and Hungarian intelligence services and nationalists. "Ukraine has created the Rusyn question, and Ukraine can resolve the Rusyn question. It makes no sense to deny the reality of a people within or beyond Ukraine which exists and claims it belongs to a distinct nationality."[164]

Prior to the 2001 census the issue of whether to include a Rusyn category on the census form was the subject of intense debate between its opponents in the National Academy of Sciences and cultural elites on the one hand, and its supporters among Rusyn organizations in Ukraine and the Rusyn diaspora on the other hand. In the 2001 census, Rusyns were only included as a regional branch of Ukrainians alongside Hutsuls, Boykos, Lemkos, and other regional groups. The official census result recorded 672 Lemkos, 131 Boykos and 10,200 Rusyns, which is similar in number to the 6,004 and 22,000–28,000 Rusyns recorded in two parallel censuses conducted by Rusyn organizations and the unofficial *Sejm* (Diet) of Transcarpathian Rusyns, or between 0.67 and 3.11 percent out of a total population of 1,258,300 in Transcarpathia.

There are three pitfalls in discussions of Rusyns in Transcarpathia. Firstly, not all hitherto Ukrainians in Transcarpathia are in fact Rusyns. In the 1989 Soviet census, 78.4 percent of the region's inhabitants claimed Ukrainian ethnicity, close to the average throughout Ukraine, and this had grown to 80.5 percent by the 2001 Ukrainian census.[165] Secondly, mainstream moderate Rusyns have condemned pro-Russian radical Rusyn nationalists who have little influence in Transcarpathia. Separatism in the region has never been a threat to Ukrainian territorial integrity.

Thirdly, Transcarpathia exceptionalism does nevertheless exist and is evident in the large Orthodox Church in Transcarpathia that historically acted as a barrier against Magyarization during the half century preceding World War I when the region was included under the Hungarian portion of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Converting to the Greek Catholic Church led to Slovakization or Magyarization. Although Transcarpathia was traditionally Greek Catholic, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Russian Patriarchate) has the largest number of parishes in Transcarpathia, differentiating the region from Volyn, Rivne, and Chernivtsi where the Ukrainian Orthodox Church–Kyiv Patriarch and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church are the largest Orthodox churches. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church also reflects Transcarpathian exceptionalism because it falls directly under the jurisdiction of the Vatican, not the Lviv eparchy.

The dominance of the Russian Orthodox Church in Transcarpathia is not a reflection of Russophilia and Magocsi believes one reason for the absence of pro-Russian feelings is the negative memory that the local population harbors about the Soviet annexation of the region in 1944–1945. Trancarpathian Rusyns supported the Euromaidan and continue to support Ukrainian soldiers and volunteers and Ukraine's territorial integrity in the face of Russian aggression. Transcarpathia's dominant Russian Orthodox Church and regional exceptionalism does not therefore influence its politics or produce a pro-Russian foreign policy orientation as Rusyns see their future in the European Union, not in Putin's

Eurasian Union. Ukrainian surveys have found that Transcarpathians hold least positive feelings for Hungarians and Russians; Hungarians because of their long imperial and authoritarian rule over the region while Russians because of feelings toward them resemble commonly those found throughout Western Ukraine. Ethnic Russians represent only 4 percent of the region's population in the 1989 census declining to as little as 2.5 percent in 2001.

Transcarpathian exceptionalism is pragmatic, less ideological, and not as ethnically driven as in neighboring Galicia, making it the most tolerant region of Ukraine. Outside powers have always made decisions about Transcarpathians who have therefore understood they do not control their political destiny. No other Ukrainian region was the subject of as numerous international decisions and consultations and Transcarpathia is the soft underbelly of Western Ukraine that will always be reluctant to be in opposition to the ruling authorities in Kyiv. From 1998 to 2002, the dominant political force in Transcarpathia was the SDPUo, Our Ukraine and BYuT held power in 2002–2010, in 2010–2014 the Party of Regions and United Centre party shared control of the *oblast*, while since the Euromaidan it has been allies of Poroshenko. Local state administrative resources have been traditionally used to support the current ruling authorities in Kyiv. Baloha, who has mobilized local support for the SDPUo, Our Ukraine, United Centre, and the Party of Regions through the course of his political career, had a reputation for being willing to play dirty.[166]

Transcarpathia's exceptionalism has been evident in every Ukrainian election. In the June–July 1994 presidential elections, the region voted for incumbent Kravchuk rather than the more "pro-Russian" Kuchma. In the March 1998 parliamentary elections in Transcarpathia, six political parties crossed the 4-percent threshold in the election on the proportional party lists of which three were pro-presidential parties, two were national democratic parties, and the last was the KPU. In the second round of the November 1999 presidential elections, the region supported the anticommunist incumbent and by then less pro-Russian Kuchma. In the 2002 parliamentary elections, Our Ukraine and BYuT received a combined 41 percent of the votes followed by the pro-presidential ZYU and SDPUo, with the KPU trailing in last place. This represented the height of fruitful cooperation between Rusyn and national democratic NGOs and parties cooperating against election fraud. In the 2004 presidential elections, Yushchenko won all six Transcarpathian districts in each of the three rounds.

In the 2006 elections, Our Ukraine and BYuT won four districts while the Party of Regions won the district with a compact Hungarian national minority, beginning a process of local national minorities aligning with the Party of Regions.[167] In the 2007 preterm elections, Our Ukraine won

four districts and BYuT one district. In the 2010 presidential elections, Baloha ensured Yanukovych's victory in four out of six Transcarpathian districts in round one, with the other two won by Tymoshenko but this was reversed in the second round, when Tymoshenko won four and Yanukovych two districts. In round one, Yanukovych defeated Tymoshenko by 30 to 26 percent of the votes in Transcarpathia while in round two he lost to her by 52 to 42 percent. The 29–41 percent support for Yanukovych in Transcarpathia in both rounds of the 2010 elections was far higher than 5–9 percent given to him by Galicians. Following the 2010 elections 10 United Centre deputies within NUNS joined the Stability and Reforms coalition and Baloha was appointed minister of emergency situations.

In the 2012 elections, the Party of Regions won its highest support anywhere in Western and Central Ukraine in Transcarpathia where it received 31 percent. In six other Western and Central Ukrainian *oblasts* (Kyiv, Zhitomir, Poltava, Sumy, Chernivtsi, and Chernihiv) 20–21 percent supported the Party of Regions, 10 percent less than in Transcarpathia. The Party of Regions, *Batkivshchina*, UDAR, *Svoboda*, and KPU won 31, 28, 20, 8, and 5 percent, respectively, of the votes in Transcarpathia with the Party of Regions and KPU winning a combined 36 percent and three opposition parties receiving 56 percent. Baloha and two family members were elected in single-mandate districts, and Party of Regions won the remaining three. After the Euromaidan, Baloha privatized the *oblast* further (which is hardly a step in line with the values promoted on the Euromaidan) with his two brothers (Ivan and Pavlo), his cousin (Vasyl Petyovka), and himself winning four out of six single-mandate districts in the 2014 elections. This extreme case of nepotism, which is not unusual in Italy's *Mezzogiorno* and other areas in Southern Europe, closed the door on the four deputies joining the Poroshenko Bloc faction as they had intended.

As Chapter 8 shows, President Kuchma had drawn economic reformers from national democratic political forces and these reformers led four reformist governments in 2000–2010. Political forces drawing on voters with multiple identities in Eastern Ukraine have been less inclined to produce reformers and oligarch interests have dominated their governments. Ukrainians and political forces holding mutually exclusive identities have given, as Shulman has noted, greater support for Ukraine's quadruple transition and European integration, which in the economic domain is analyzed in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 8

Economy and Energy

I want to, I do not want to. I will, I will not.

Former finance minister Viktor Pynzenyk explains
Ukraine's relationship with the IMF[1]

Under the constitution that was approved in 1996 and remained substantially unchanged until 2005, the government came under the authority of the president. Ukraine had a parliamentary system from 2006 to 2010, and during this period, governments came under the jurisdiction of parliamentary coalitions. In 2010 Ukraine returned to a presidential constitution and all executive authority was placed under the control of the president that was itself reversed after the Euromaidan when Ukraine returned to a parliamentary system.

Ukrainian governments should be divided into four groups (see Table 8.1). The first group of governments, which I define as *wobblers*, includes the Fokin (October 1990–September 1992) and Kuchma (October 1992–September 1993) governments that had no coherent program of transition from a command administrative to a market economy. The second group, *caretakers*, includes four governments led by Zvyahilskyy (September 1993–June 1994), Masol (June 1994–March 1995), Kinakh (May 2001–October 2002), and Yanukovych 1 (November 2002–December 2004), that is best understood as short-term, interim administrations. The third group, *state capitalist and big business*, includes six governments led by Marchuk (June 1995–May 1996), Lazarenko (July 1996–June 1997), Pustovoytenko (July 1997–December 1999), Yanukovych 2 (August 2006–September 2007), and Azarov 1 and 2 (March 2010–November 2012, December 2012–February 2014). These governments were headed by representatives of the former Soviet Ukrainian *nomenklatura*, supported a "state-regulated" transition and evolutionary economic reforms, and were heavily biased toward big business and oligarchs. When Lazarenko and Pustovoytenko governed, the country sank into deeper economic and political stagnation with the rise

of an increasingly powerful group of oligarchs. The fourth group, *reformers*, included governments headed by Yushchenko (December 1999–April 2001), two by Tymoshenko (February–September 2005 and December 2007–March 2010), Yekhanurov (September 2005–August 2006), and Yatsenyuk 1 (February-October 2014) and 2 (since October 2014). The six reformer governments supported market economic reforms, policies to reduce corruption (to some degree), and Ukraine's integration into Europe. Reformer governments were different to those in the first three groups because they were led by the middle generation of Ukrainian politicians while the majority of other Ukrainian governments (*wobblers*, *caretakers*, and *state capitalist and big business*) were led by older generation conservative prime ministers.

Table 8.1

Ukrainian Governments since 1991

Sequence	Prime Minister	Years	Regional Clan, Political Party, Coalition
1	Vitold Fokin	1990–1992	KPU
2	Leonid Kuchma	1992–1993	Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of Ukraine (PPPU)
3	Yufym Zvyahilskyy	1993–1994	Donetsk clan
4	Vitaliy Masol	1994–1995	KPU
5	Yevhen Marchuk	1995–1996	Liberal Party
6	Pavlo Lazarenko	1996–1997	Dnipropetrovsk clan
7	Valeriy Pustovoytenko	1997–1999	NDP
8	Viktor Yushchenko	2000–2001	*Rukh*/National democrats
9	Anatoliy Kinakh	2001–2002	PPPU
10	Viktor Yanukovych	2002–2004	Party of Regions
11	Yuliya Tymoshenko	2005	Our Ukraine, BYuT, SPU
12	Yuriy Yekhanurov	2005–2006	Our Ukraine, Party of Regions, SPU
13	Viktor Yanukovych	2006–2007	Party of Regions, KPU, SPU
14	Yuliya Tymoshenko	2007–2010	Our Ukraine, BYuT. Lytvyn bloc (from 2008)
15	Mykola Azarov	2010–2012	Party of Regions
16	Mykola Azarov	2012–2014	Party of Regions
17	Arseniy Yatsenyuk	2014–	Government 1 (2014): *Batkivshchina*, *Svoboda*, UDAR and Government 2 (2014–) Popular Front, Poroshenko Bloc

UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENTS SINCE 1991

Wobbler Governments: Fokin and Kuchma

Although the Kuchma government was initially welcomed as more reformist, he also had no clear program in the same manner as the Vitold Fokin government that preceded him. In the same manner as President Kravchuk, Kuchma favored a state-directed transition to a social-market economy that would preserve social stability and introduce reforms without the authorities losing control over the transition process. In 1993, gross domestic product (GDP) was 86.3 percent of its 1992 level, and average monthly wages were in steady decline. Inflationary pressures increased, leading to hyperinflation in September–December 1993 at an average monthly rate of 175 percent.[2] The government was plagued by a lack of consensus on reform, and by late 1993 was wholly dominated by representatives of the so-called *Red Directors* (i.e., a term developed to describe senior managers of industrial enterprises who continued to support an interventionist role for the state in economic affairs), who were primarily interested in *prykhvatyzatsiya.* In the early 1990s, the unstable and corrupt conditions facilitated a large outflow of money and capital from Ukraine to Cyprus and offshore tax havens, particularly the British Virgin Islands that have remained to this day as two of the largest foreign investors in Ukraine. It took Ukraine a quarter of a century of independence before the second Yatsenyuk government began to seek to prevent the massive sending of capital overseas to Cyprus through transfer pricing schemes and to offshore tax havens.

"Red Directors" became the senior guard of the proto-political forces that established the first political parties in Eastern Ukraine, the Donetsk-based Labour Party, and Party of Regional Revival (precursor to the Party of Regions), but these failed to win mass support. In August 1993, the resignation of Deputy Prime Minister Pynzenyk, the last proponent of economic reform within the government, a year after Volodymyr Lanovyy was dismissed strengthened the hand of those demanding economic union with Russia as a means of avoiding the need to implement structural reforms. Following Kuchma's resignation as prime minister, in September, he was elected to the post of chairperson of the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of Ukraine (SPPU), a lobby group for the "Red Directors." Kuchma became presidential candidate of the SPPU-MBR, a newly established social-democratic and liberal electoral bloc with its main support in the Russian-speaking and industrialized Eastern and Southern Ukraine.

The June 1993 strikes by 400,000 miners and industrial workers, primarily in the Donetsk region of Eastern Ukraine, were the first indication that the domestic stability that independent Ukraine had enjoyed was over. Coalminers in Ukraine work under terrible conditions and yet they

***Hryvnya* was first used in Kyiv Rus and again (shown here) by Ukrainian independent governments in 1918–1921. (Taras Kuzio)**

supported the political forces that exploited their labor. The strikers added political demands, such as local autonomy for Donetsk and a referendum on public confidence in the president and parliament, to their economic demands. Kuchma defeated Kravchuk in the preterm summer 1994 elections.

Caretaker Governments: Zvyahilskyy, Masol, Yanukovych 1, and Kinakh

In October 1993, Zvyahilskyy, a former coal-mine manager and mayor of Donetsk, assumed the role of acting prime minister in the first of four caretaker governments dominated by representatives from Eastern Ukraine who were aligned with the "Red Directors." Zvyahilskyy was one of the Donetsk old guard behind the coalminers' strikes that summer. In June 1994, Zvyahilskyy resigned as Ukraine's acting prime minister, and soon afterward fled to Israel, seemingly in order to escape an investigation into charges of corruption issued against him; typically, he had nothing to fear and no criminal charges were pursued after he returned to Ukraine (see Chapter 9). Zvyahilskyy claimed credit for having stabilized the economy after the hyperinflation of 1993, and although the financial measures that Zvyahilskyy's government had used were sharply criticized by the industrial lobby, the program of stabilization implemented in October 1994–April 1995, after the election of Kuchma as president, was to some extent dependent upon, and benefited from, the policies implemented under Zvyahilskyy.

In June 1994, on the eve of the presidential elections, Masol was confirmed as Ukraine's new prime minister, returning to the post that he had held for several months in 1990. Masol's appointment represented an unsuccessful attempt by Kravchuk to secure left-wing support in Eastern and Southern Ukraine during the 1994 presidential elections. Opportunism, rather than interest in advancing economic reforms, lay behind Kravchuk's appointment of Masol.

Kinakh, who led a caretaker government after Yushchenko was removed by a parliamentary vote of no confidence was a longtime Kuchma loyalist who, like Pustovoytenko and Kuchma himself, had served as chairperson of the SPPU. Kinakh's relative neutrality, unconnected as he was to any major regional oligarch clan, facilitated the continuation of "divide and rule" tactics by Kuchma of big business and oligarch groups. Many ministers in Yushchenko's outgoing government were, in fact, reappointed to the Kinakh government, with the notable exception of Tymoshenko who had become increasingly identified with the radical wing of the "Ukraine without Kuchma" opposition movement.

The dismissal of Kinakh, and his replacement by Donetsk governor Yanukovych, reflected the political interests of Kuchma ahead of the 2004 elections and succession crisis. The appointment of a new government, however, did appear to result in the formation of a more coherent propresidential parliamentary majority. An ambitious program of privatization, which was intended to include eight strategic industries such as coal mining, was launched in 2003. Some aspects of this privatization program were controversial as they took place on the eve of the 2004 presidential elections

and blocked foreign participation. In particular, the privatization of the *Kryvorizhstal* steel plant in July 2004 was widely condemned by the opposition and by the IMF as having been managed in such a manner so as to ensure its purchase by insider oligarchs Pinchuk, Kuchma's son-in-law, and Akhmetov who was a close ally of Yanukovych from Donetsk. The economic program of the Yanukovych government was aimed at using high economic growth to "buy" votes in the 2004 elections by means of substantial populist increases in wages, pension, and student-stipend payments. Yanukovych's main concerns were political, not economic, particularly given his need to ensure his selection as Kuchma's preferred successor.

State Capitalist and Big Business Governments: Marchuk, Lazarenko, Pustovoytenko, Yanukovych (2), and Azarov (1 and 2)

In October 1994, President Kuchma announced a program of economic reform with a statement that private ownership was to be the catalyst for economic growth and development. The program aimed to achieve stabilization in a country that had experienced a decline in living standards of 80 percent since 1991 and which had high levels of hidden unemployment. Kuchma's short-lived program of reform largely followed the prescriptions of international financial institutions, in particular the IMF.

Aslund credits Kuchma with launching a successful program of privatization in 1994 that within the next six years transferred the majority of Ukraine's GDP to the private sector and led to the emergence of a market economy. Kuchma's November 1994 deregulation, "marked Ukraine's decisive transition to a market economy" and "Kuchma exceeded all expectations with this reform," Aslund writes.[3] Kuchma's 1994 program went further than Prime Minister Gaidar's shock therapy program in Russia three years earlier and was closer to the "Balcerowicz plan."[4] Following the IMF-backed stabilization there were no liberal or fiscal and structural reforms, thereby dragging out Ukraine's transition until Kuchma's second term in office because following the adoption of Ukraine's constitution in 1996, Kuchma "lost interest" in further reforms.[5]

President Kuchma's task of encouraging the legislature in 1995 to accept his program of reform was assisted by the resignation of the Masol government. The 1995 budget envisaged a reduction in the monthly rate of inflation by 1–2 percent, and measures were implemented to ensure this included the abolition of agricultural and industrial credits, the introduction of a strict incomes policy, and increases in utility prices for households (subsidized household utility prices continued to remain an issue that governments across *both* sides of the political divide are reluctant to resolve even when budgetary conditions were critical). Interindustry transfers replaced subsidies to the coal industry and the unreformed

sector continued to be a major source of corruption through to the Euromaidan.

Kuchma's commitment to reform though proved to be short-lived and in his annual address to parliament on April 4, 1995, Kuchma backed those such as Marchuk, attacking a "blind monetarist policy" and switched his backing to a "state-regulated" transition and provision of a social "safety net." The government had failed to create the conditions for sustained economic progress and targets for privatization were never met. The resignation, in April 1997, of Pynzenyk from the position of deputy prime minister with responsibility for economic reform, for the second time, represented a serious challenge to the implementation of economic reforms (his third resignation came 12 years later from the second Tymoshenko government). Indeed, the period of so-called correction that lasted from 1995 to 1999, rather than being a period of reform and progress, brought Ukraine close to bankruptcy and, to a much greater extent than in the preceding years, led to the emergence of a class of rapacious oligarchs. Ukraine would have returned to economic growth sooner than 2000 if the 1994–1995 stabilization policies had been translated into structural reforms. Kuchma described Marchuk in similar terms to how he had described Kravchuk as "incompetent in economics."[6]

Kuchma blamed the 1996–1997 government led by Lazarenko for its poor performance, growing wage arrears, and the lack of a budget for 1997 even though governments were constitutionally answerable to the authority of the president. Kuchma also blamed the leftist-controlled parliament for failing to adopt legislation to overcome the economic crisis and support economic reforms. Kuchma later wrote in his memoirs that it had been Marchuk who had brought Lazarenko to Kyiv because they both held similar leftist, populist views—an attempt to distance himself from Lazarenko.[7] Lazarenko's three-year program for economic recovery was supported by the left because it backed economic protectionist measures for Ukrainian industry (particularly directed against Russia) while omitting contentious issues relating to land privatization (which the left opposed). This program, above all, reflected Lazarenko's willingness to amend his policies so as to obtain the support of the left, while doing little to dispel suspicions about his true commitment to a market economy. Lazarenko's government policies prepared the groundwork for *Hromada*, the party he led, to align itself with the SPU in the 1998 elections and parliament.

The Lazarenko and Pustovoytenko governments were increasingly dominated by big business that had little interest in economic reforms or in the systematic implementation of anti-corruption measures. Lazarenko granted privileges to YESU (United Energy Systems of Ukraine) whose operations in Ukraine were led by Tymoshenko. Corruption, including that linked to Lazarenko himself, would have been impossible to

undertake without the involvement of other high-ranking state officials, and Kuchma's knowledge. The appointment of Pustovoytenko as prime minister signaled an end to political rivalry between the prime minister and the president as he led the propresidential NDP, Kuchma's party of power, in the March 1998 parliamentary elections. In May 1998 the Pustovoytenko government outlined a new economic program for 1999–2005, which took into account the successes of the 1994 IMF-approved program that envisaged a reduction in the budgetary deficit and increased subsidies to industry.

However, the initial implementation of the program failed to stimulate economic growth, although the annual rate of GDP decreased markedly. Privatization primarily benefited big business, dominated by emerging oligarchs, rather than the Ukrainian economy. In November 1998, the government, with the backing of Kuchma, rejected IMF prescriptions and resorted to state-interventionist economic policies, such as increasing support to industrial producers and proposing plans to curtail the independence of the National Bank.

Box 8.1 Ukraine's Transition to a Market Economy

1. Ukraine has the highest HIV infection in Europe and the fastest rate of infection that the World Bank considers to be a national epidemic. 1.63 percent of the Ukrainian population between 15 and 49 years of age are HIV positive (or 360,000 people).
2. Ukraine has one of the highest number of human rights cases per 10,000 population lodged with the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR). Only Russia and Turkey have a higher number of cases. Very few ECHR rulings are implemented by Ukraine.
3. Ukraine is ranked the most corrupt country in Europe by Transparency International, a research and advocacy think tank to combat corruption around the world, and by 2013 of the 15 former Soviet republics, only two Central Asian states are lower.
4. Ukraine is the second largest debtor to the IMF after Romania and just ahead of Greece and the tenth largest debtor to the World Bank.
5. Ukraine is in last place in Europe in terms of economic freedom according to the Heritage Foundation, and has the worst business climate in Europe according to the World Bank. It is the second least competitive country in Europe after Albania and possesses the second worst investment climate in Europe. Ukraine moved down to number 84 on the World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness Index for 2013–14. "Arguably, the country's most important challenge is the needed overhaul of its institutional framework, which suffers from red tape, a lack of transparency, and favouritism," the Global Competitiveness Report said.

6. Small and medium businesses contribute toward only 16 percent of Ukraine's GDP, lower than anywhere in the EU where the average is 57 percent.
7. With 13 million Ukrainians living below the official poverty line, Ukraine is the second poorest country in Europe after Moldova. The World Bank estimates that a quarter of Ukrainians live in poverty.
8. Ukrainians have one of the lowest average life expectancies (at 68 years) and the highest mortality rate in Europe with every tenth Ukrainian not reaching the age of 35 and every fourth the age of 60. Ukrainians, who drink on average 8 liters a year, rank third in the world in the consumption of vodka after Russia (which comes first with 13.9 litres) and Belarus (second with 11.3 litres). Ukrainians drink the dirtiest water in Europe, partly as a result of widespread pollution. In a ranking of living in 45 Ukrainian cities, those in the bottom half (22nd through 45th) are primarily in Eastern and Southern Ukraine and the top half, the 1st through the 21st, are mainly to be found in Central and Western Ukraine.
9. Ukraine has the highest road fatality death rate in Europe with 20 deaths on average each day.
10. Since 1991, the International Organization for Migration estimates that 100,000 Ukrainians have been trafficked abroad, an abhorrent modern day slave trade. Ukraine has one of the highest rates of migration with 5.6 million working abroad of whom only a small proportion is working legally.

Sources:

http://www.bloomberg.com/visual-data/best-and-worst/most-prone-to-vice-countries.
http://money.comments.ua/monitor/2012/04/20/334507/gde-mozhno-zhit-krome-kieva.html.
Ukrainian Foundation for Democracy "People First," http://www.weforum.org/reports/global-competitiveness-report-2013-2014.

The second Yanukovych government that took office in August 2006 contained representatives of a wide array of political forces, including, notably, for the first time in independent Ukraine, the KPU, within the Anti-Crisis Coalition. The coalition therefore lacked ideological unity. The performance of the Ukrainian economy was not adversely affected by the political turmoil that afflicted Ukraine during much of 2005–2007. Economic growth was estimated at a robust 7 percent in 2006 while average prices of shares listed on the Ukrainian stock market rose by 32 percent, making it one of the best performing markets in the world.

The Anti-Crisis Coalition and Yanukovych government lacked support for economic reform[8] and the coalition had three fault lines. First, the left-wing caucus controlled five key ministries: (1) Transport and

Communications, (2) Internal Affairs, (3) Science and Education, (4) Agriculture, and (5) Industrial Policy. Although not a cabinet position, the left continued to control the State Property Fund, giving them the ability to block privatization. Second, the Party of Regions favored oligarchs and big business, a policy that was repeated by both Azarov governments. VAT refunds to exporters were frozen except to Donetsk companies that belonged to the Party of Regions sponsor oligarch Akhmetov.[9] Other forms of corruption came from price controls on grain exports and the growing influence of the gas lobby in the government and the Party of Regions. Third, the Anti-Crisis Coalition purged former Orange ministers from government positions and brought back discredited senior-level members of the Kuchma regime. The Anti-Crisis Coalition adopted legislation, such as the law "On the Cabinet of Ministers" that usurped the president's powers under the parliamentary constitution. The Anti-Crisis Coalition ruled out a policy of re-privatization in favor of "peace agreements" between the government and the oligarchs.

Azarov ran Ukraine's state tax administration for six years under President Kuchma where he earned the wrath of international human rights organizations for using the institution as a repressive tool against the political opposition. The Party of Regions leader Azarov became prime minister in March 2010, and after his appointment, a *Kyiv Post* editorial declared, "Good luck trying to find the 'reformer' in this bunch" because the "cabinet reads like a retread of the era that seemed gone half a decade ago."[10] The first Azarov cabinet was closely associated with the Kuchma era and was a symbiosis of former members of his administration, leading figures in the Party of Regions, and KPU. The appointments were also a victory for the gas lobby subgroup within the Party of Regions. Minister for Fuel and Energy Boyko is one of the founders of the opaque gas intermediary RUE when he was head of *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* in 2004. Billionaire and media mogul Khoroshkovskyy became chairperson of the SBU, rising from first deputy chairperson of the SBU into which Yushchenko had parachuted him the year before. His new position was a clear conflict of interest with his ownership of *Inter*, Ukraine's most popular television channel, and membership of the Higher Council of Judges, which controls judicial appointments. In January 2012, the gas lobby consolidated its control over the budget when Khoroshkovskyy became first deputy prime minister, resigning later that year allegedly in "protest" at Azarov's disinterest in reforms and European integration,[11] a claim we should treat with skepticism.

In February 2010, the U.S. embassy in Ukraine correctly predicted that the Yanukovych team would revive Kuchma-era–style personal relations with Russian leaders and backroom deals.[12] The business climate under Yanukovych rapidly deteriorated in response to growing pressure on business and endemic corporate raiding in an unpredictable regulatory

environment where there were unclear rules. During Yanukovych's presidency, Poroshenko said that he was more afraid of corporate raiding on his businesses than from Russia's trade blockade. Taruta, one of three owners of the ISD, explained to U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, Taylor, that Azarov is from the Soviet-era management and "Red Directors," correctly predicting that the Azarov generation did not understand how to formulate new, post-Soviet economic policies.[13] Taruta told Western experts in private meetings that Azarov, Yanukovych, and their allies simply wanted to concentrate resources and divide them up among themselves and that they had no limitations on their rapacious greed.

President Kuchma in 1994 and Azarov in 2010 pushed through reforms at the insistence of IMF but following a short period of successful stabilization there was a lack of political will to complete the program by implementing structural reforms. The IMF complained that reforms had ground to a halt by early 2011 and IMF assistance to the program was frozen. In 2010, as on other occasions in Ukraine's recent history (1994, 2005) the conditions for undertaking reforms were very good but these conditions were only partially used in a spurt of postelection reform that never went as far as systematic changes (again, as on previous occasions). The power accumulated by President Yanukovych from autumn 2010 was not used for reforms but to maximize his power and rents. Particularly important to the IMF $16.5 billion program agreed in July 2010 were increasing household utility prices to reduce state subsidies because Ukrainians were paying only 20 percent of the cost of imported gas. State assistance to *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* is two times more than the company's transfers to the budget. In August 2010, household utility prices increased by 50 percent but the Azarov government baulked ahead of the 2012 parliamentary elections at introducing further price increases (the Tymoshenko government had also not implemented this IMF condition in its November 2008 Standby Arrangement [SBA]).

Pension expenditures doubled from 9 to 18 percent of GDP by 2009 with pension fund revenues covering only two-thirds of expenditures. This represented one of the highest ratios in the world with most Western European countries having public pension ratios equivalent to between 6 and 10 percent of GDP. Ukraine "had one of the most generous systems on the planet," more generous than Russia, Romania, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic.[14] In summer 2011, the Azarov government approved another unpopular IMF demand to increase the pension age for women from 55 to 60 by half a year per annum over 10 years, and the duration of pension contributions required for entitlement increased by 10 years. The pension age for male officials was increased from 60 to 62 and the qualification period for pensions was raised from 25 to 30 years for women and from 25 to 35 for men.

Four reforms that were undertaken by the first Azarov government included the following:[15]

1. A new tax code reduced the number of taxes from 29 to 18 and local taxes from 14 to 5. Corporate income tax was reduced to 21 percent that declined to 16 percent by 2014. At the same time, the new tax code pushed large numbers of small and medium-sized businesses into the shadow economy or closure.
2. A public procurement law was adopted which was praised by international organizations. After its adoption, over 20 amendments to the law removed the requirement for the government to hold tenders when awarding contracts, thereby increasing corruption.
3. Administrative reforms reduced the number of ministries from 20 to 16 and deputy prime ministers from 6 to 3, changes that were mainly cosmetic.
4. Restructuring of the gas market was launched. In July 2010, legislation was adopted to reform the national gas market which provided for the separation of extraction, transportation, and sales from *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* into separate companies. In April 2012 amendments to the February 2007 law on pipelines removed the ban on restructuring *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* into independent companies and in June 2012 two subsidiaries were separated from *Naftohaz Ukrayiny*—*UkrTransHaz* (transportation) and *UkrGazVydobuvannya* (extraction). In autumn 2012, *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* lost its monopoly on the importing of gas to Ukraine, which it had held since 2008 in a move intended to please gas mogul Firtash who had replaced RUE with *OstChem*. In April 2013, the government introduced legislation toward the goal of privatizing the gas pipelines and establishing a Russian–Ukrainian gas consortium.[16] This would have gone ahead if there had been no Euromaidan and Yanukovych had succeeded in obtaining a second term in office. Yanukovych's team had always supported a gas consortium in conversations with U.S. diplomats during the 2010 election campaign. In February 2010, before Yanukovych was elected, his energy expert Yuriy Boyko told U.S. Ambassador Taylor that establishing a gas consortium was their team's third priority in energy policy. Yuriy Boyko also said they intended to strengthen Ukraine's energy independence, obviously failing to understand these were mutually exclusive objectives. Yuriy Boyko said that although a gas consortium would be controversial, it must be created in a neotransparent and legal manner.[17]

The Azarov government came in for heavy criticism over its introduction of price controls and grain quotas that benefited new, nontransparent entities, such as *Khlib Invest* headed by individuals who had close links to what was described as "The Family" (i.e., people loyal to Yanukovych). Morgan Williams, president of the U.S.–Ukraine Business Council, described Ukraine's handling of grain exports as the "great grain robbery." Williams said, "Ukraine has been disrupting, crippling and severely damaging the export grain markets now for 10 months. The market disruption is the worst in the 20 years of Ukraine's independence. This has caused severe and huge losses for Ukraine. The government will not support or allow a free and open normal private grain marketing system

that would maximize the income for agribusiness in Ukraine. Introducing duties is another way to disrupt and damage markets and potential investments but it is less damaging than the corrupt quota system Ukraine has had in place the last few months."[18]

The Azarov government overfulfilled its 2011 privatization plan, receiving 110 percent of expected revenues of which 92 percent were from the sale of *UkrTelekom*, but in 2012 only undertook two-thirds of its privatization plans with Akhmetov and Firtash, the main investors. The government planned to privatize all assets by 2014 just ahead of the presidential elections. The proposed privatization of the *UkrTelekom* telecommunications company, Ukraine's monopolist government-owned telephone company that is also active in the Internet and mobile phone sectors, was originally slated to be undertaken by the 2006–2007 Yanukovych government, but did not in fact happen until 2011. The opaque buyer, Ukrainians learnt three years later, was Akhmetov, providing an additional example of how he personally benefited from Yanukovych's presidency.[19] After the State Property Fund claimed to not know who was behind its new owners (Austrian-based EPIC Telecom Invest), in January 2013, EPIC sold its shares to Cyprus-based UA Telecommunications Ltd. and in June of that year Systems Capital Management, Akhmetov's business empire, purchased 100 percent of its shares.

The Azarov government's commitment to reform was short-lived and confused during its first year in office. Aslund writes that, "it is difficult to invent a worse economy policy than the one that is being promoted by Azarov in Ukraine!"[20] Aslund believed the Yanukovych administration preferred it this way because assets became cheaper to acquire for "The Family." Aslund asked, "Why would any government pursue such a harmful and mindless economic policy?" and answers because "it benefits the ruling 'family' and its closest friends." He adds, "the worse the economic situation is, the cheaper Ukrainian companies become for these selected buyers."[21] In February 2014, Azarov fled from Ukraine leaving the country bankrupt and is on an Interpol wanted list.

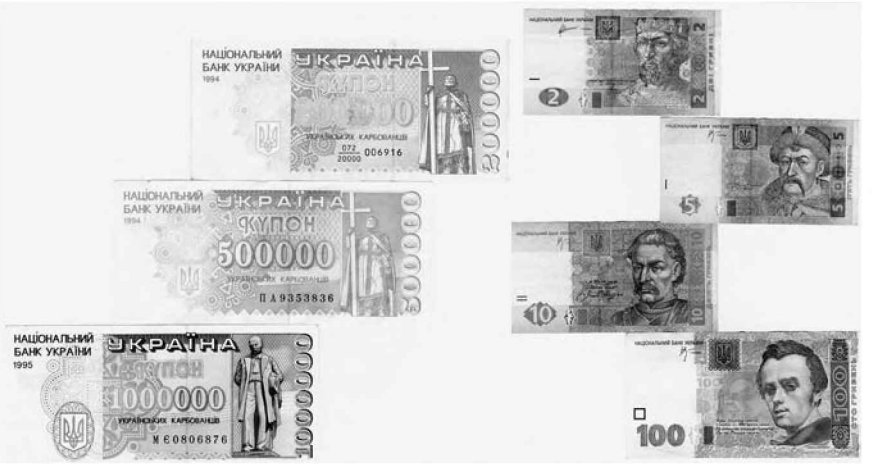
Reformist Governments: Yushchenko, Tymoshenko (1 and 2), Yekhanurov, and Yatsenyuk (1 and 2)

In May 1995, Chairperson of the National Bank Yushchenko indicated that a number of factors, among them the stabilization of the *kupon-karbovanets*, a sharp decline in inflation, control of the budgetary deficit, and currency emission, as well as large international credits, finally provided an opportunity to introduce the *hryvnya*. In 1996 the National Bank introduced the new currency at an exchange rate of 100,000 *karbovanets* to 1 *hryvnya*. The currency reform maintained a stable *hryvnya* until the 2008

global financial crisis when the currency collapsed in value by 60 percent from 5 to 8 *hryvnya* to $1 and again during and after the Euromaidan dropping to 15–30 when a free floating exchange rate was finally permitted.

When Yushchenko became prime minister, following Kuchma's reelection as president for a second term in November 1999, Ukraine was on the verge of bankruptcy, a pattern repeated in 2014 when Yatsenyuk took over from Azarov. Kuchma recalled that in 1999 "Ukraine needed money" and the best candidate to project a liberal image of Ukraine was Yushchenko—a strategy successfully used earlier with Lanovyy and Pynzenyk and later with Tihipko during the first Azarov government.[22] In a conversation illicitly taped by Melnychenko between Kuchma and Yushchenko on January 25, 1999, Kuchma says "Yushchenko is needed by Ukraine and the National Bank? Yes or no? Now, Yushchenko is needed by Ukraine so that we can win the elections!"[23]

Ukraine was on the verge of default and the Yushchenko government inherited $2 billion in wage arrears. Yushchenko's government, with Tymoshenko as deputy prime minister in charge of energy policy, presided over Ukraine's first reformist government. The government reduced



In 1996, 100,000 karbovantsi were exchanged for one hryvnya printed by Canada five years earlier. On the left are high-denomnation *karbovantsi* notes during Ukraine's 1993 hyperinflation. On the right the two-*hryvnya* note has a portrait of Kyiv Rus Grand Prince Yaroslav Mudryy (Wise), the five-*hryvnya* note is of seventeenth-century Zaporozhzhyan Cossack *Hetman* Bohdan Khmelnytskyy, the ten-*hryvnya* note includes a portrait of *Hetman* Ivan Mazepa who led an abortive struggle for Ukrainian independence allied to Sweden but was defeated by Russia at the 1709 Battle of Poltava, and the portrait on the one-hundred-hryvnya note is of mid-nineteenth-century poet and political activist Taras Shevchenko. (Taras Kuzio)

corruption and rent-seeking, liberalized supplies, curtailed 250 "hidden" state subsidies to favored businesspersons and, by reducing the excessive state regulation of the economy, created the circumstances under which macroeconomic stabilization could generate positive economic growth for the first time since Ukraine became an independent state.

Ukraine returned to economic growth in 2000 and GDP increased by 5.9 percent in that year and by 9.1 percent in 2001. Tymoshenko temporarily curtailed barter trade, usually contributing to corruption and which had become widespread in many areas of the Ukrainian economy in the 1990s, especially in the notoriously corrupt energy sector. It was estimated that, as a result of the government's anti-corruption measures some $4 billion, equivalent to 13 percent of GDP and which otherwise had illicitly benefited the oligarchs, was recovered by the state. The bulk of these recovered funds were diverted to settle wage and pension arrears and the reduction in taxation and state regulation helped encourage the development of private small and medium-sized enterprises. Former head of the State Committee for Regulatory Politics and Business Oleksandra Kuzhel explained why Yushchenko chose Tymoshenko for this government position: "She herself knew this sector from the inside and could fight against it. That is why Yushchenko took her into the cabinet."[24] Tymoshenko cleaned up the energy sector by, "enhancing transparency and eliminating barter and which led to greater payment discipline and higher tax revenues."[25]

Aslund credits the Yushchenko government with making Ukraine's market economy irreversible and Kuchma with establishing a reform team "that was to last." The team drew upon what Aslund describes as "nationalist liberal economists," such as Pynzenyk and Yushchenko who were the political forces that would go on to support the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan. The government brought together a team of reformers who, "were more experienced and knowledgeable than in 1994 and ready to play hardball."[26] The first four months of 2000 "saw the greatest reform drive that Ukraine had seen since the autumn of 1994. It was broader and more comprehensive, and it would put the market economy right." The Yushchenko-Tymoshenko government focused on central government; fiscal, energy and land reforms; privatization of large industrial plants; and Ukraine's first successful policies reducing corruption. Kuchma, not surprisingly, disagrees with all of the accolades for Ukraine returning to growth being given to the Yushchenko government. He writes in his memoirs that, "Yushchenko did not undertake even one step in the economy without consulting with myself." Kuchma wrote: "This was a big outcome of our reforms. Everything was moving to this upturn. And an upturn would have begun independently of whether Yushchenko became Prime Minister or did not."[27] Kuchma has a point when comparing Prime Minister Yushchenko and President

Yushchenko when he asked "Therefore, people have a normal question they could ask; namely, if he saved Ukraine when he was Prime Minister then why is 'he not doing anything' when he became President?"[28] This remains one of the unexplained enigmas of Ukrainian politics; Yushchenko (together with Pynzenyk) can take credit for currency reform in 1996 and (together with Tymoshenko) for restarting growth and reducing corruption in 2000 but his presidency proved to be a complete failure. Power corrupts and in Ukraine's case additionally make presidents more arrogant and less willing to listen.

Tymoshenko was appointed prime minister in February 2005, a month after Yushchenko's election as president. The ruling Orange coalition was as broad as the Anti-Crisis Coalition that succeeded it but far less disciplined and divided between groups who supported state intervention in the economy and committed free-market liberals; a division that inevitably led to clashes over economic policy. Supporters of greater state intervention in the economy were grouped around BYuT and the SPU who controlled agriculture, education, internal affairs, and the State Property Fund, and supporters of free-market economics largely grouped around Yushchenko's Our Ukraine.

In an attempt to counterbalance the economic policies favored by Tymoshenko, Yushchenko appointed his close ally, Poroshenko, to the position of Secretary of the RNBO who used his position to act as an alternative "government." Divisions in the ruling coalition had an impact upon three sets of policies. The first influenced the degree of government intervention in the market. In mid-2005 Ukraine suffered a fuel shortage, following the government's decision to limit increases in the retail prices of fuel so as to minimize the impact on consumers of a sharp increase in the price charged to Ukraine for petroleum by Russian suppliers. Yushchenko criticized the government's handling of the crisis. A second division within the Orange coalition was the extent to which the government should support re-privatization of formerly state-owned companies that had been transferred to private ownership in the 1990s at prices lower than their market value. Whereas Tymoshenko and the head of the State Property Fund, SPU member Valentyna Semenyuk, expressed support for investigating earlier privatizations, with a view to their future re-privatization, Yushchenko suggested that an absolute maximum of 30–40 privatizations should be subjected to scrutiny. A similar division is evident following the Euromaidan over whether to nationalize the assets privatized by Akhmetov and Firtash during Yanukovych's presidency.

Moreover, the SPU and BYuT sought the maintenance of state controls over "strategic" enterprises in the event that they were privatized while those close to Yushchenko supported either re-privatizing them on the basis of a new, transparent, tendering process, or asking their current

owners to pay the market price. The government did not, in fact, take any steps toward implementing a policy of mass re-privatization, and had, moreover, emphasized that current owners would be given the right to pay a legally determined price differential to retain ownership of companies deemed to have been sold at below their market value, with disputes to be resolved judicially. Nevertheless, Tymoshenko's failure to clarify the extent of her proposed re-privatization program left the government's policies open to misinterpretation and damaged her reformist credentials at home and in Europe and Washington. The State Property Fund and the courts should have largely dealt with this issue.

The third policy divide was over control of the National Bank and the associated ability of the government to increase pensions, salaries, and stipends. The effects of the significantly large populist increases in pensions, salaries, and stipends implemented toward the end of Yanukovych's first government had a marked impact upon the economic performance and policies of the subsequent Tymoshenko-led government. The Tymoshenko government could not reverse these fiscal policies without compromising its public support and was therefore obliged to abide by populist decisions made during the 2004 election campaign. Earlier populist pension increases were made worse by the Tymoshenko government's additional increases in pension payments and salaries for state officials and introduction of a lump-sum payment to encourage families to have children to alleviate Ukraine's demographic crisis. Additionally, with effect from September 2005, the monthly minimum wage was increased to the same level of pensions.

Economic growth declined to only 3 percent in 2005 compared with 12 percent the year before. There were important factors other than poor government policies that led to a downturn in GDP, most importantly reduced worldwide demand for steel and a drop in world steel prices. Metals, energy, and chemicals account for two-thirds of Ukrainian exports and these industries, being energy intensive, are sensitive to increases in energy and transportation costs. Energy, as a proportion of the cost of production, which accounted for an astounding 25 percent in the late 1990s, is four to eight times higher in Ukraine than in European and North American economies, making Ukraine one of the largest gas consumers in the world.

In 1991–2004, Ukraine attracted $8.35 billion of foreign investment, equivalent to 14 percent of GDP in 2004. Foreign investment only began to increase during the Yushchenko presidency, and at $7.3 billion, foreign direct investment in 2005 was the highest in any year since Ukraine achieved independence, totalling nearly the entire amount received since 1991. Of this amount, nearly $6 billion was accounted for by the re-privatization of *Kryvorizhstal* and purchase of Aval Bank, one of the largest banks in the country, by Raiffeisen International Bank AG of Austria.

The governments of Tymoshenko and Yekhanurov were the first to implement measures that realistically resulted in Ukraine being granted membership of the WTO in May 2008; in opposition in 2005–2006, the Party of Regions had voted with the left against WTO-required legislation. As such, the Tymoshenko and Yekhanurov governments can also take credit for the European Union (EU) and the United States granting Ukraine the status of a market economy, in December 2005 and February 2006, respectively. The United States had restored benefits for Ukraine under its Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) that had been suspended in August 2001, and also "graduated" Ukraine from the restrictions on trade associated with the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. The amendment had been introduced by the United States in 1975 to tie trade benefits with the right to emigrate from nonmarket economies, such as the USSR.

By spring 2007 all the required legislation for WTO membership had been adopted by the Ukrainian parliament. A significant legislative act dealt with the protection of intellectual property rights because Ukraine had long been a principal manufacturer of pirate music discs, video films, and computer software. The problem of intellectual piracy has not gone away and the International Intellectual Property Institute placed Ukraine on its Priority Watch List together with China, Russia, Chile, Argentina, Costa Rica, India, and Indonesia.[29] Government departments are the greatest user of unlicensed computer programs in Ukraine, as confirmed by Economics Minister Pavlo Sheremeta after he resigned in August 2014.[30] A total of 26 laws were eventually adopted in order to accede to WTO membership. President Yushchenko and two Tymoshenko and one Yekhanurov governments supported Ukraine's membership of the WTO because they were convinced it would result in an increase in GDP growth and exports, and the opening of new markets to Ukrainian goods, and, most importantly, would lead to the establishment of a DCFTA with the EU, a major component of Ukraine's Association Agreement with the EU.

Ukraine's economic policies would change because of the dismissal by President Yushchenko of the Tymoshenko government in September 2005. Yekhanurov became the government's new prime minister, a technocratic ally of Yushchenko and a member of the pragmatic (i.e., probusiness) wing of Our Ukraine that intensely disliked Tymoshenko and supported a grand coalition with the Party of Regions. Yushchenko, like Kuchma before him and Yanukovych since 2010, sought a prime minister who would not challenge him politically and who would focus exclusively on government issues. The BYuT parliamentary faction voted against Yekhanurov's nomination as prime minister in September 2005 and parliament's rejection of Yekhanurov's candidacy resulted in a rapprochement between Yushchenko and Yanukovych to receive parliamentary support from the Party of Regions. Yanukovych agreed to support a

second vote for Yekhanurov's nomination but demanded the signing of a 10-point memorandum that included amnesty for state officials involved in election fraud the year before.

One month after Yekhanurov became prime minister he ended all speculation on re-privatization by calling a meeting of Ukraine's oligarchs whom he positively described as "Ukraine's national bourgeoisie."[31] Nevertheless, only five months later the Party of Regions voted no confidence in the government together with BYuT in response to that month's gas contract with Russia. Tymoshenko claimed BYuT had voted no confidence because of the inclusion of RUE that, although undoubtedly true, ignored personal fratricide between Yushchenko and herself. The reasons for Yanukovych ordering the Party of Regions to vote no confidence had nothing to do with RUE, which it supported, but was an outgrowth of its unbridled opposition populism ahead of the March 2006 elections similar to its derailing of the IMF program four years later. Tymoshenko described the gas agreement as a "betrayal of national interests" while Razumkov Centre expert Valeriy Chalyy described it as "Ukraine's pearl harbour." Taruta told U.S. Ambassador Taylor that this was contrary to Ukraine's national interests and he went further saying it was also criminal.[32] There are many similarities between the 2006 and 2009 gas contracts, including the fact they both followed severe gas crises that affected Europe. But, there were also many differences such as Yushchenko's support for the 2006 contract and his opposition to that signed in 2009 although the former included the opaque RUE gas intermediary while the latter removed it.

The second Tymoshenko government sought to focus on transparency, privatization, and attracting foreign direct investment. In January 2008, Prime Minister Tymoshenko held a two-hour meeting with 250 foreign investors, which featured presentations by government ministers followed by comments from the European Business Association and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). The meeting grew out of BYuT's September 2007 "Contract with Investors" that had outlined a platform to encourage domestic and foreign direct investment into Ukraine. In Kyiv and Brussels, Tymoshenko outlined her Tymoshenko Transparency Initiative and other steps to improve the country's policies against corruption. The "Contract with Investors" outlined 5 key areas for a future Tymoshenko government that included: (1) policy reforms to improve the legal framework for foreign investors, (2) implementation of fiscal and administrative policies that supported foreign and domestic investment, (3) creation of a comprehensive energy program, (4) additional transparent privatizations, and (5) advancing trade opportunities through the signing of a DCFTA with the EU.

The Tymoshenko government supported the repayment of a limited amount of compensation for Soviet-era bank savings confiscated by Russia and the first tranche was paid in January 2008. Yushchenko

severely criticized the payments, fearing they would increase Tymoshenko's popularity in the 2010 elections but his criticism ignored the fact he had included the same pledge to repay the lost savings in one of his draft decrees issued alongside his 2004 election program. Although the Party of Regions had also condemned the policy as "populist," the Azarov government promised to repay these same lost bank savings just ahead of the 2012 elections. The pledge, whether "populist" or not, had therefore been made by *both* Orange political forces *and* the Party of Regions.

Infighting in the Orange camp prevented the implementation of the second Tymoshenko government's ambitious program of privatization. The government planned to privatize 400 assets in 2008, with projected receipts of 8.6 billion *hryvnya* transferred to the budget, a portion of which would go to cover BYuT's pledge to repay Soviet-era bank savings. President Yushchenko blocked the privatization program using national security arguments, such as those outlined in a March 2008 decree that defined the energy, military-industrial complex, transportation, and residential services as "strategic" sectors unavailable for privatization. A July 2008 decree halted privatization of the Odesa Port Plant, which he had earlier given the go-ahead to the Yanukovych government to undertake through a tender slated for August 2007.

There were three factors behind President Yushchenko's blocking of the Tymoshenko government's privatization program. First, President Yushchenko protected senior officials in the State Property Fund. Second, the Tymoshenko government's demand for a change in leadership of the State Property Fund threatened corrupt privatization officials. At the same time, Tymoshenko failed to propose a credible alternative candidate for head of the State Property Fund and her candidate, Portnov, was a former ally of Medvedchuk.[33] Firtash alleged that the scheme for the nationalization of 11 billion cubic metres (bcm) of RUE gas, following the 2009 gas contract, was organized by Medvedchuk and BYuT deputy faction leader Portnov,[34] one of Tymoshenko's main legal advisers.[35] Third, blocking privatization was part of an overall strategy of undermining the Tymoshenko government and thereby providing a pretext for changing the Orange coalition to that of a grand coalition.

Four factors undermined the second Tymoshenko government. These included (1) disorganization and weak political will, (2) fratricide, (3) populism, and (4) global financial crisis.

First, disorganization of policymaking became legendary under Yushchenko; in fact, this was nothing new and predated his incapacitation from poisoning during the 2004 elections. Kuzhel described how she once waited for nine hours for Prime Minister Yushchenko. On another occasion, Prime Minister Yushchenko gave the go-ahead for Kuzhel to call an enlarged government meeting, also attended by the U.S. ambassador and IMF representatives, to discuss regulatory policies

for small and medium businesses. Yushchenko arrived late; he was typically unprepared, spoke for three minutes on the topic at hand and one-and-half hours about an unrelated topic that was not scheduled, and then left without making any decision. Yushchenko was a windbag par excellence, once hogging 50 out of 60 minutes during a one-hour meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Rice. In addition to Yushchenko's disorganization and laziness there was his inability to create a *komanda* (team). Disorganization and absence of a team in place meant that the government and regional governors never implemented the majority of his presidential decrees.[36]

Former Reforms and Order party leader Serhiy Sobolyev recalled that when he had been Yushchenko's representative in parliament in 2005, he never once received any instructions, proposals, or strategic goals from the president. He found it impossible to reach Yushchenko by telephone or to arrange a meeting with him and he resigned following the removal of the Tymoshenko government.[37] Interior Minister Lutsenko complained about a similar lack of presidential support and political will in his fight against corruption.

Second, Orange political forces publicly fought one another and Yushchenko spent the majority of his presidency attacking Tymoshenko. Danish ambassador to Ukraine Michael Borg-Hansen said, "people feel her magnetism when the door opens and she comes in. I think Mr. Yanukovych, like his predecessor, fears such a strong woman."[38] Yushchenko also feared her and was psychologically unable to work with strong personalities, especially strong-willed women such as Tymoshenko.[39] Lutsenko recalled that "a veto was placed on every decision made by our government."[40] Kudelia pointed out that "Yushchenko used his power to suspend government resolutions in order to subordinate the Cabinet of Ministers and regain some influence over policy-making. During his one term in office Yushchenko tried to stop over hundred government resolutions or five times more than Kuchma vetoed during his two terms in office." Kudelia added, "Yushchenko resorted to the one that had the most destructive effects on government's work."[41]

Yushchenko's undermining of the Tymoshenko government was irrational because he had demanded that NUNS receive half of the ministerial portfolios in both Tymoshenko governments and then sought to undermine his *own* governments. Yushchenko "seemed obsessed with Tymoshenko, speaking and acting as if his only endeavour was to destroy her." Aslund writes, "Yushchenko's behavior in 2008 was perplexing. Although he formed a coalition with Tymoshenko, he never gave her government a chance to work."[42] NUNS deputy Volodymyr Ariyev said that Yushchenko had no plans or strategy for the country beyond seeking to destroy Tymoshenko and correctly predicted he would destroy Ukraine in his campaign to destroy Tymoshenko.[43] Even after the Euromaidan,

Yushchenko continued to be obsessed with Tymoshenko, attacking her rather than Yanukovych when she was no longer in government and did not pose a threat to him. Orange fratricide opened the door to Yanukovych's coming to power in 2010 and Ukraine's entering its sixth historic cycle, the Euromaidan and violent counterrevolution.

The Tymoshenko government received weak support from the BYuT-NUNS (2007–2008) and BYuT–NUNS–Lytvyn bloc (2008–2010) parliamentary coalitions. The first coalition had barely enough deputies (228), and an important number of NUNS deputies, including RNBO secretary Ivan Plyushch, refused to support the government. On paper, the latter coalition included a larger number of 248 deputies; nevertheless, by early 2009 a growing number of NUNS deputies, such as those loyal to Baloha and Yatsenyuk, had become opposed to the Tymoshenko government.

The third factor, populism, included the Party of Regions's incessant blocking of the parliamentary podium to prevent the adoption of legislation and government policies. The second Tymoshenko government implemented some IMF reforms after which, "the program went off track as ownership vanished and fiscal policy diverted from the program," completing only two of the envisaged eight IMF reviews.[44] In autumn 2009, the Party of Regions derailed the IMF SBA by voting to increase social expenditures in a populist measure timed to win votes in the following year's elections. Yushchenko refused to block the legislation, showing populist collusion between the president and the opposition. Populism was also present within the government, leading to Pynzenyk tendering his resignation as finance minister in February 2009 and afterward describing Tymoshenko's policies as adventurous populism.[45] Pynzenyk, no longer leader of the Reforms and Order party, was elected by UDAR in the 2012 elections.

In 2007–2010, developments in Ukraine showed populism was widespread across the entire political spectrum; nonetheless, some Western criticism directed solely at Tymoshenko's populism was duplicitous. At a time when the West was increasing the role of the state to fight the global financial crisis, the United States lamented that Tymoshenko had not adopted a liberal economic platform (rather than a strong role for the state) as part of her election campaign for Ukraine's presidency. Tymoshenko's continued support for subsidies to coal mining, although misguided, was nothing different to that proposed by other political forces. U.S. criticism of Tymoshenko's threat to renationalize assets privatized under previous governments is misplaced as without such a course of action there could be no redress for massive economic crimes and high level abuse of office.[46] At the same time, the United States was upbeat about Yanukovych's economic program, influenced in part by years of lobbying by U.S. political consultants. This misplaced hope in the "reformist" potential of Yanukovych was evident in Yanukovych's speech at the 2009 Party of Regions congress that nominated him as presidential

candidate where although his speech was full of populist promises it was praised by the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine.[47] Yanukovych and the Party of Regions were very much as populist as that of Tymoshenko and this was confirmed by the Azarov government's lavish social spending ahead of the 2012 elections.

The fourth factor was the onset of the global financial crisis in autumn 2008, the worst economic crisis since the 1930s' Great Depression and leading to Ukraine's GDP plummeting by 15 percent the following year. The global financial crisis made the Tymoshenko government even less likely to find the political will to undertake tough structural reforms demanded by the IMF ahead of a presidential election that Tymoshenko viewed as her opportunity to become president. No Ukrainian government has ever had the political will to undertake tough reforms ahead of an election, as seen in the collapse of the IMF program in 2011.

The culmination of these four factors was a weak Tymoshenko government with an inability to implement policies, widespread disillusionment among Orange voters, and Ukraine fatigue in the West, paving the way for Yanukovych's election. Yushchenko and Tymoshenko could have synergized their strengths instead of their weaknesses.

When Yanukovych unexpectedly fled from Ukraine power fell into the lap of the Euromaidan leadership who took control of state institutions with Turchynov becoming parliamentary chairperson and Yatsenyuk prime minister, both from *Batkivshchina*. UDAR and *Svoboda* received government posts while the Party of Regions and KPU attempted to act as a demoralized opposition. In accepting the position Yatsenyuk ruled out being a candidate in that year's preterm presidential elections as he was in his words a "kamikaze" prime minister. With Ukraine returning to a parliamentary system, responsibility for economic policy moved from president to the government; Poroshenko was anyway preoccupied as commander-in-chief. An immediate priority was to sign a new IMF assistance package that was in place by May 2014 without which Ukraine would have defaulted. The Euromaidan inherited an economically and financially bankrupt country that had been mismanaged and asset stripped; the prosecutor's office estimated Yanukovych and "The Family" had stolen $37 billion during its four years in power, equal to one-fifth of Ukraine's GDP in 2013, while another $70 billion was sent offshore. *Corruption* was the wrong word to describe this as the "Entire state was a criminal enterprise," and Prosecutor General Yarema said that the Yanukovych regime was "a criminal organization which had as its aim the usurping of power and wealth at the expense of our Ukrainian state."[48] The Euromaidan government was crippled with $75 billion in debts, $20 billion in gold reserves were unaccounted for and $70 billion (far more than IMF assistance granted to Ukraine) had been sent to offshore accounts.

The Yatsenyuk government has little choice but to undertake unpopular structural reforms that have been long overdue or necessary in the face of bankruptcy brought on by Yanukovych's kleptocracy. Nevertheless, over-optimism would be unwarranted as Yatsenyuk and the government are plagued by similar problems faced by previous governments such as provincialism, nepotism, arrogance, and unwillingness to seriously take on vested interests and fight corruption. The government failed to use 2014 to introduce radical reforms, and its budget and program for 2015 was heavily criticized. The program typically included a lot of rhetoric without clear plans for implementation and was heavily bureaucratic with Lutsenko, leader of the Poroshenko faction, describing it as an "imitation of reform." Aslund criticized the parliamentary coalition agreement for lacking "strategy" and "primary goals," saying it "reminded me of reading Leonid Brezhnev's speech at the 26th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1981. This is not a reform program but an old style bureaucratic Soviet document for the preservation of the old system. Such a conservative document will never bring reform." The program does not begin with a set of goals "but with a bureaucratic laundry list."[49]

The IMF program and the EU Association Agreement and DCFTA prescribe detailed reforms that will bring significant medium- and long-term benefits through greater trade access, higher foreign investment, protection of property rights, good governance, and improved business and regulatory environment. A key priority was to increase economic growth as the economy has been stymied.

Nevertheless, short-term costs would be high as Russia retaliated with trade blockades that would hurt Eastern Ukraine especially, and Ukraine would have to finance many of the DCFTA reforms itself. The reforms may be easier to implement because the economic and security crises made it easier for the government to ask for belt tightening and obtain public quiescence for spending cuts and higher taxes. Two difficult areas will be, as they have been in the past, fashioning a new relationship with oligarchs and Ukraine's energy relationship with Russia. In the former, the process will be supported by Euromaidan demands for a separation of business and politics and by the eclipse of "The Family," Firtash (although the gas lobby remains alive and well), and Akhmetov. Other oligarchs such as Kolomoyskyy are undoubtedly eyeing up their assets. Russia is faced by the first Ukrainian government willing to stand up to it on energy, as opposed to connive in mutually beneficial corruption. Ukraine has sent a complaint to the Arbitration Court of the Stockholm Chamber of Commerce, requiring Russia to revise the 2009 gas contract. Other international criminal cases will apply to Russia's wholesale theft of Ukrainian state and private assets in the Crimea.

ENERGY, THE ECONOMY, AND NATIONAL INTERESTS

One-third of consumed gas in Ukraine is produced domestically with the remainder imported from Russia and Central Asia. Ukraine is one of the most energy wasteful countries in the world, consuming more natural gas—74 bcm in 2003—than Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia combined. Despite the huge amount of energy Ukraine consumes—1.5 percent of the world's total energy consumption according to the U.S. Energy Information Administration—Ukraine's GDP of $300 billion in 2004 was far below that of Poland's whose GDP was $463 billion.[50] Until 2010, Ukraine spent $900 million on gas imports each winter, three times the amount spent by Poland.

Ukraine's consumption of gas did not significantly decrease during the economic depression of the 1990s when Ukraine suffered one of the highest declines of GDP in the former USSR. A large proportion of the imported gas was re-exported at marked-up prices, earning huge rents for corrupt Ukrainian and Russian officials. Only the United States and Russia annually "consumed" more than Ukraine's 75–78 bcm of gas during the first two decades of Ukrainian independence, both of whom have far larger populations and economies. Following the 2004 Orange Revolution and Yushchenko's election, Russia massively increased the price of gas, leading to a halving of Ukraine's gas consumption to 35–40 bcm. In other words, Ukraine consumed double the amount of gas in the 1990s when its economy was in recession.

Tymoshenko established YESU in 1995 after the president appointed Lazarenko first deputy prime minister with responsibility for energy and in 1996 its annual turnover was $10 billion of which $4 billion were "profits." At its height YESU controlled half of the domestic wholesale gas market and therefore a fifth of the Ukrainian economy and included, in addition to energy, banks, metallurgical plants, and machine-building plants. YESU transferred payment for energy to British-registered United Energy Systems which in turn sent funds to Cyprus-registered Somolli Enterprises. One of the three partners in YESU and Somolli was Oleksandr Hravets who in the late 1990s fled to Israel and Canada while another partner Petro Kyrychenko fled to the United States. Lazarenko was a partner in *Itera*, YESU, and Somolli. In the late 1990s, the Ukrainian authorities destroyed YESU after Lazarenko fled Ukraine but other gas moguls continued to operate opaque gas intermediaries.[51]

All companies involved in the gas trade in the 1990s (*Respublika*, *Interhaz*, *Itera*, and YESU) passed their debts to the Ukrainian state; a form of corruption that former SBU chairperson Nalyvaychenko defined as "money laundering." But, of these three gas intermediaries only YESU has ever been targeted with criminal charges.

Conditions that underpinned the Russian-Ukrainian gas relationship disappeared in 2008 when *Gazprom* began paying market-related prices for Turkmen gas and therefore reduced the amount of gas it purchased. Organized crime boss Semyon Mogilevich was no longer useful to the Russian-Ukrainian gas relationship and the Russian authorities detained him in January 2008 for "tax evasion." In July 2009, that is, after the January gas contract was signed, the Russian authorities released him because the charges against him were not "grave." During Mogilevich's temporary detention Firtash decided to come clean with the U.S. ambassador about his relationship to the mobster.[52] The move to market prices for Central Asian gas and arrest of Mogilevich opened the door to Russia agreeing to, firstly, removing RUE in the 2009 Ukrainian-Russian gas contract and, secondly, demanding Ukraine begin paying market prices for gas between Russia and Ukraine.

In December 2008–January 2009, Russia and Ukraine experienced a second gas crisis, following that in the winter of 2006. Prime Minister Putin alleged, "the Ukrainian leadership is fighting not for the price of gas but the possibility to maintain these or other intermediaries in order to utilise dividends they receive for private purposes, personal enrichment as well as to obtain the necessary financial resources for future political (election) campaigns."[53] Putin was referring to Yushchenko working on behalf of the gas lobby and RUE seeking to derail the price agreed in December 2008.

From May 1997, when an agreement on the Black Sea Fleet was signed with Russia, until 2009 Ukraine was "paid" a paltry $100 million annual rent for the Sevastopol Black Sea Fleet naval base that was a hostage to Ukraine's energy dependency and corruption. None of this money was ever seen by Ukraine because it was allegedly used to cover debts for gas incurred during the 1990s. The contract negotiated in 2003–2004 provided for the supply of gas to Ukraine at the highly subsidized price of $50 per thousand cubic metres that was to remain valid until 2009—if Yushchenko was not elected president. In July 2004, when an appendix to the 2003 contract was drawn up by Ukraine and Russia, it was intended that this measure would serve to reinforce Russia's support for Yanukovych in that year's presidential election. Following Yanukovych's defeat by Yushchenko, Russia announced that the previously agreed terms were no longer acceptable and Tymoshenko adamantly opposed the renunciation of the contract by Russia.

In spring 2007, Tymoshenko published "Containing Russia" in the prestigious *Foreign Affairs* magazine, which was ghostwritten by Tymoshenko's adviser Kenneth Murphy, and TD International managing partner Ron Slimp, Tymoshenko's U.S.-based representative, who edited the text and prepared it for publication.[54] In *Foreign Affairs* magazine Tymoshenko called for Western support to contain Russian expansionism into Ukraine, including the energy sector. Tymoshenko left Washington with the George W. Bush administration's backing to stand up to Russia and with U.S. support for Ukraine's energy security. In February 2007, the same month

she visited the United States, Tymoshenko had orchestrated a successful vote by 420 deputies for a law that banned the sale, lease, or rent of Ukraine's gas pipelines. Tymoshenko's alleged selling out of Ukrainian national interests were not reflected in these steps or in Ukraine's gas pipeline deal with the EU in March 2009 that led to an avalanche of Russian outrage at not being included.

In December 2008, Yushchenko on behalf of the gas lobby undermined Russia's offer of $235 per thousand cubic metres. Firtash admitted to the U.S. ambassador that he had visited the president countless times in the last two months of that year and the final higher price reflected Russia's frustration at dealing with a public-quarrelling Ukrainian leadership.[55] Yushchenko and Tymoshenko are therefore *both* responsible for the higher price in the January 2009 gas contract. The 2009 gas crisis, which lasted longer and left Europe without gas for 17 days during a bitterly cold winter, claimed to reform Ukraine's energy relationship with Russia by moving to "market" prices and ending the use of gas intermediaries. But, the contract saddled Ukraine with higher than "market" gas prices when gas prices were falling and with low nonmarket transit fees. Kuzhel, a *Batkivshchina* deputy, believes the bad contract was signed in exchange for the closing of the criminal case against Tymoshenko in Russia and canceling of debts owed by YESU.[56] Russia has always sought to take control of Ukraine's gas pipeline system, as it had taken control of gas pipelines in Belarus and Armenia but this was made impossible because of the 2007 law.

As part of the January 2009 negotiations, the Tymoshenko government had confiscated 11 bcm of gas from Ukraine's gas storage facilities, which belonged to RUE. The confiscated gas was part of a complicated settlement to pay *Naftohaz Ukrayiny*'s debts to *Gazprom*. SBU Deputy Chairperson Khoroshkovskyy ordered SBU *Alpha* special forces to storm the Kyiv office of *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* in support of Firtash's claims to the disputed gas. Firtash sued *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* in the Arbitration Court of the Stockholm Chamber of Commerce, and in June 2010, it ruled that *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* should return the 11 bcm of gas to RUE, provide RUE with 1.1 bcm gas as compensation for lost profit (12.1 bcm of gas), and pay $192 million for contractual violations. In effect, RUE resold the gas back to *Gazprom* at a negotiated price, meaning Ukrainian taxpayers paid billions of dollars twice for the same gas plus a penalty. Senior Fellow in the National Security Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies energy expert Edward Chow believes this was a central element of the April 2010 "Kharkiv Accords" (Black Sea Fleet agreement) and typical of the opaque nature of Russian–Ukrainian gas relations.

In March 2010, Our Ukraine leader Nalyvaychenko, then an ally of Yushchenko, praised Khoroshkovskyy as the leading candidate for the position of SBU chairperson;[57] this was surprising because Khoroshkovskyy later played a central role in rolling back Ukrainian democracy. On March 20,

2012, a total of 266 parliamentary deputies voted to accept a report by the Temporary Investigative Commission into the 2009 gas contract, accusing Tymoshenko of "treason."[58] The report claimed that Russia had blackmailed Tymoshenko into accepting gas prices that were disadvantageous to Ukraine because YESU owed Russia $400 million. Bohoslovska revealed her alignment with the gas lobby when she defended Firtash after the United States publicly disclosed criminal charges it was pursuing against him.

The "Kharkiv Accords" failed to lead to concessions from Russia, such as a re-negotiation of the 2009 gas contract while the Azarov government "has not revoked this agreement, which was previously a standard procedure." Aslund believes, "This arouses the suspicion that important members of the Ukrainian regime obtain considerable benefits from this flawed agreement and may want to distort it even more. Usually, we learn how officials have made money on Russian gas sometime after the event."[59] Russia was able to adopt a tough position because Ukraine had poor relations with the West, which will "leave Kyiv more isolated and susceptible to pressure from Moscow."[60] In return for a re-negotiated gas contract and discounted gas prices, President Putin demanded a consortium over Ukraine's gas pipelines.

In 2012, Ukraine paid $426 per thousand cubic metres (up from $309 in 2011), one of the highest gas prices in Europe, and was taking out Russian and Chinese loans to pay for the gas. Ukraine's 2012 gas price was 40 percent more than what Italy paid and 20 percent more than that paid by Germany. In addition, Ukraine received two times lower fees for the transit of Russian gas than Slovakia and Hungary. Prime Minister Azarov complained that Russia was "strangling" Ukraine with high gas prices while at the same time refusing to unilaterally annul the contract—as Putin did in 2005. Belarus, a member of the CIS Customs Union, paid $165, only $65 less than the price Firtash paid for direct deliveries of gas he received from Russia through *OstChem* gas trader.

THE UKRAINIAN ECONOMY AFTER A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF TRANSITION

Why did Ukraine and other former Soviet republics (excluding the three Baltic states) end up taking different transition paths to Central and Eastern Europe? There are many factors why this happened, which are analyzed in this and other chapters but the purpose of this section is to provide an assessment of Ukraine's transition that leads into Chapter 9 on the rule of law and corruption.

In the 1990s Ukraine became an oligarchic economy with insider privatization, state intervention with the goal of maximizing corrupt rents, and receiving opaque state subsidies. "This model of self-reinforcing rent seeking

was close to equilibrium and thus stable" until the late 1990s, Aslund believes, blaming the above for leading to a "parasitical rent seeking economy," depressed production, and collapse in GDP.[61] Aslund argues that Ukraine's economic recovery in 2000 could have happened much earlier if Kuchma had supported structural reforms following the IMF-backed 1994–1995 stabilization, which would have required his appointment of reformist prime ministers rather than conservative apparatchiks Marchuk, Lazarenko, and Pustovoytenko. The majority of other former Soviet republics recovered from economic recession earlier than Ukraine; for example, Armenian and Azerbaijani economic growth recovered in 1994 and 1996, respectively, and Belarus and Moldova in 1996 and 1997, respectively. Ukraine's economy has yet to reach the level of GDP it produced in the late 1980s (see Table 8.3).

In his memoirs, which he wrote after leaving office, Kuchma claims that relations between business and politics had become "normal" by the last year of his presidency, capital that had fled abroad had begun to return and work for the Ukrainian economy, and big business had begun to pay taxes and became interested in building a transparent and stable economic and political system. This may have been the case with liberal oligarchs (see Chapter 10) such as Pinchuk and Tihipko, Taruta, and Hayduk but was not the case with Kolomoyskyy, Firtash, Akhmetov, and Medvedchuk. In the first two years of Yanukovych's administration, more funds were sent to offshore tax havens and EU countries than the Ukrainian budget. Ukraine's ruling elites often hold their birthday parties in Sardinia.[62] In not undertaking sufficient due diligence on these funds entering Cyprus, United Kingdom, Austria, France, and offshore tax havens such as the British Virgin Islands, the EU and its members have undermined their declared policies of supporting transparent business and political practices and fighting corruption in Ukraine.

Kuchma answers his critics that he built an "oligarch country" by arguing "another type of regime, other than *nomenklatura*-oligarch could not have come into existence" in the 1990s because "Ukraine is not the Baltics. It did not feel itself to be an occupied territory or a colony. There were still strong pro-Soviet feelings."[63] At the same time, Kuchma could have supported ex-*Komsomol* centrist business elites, from his home city of Dnipropetrovsk, rather than back the entry into national politics of the alternative Donetsk business-political-crime nexus. The former could have re-built the pan-national alliance of moderate centrists and national democrats that had existed in the 1990s and in the process encouraged a movement away from "partial reform equilibrium" and the crossroads.

In Ukraine, oligarchs control 38 percent of the country's GDP compared to 20 in Russia, 8 in the United States, and 4 in China.[64] The relationship between the top 10 percent wealthy Ukrainians and 10 percent poorest is in a ratio of 40:1 compared to between 5:1 and 7:1 in the EU where the proportion of labor costs in production costs is on average

Table 8.2

World Bank Ease of Doing Business, Starting a Business, Paying Taxes, and Enforcing Contracts in the Former Soviet Union (2013) and World Economic Forum Global Competitiveness Index (2013–2014)

Country	Ease of Doing Business	Starting a Business	Paying Taxes	Enforcing Contracts	Global Competitiveness
Georgia	8	3	3	9	72/143 countries
Estonia	22	61	32	26	32
Lithuania	17	5	9	14	48
Latvia	24	13	8	5	52
Armenia	37	1	16	21	79
Kazakhstan	50	9	1	7	50
Belarus	63	7	19	2	No data
Kyrgyzstan	68	6	18	17	121
Azerbaijan	70	4	12	8	39
Moldova	78	20	15	6	89
Russia	92	22	9	1	64
Ukraine	**112**	**12**	**24**	**14**	**84**
Tajikistan	143	21	26	12	No data
Uzbekistan	146	8	25	13	No data
Turkmenistan		No data			

Note:
First place is the highest ranking for the World Bank Doing Business and Performance Index. The first four columns (from left to right) are World Bank data while the fifth column is the World Economic Forum data.
Sources:
http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/IC.BUS.EASE.XQ.
http://www.doingbusiness.org/rankings.
http://www.doingbusiness.org/~/media/giawb/doing%20business/documents/profiles/country/UKR.pdf; http://www.weforum.org/reports/global-competitiveness-report-2013-2014.

30–45 percent compared to only 6 percent in Ukraine, permitting them to spend billions of dollars on luxury items and properties in Europe. Over 40 percent of Ukrainians spend nearly two-thirds of their family budget on foodstuffs, according to the UNDP. "Partial reform equilibrium" created an oligarchic aristocracy, underprivileged and exploited workers and peasants, instability, and low levels of trust in state institutions.

Ukraine missed many opportunities to move away from "partial reform equilibrium" and by the Euromaidan had fallen behind many former Soviet republics as seen in a comparison with authoritarian Belarus whose president has never sought European integration. In annual rankings compiled by international institutions and think tanks, Belarus had better positions than Ukraine in Ease of Doing Business, Index of Economic Freedom, Corruption Perceptions, and Peace and Prosperity, and both countries came equal in the Global Prosperity Index. Russia, also never a contender for European integration, had better rankings than Ukraine in Ease of Doing Business, Index of Economic Freedom, and Corruption Perceptions (see Table 8.2).[65]

In 2011, *Forbes* magazine list of the world's worst economies ranked Ukraine as fourth worst with Guinea ranked third and Jamaica fifth. The World Bank's ease of doing business index ranked Georgia 16th and 11th in 2009 and 2010, respectively, placing it alongside European and North American economies, while Ukraine was ranked during the same two-year period in 146th and 142nd place. The World Bank's 2011 index placed Georgia in 8th place for ease of launching a business (with Ukraine 145th) and 181st out of 183 countries in payment of taxes. The Yatsenyuk government did take a positive step in reducing 22 types of taxes to 9 as well as reducing pension fund contributions from 40 to 16 percent.

Confusing fiscal legislation, high tax rates, and preferential treatment for oligarchs with close links to the government who receive priority repayments of VAT refunds are three major problems that harm Ukraine's business climate. The 2011 Tax Code reduced corporate income tax rates from 25 to 16 percent and VAT from 20 to 17 percent but payroll tax remained very high at 50 percent and a reduction to the European average of 27–30 percent would increase Ukraine's tax revenues. At the same time the new tax code methods pushed over a million small and medium-sized businesses into the shadow economy or closed them. A small businessperson from Zaporizhzhya pessimistically said, "Over the last year or two we have really lost confidence in tomorrow. There is no confidence because small business is being robbed by the state."[66] The small and medium business sector in Ukraine is one of the smallest in Europe, producing only 16 percent of Ukraine's GDP, lower than anywhere in the EU where the average is 57 percent. Aslund wrote, "The tax code was all the more beneficial to large businessmen, because it facilitated transfer pricing, enabling them to transfer their profits to trade companies in

Table 8.3

GDP per Capita for Former Soviet Republics, 2009–2013 ($)

Country	2009–2013
EU members	
Estonia	16,316
Lithuania	14,097
Latvia	13,984
CIS members	
Russia	14,037
Kazakhstan	11,935
Azerbaijan	7,392
Belarus	6,685
Turkmenistan	6,511
Ukraine	**3,867**
Georgia	3,508
Armenia	3,338
Moldova	2,038
Uzbekistan	1,717
Kyrgyzstan	1,160
Tajikistan	872

Note:
In 1989, when the USSR went into recession, Ukraine's per capita GDP was equal to Poland's and the Russian SFSR's; today it is about a third of each of them. Ukraine produces less output per capita than in 1989. Earlier World Bank figures for Ukraine were 2,545 (1994–1998), 2,974 (1999–2003), and 3,576 (2004–2008).
Source:
World Bank, http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD.

Cyprus without paying any tax. As a consequence, the tax code also devastated the Ukrainian stock exchange, which had fallen starkly during Yanukovych's years in power and almost disappeared because of ever worse corporate governance."[67]

Ukraine's "partial reform equilibrium" has prevented structural reforms, leading to a market economy that is ranked the worst in Europe (see Table 8.4). Ukraine has sharply declined in the Heritage Foundation's Index of Economic Freedom since 2008 (133rd), 2009 (152nd), 2010 (162nd), and 2011 (164th) and in 2012 came 161st out of 177 countries, just ahead of Uzbekistan and in last place out of 43 countries in Europe.[68] The Heritage Foundation explained this poor state of affairs as follows:

Table 8.4

Heritage Foundation Index of Economic Freedom in Former Soviet Republics (2014)

Country	World Rank	Overall Score
Mostly free		
Estonia	11	75.9
Lithuania	21	73.0
Georgia	22	72.6
Moderately free		
Armenia	41	68.9
Latvia	42	68.7
Kazakhstan	67	63.7
Mostly unfree		
Azerbaijan	81	61.3
Kyrgyzstan	85	61.1
Moldova	110	57.3
Tajikistan	139	52
Russia	140	51.9
Repressed		
Belarus	150	50.1
Ukraine	**155**	**49.3**
Uzbekistan	163	46.5
Turkmenistan	171	42.2

Note:
First place is the highest ranking for the Heritage Foundation Index of Economic Freedom. Only two countries have lower levels of economic freedom in the former USSR than Ukraine and both are Central Asian authoritarian regimes. Russia and even Belarus, an authoritarian state with a Soviet economy, are ranked higher than Ukraine. The Heritage Foundation 2014 Index of Economic Freedom reported that, "Nonetheless, Ukraine's economy remains 'repressed.' Deeper institutional reforms are critical for the achievement of more broadly based development. The inefficient legal framework remains highly vulnerable to political interference, and corruption further undermines the fragile rule of law."
Source:
http://www.heritage.org/index/ranking.

"The foundations of economic freedom are fragile in Ukraine and unevenly established across the country. Poor protection of property rights and widespread corruption discourage entrepreneurial activity, severely undermining prospects for long-term economic expansion. The rule of law is weak, and the judicial system remains susceptible to substantial political interference."

The Heritage Foundation continued: "After several years of strong growth, Ukraine's economic vitality has deteriorated, partly because of the global economic slowdown and also because of the generally sluggish pace of efforts to improve regulatory efficiency and open markets to international investment."[69] Following a quarter of a century of transition, Ukraine had entered a "partial reform equilibrium" and "dysfunctional political equilibrium" where the "winners" received huge rents from the status quo and elites vetoed change and reforms toward a transparent market economy.[70] Ukraine has become a country with the "iron law of oligarchy" where rule by a narrow elite organized society for its own benefits at the expense of the majority of the population and political power is narrowly based and used to create wealth for the elite. The "iron law of oligarchy" re-occurs each time new elites come to power in a "long history of extreme extractive political-economic institutions and no checks on rulers."[71]

The Yushchenko presidency failed to transform the "partial reform equilibrium" and Ukraine remained stuck at the crossroads because the "winners," Ukraine's ruling elites and oligarchs, gained greater benefits from this state of affairs than creating a transparent rule of law-based market economy. Escaping from "partial reform equilibrium" and recovering the momentum of reform have therefore proven difficult,[72] a task for the Euromaidan president and government.

"Partial reform equilibrium" blocked modernization of the Ukrainian economy that could not expand to its full potential.[73] Institutions and working culture inherited from colonial pasts, whether in the case of Mexico or Ukraine, can continue to flourish in independent states, leading to economic stagnation and political instability. Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson describe the reason *Why Nations Fail* as the perpetuation of "extractive institutions." Former colonial elites in the post-Soviet world continued to pursue extractive political and economic policies that provide resources to expand security forces and rig elections.[74] Extractive polities and economies create huge inequalities in society and unchecked power with constant political instability because of infighting among those outside the system seeking to participate in the rents and those on the inside defending their empires. Acemoglu and Robinson argue that political institutions determine the type of economic institutions and their interaction creates either wealth *or* poverty. Extractive political and economic institutions, such as those that exist in Ukraine, will "impede and

even block economic growth."[75] Without the rule of law, countries will experience weak economic development and low levels of foreign investment, as was the case for Ukraine from 1991 to 2014.

In Ukraine's extractive system, politics and economics will continue to be very closely integrated creating an unstable political system where presidents and businesspersons felt threatened when they were out of power and out of favor with those who have come to power. Corruption remained high, and expansion of business empires would come about through corporate raiding rather than expansion of the size of Ukraine's economy. Such a system continued to possess numerous crosscutting conflicts and sources of insecurities creating tension because, "the state begins to act against the interests of its citizens and objectively promotes the peoples antagonism against the authorities."[76] This political-economic system will not be in a position to improve socio-economic conditions and legal and unofficial emigration will therefore continue to remain high and popular uprisings such as the Euromaidan could happen again.

High levels of corruption and absence of the rule of law, analyzed in Chapter 9, negatively affect every aspect of Ukraine's quadruple transition and European integration. Without the rule of law a country cannot have a market economy and consolidated democracy. The energy field has been the largest source of corrupt rents in Ukraine and is therefore covered in Chapter 9. Ukraine's opaque and unstable energy relationship with Russia has experienced periodic crises and will continue to remain unstable until the energy sector is transparent and no longer a major source of rents.

CHAPTER 9

The Rule of Law and Corruption

"In your Europe the judiciary protects both the government and the opposition. Here the judiciary only protects the people in power. If you lose the election you go to jail."
Are you afraid?
"No, because I know that if anyone tries to harm us no matter how long it takes they will be punished. This protects us all; it gives us a sense of security."

Head of Donetsk City Council Mykola Levchenko[1]

The poor state of the rule of law and high levels of corruption is a product of inherited Soviet political culture and corrupt and often-violent post-Soviet transition. Bohdan Vitvitsky defines the rule of law as, "A set of legal mechanisms (laws and rules) and institutions that collectively produce what most citizens most of the time consider to be results that are just, in the sense of fair, and reasonable."[2] Ukraine is among those countries with one of the lowest respect for the rule of law, ranked 87th out of 97 countries in the 2012 World Justice Project, because of political interference in criminal procedures, widespread impunity, and corrupt courts.[3] An excerpt from the Melnychenko recordings highlights how post-Soviet Ukrainian leaders disrespect and seek to control the judiciary. On March 30, 2000, Kuchma telephoned Yanukovych to apply pressure on a judge in a court case in which lawyer Serhiy Salov, Oleksandr Moroz's election agent in Donetsk during the 1999 presidential elections who was under arrest, was being tried for "spreading misinformation about the President."[4] Another recording quotes Yanukovych reporting to Kuchma that he had ensured that Moroz's official election support was halved from its real figure.[5] The conversation went as follows:

Kuchma: Your judges are riff-raff. I am now obliged to come and testify! That is why you should take this fucking judge, hang him by the balls, and let him hang for one night.

Yanukovych: I understand. We will look into it.

Kuchma: Judges all of them, are fuckers ...

Yanukovych: They are scum. The judge is not reliable. It is necessary to replace him.[6]

In July 2000, that is, four months following the above conversation, Judge Oleksandr Tupytskyy sentenced Salov to five years' imprisonment, including two years in a labor camp, and fined him 170,000 *hryvnya* (then about $50,000). A higher court squashed Salov's sentence after the European Court of Human Rights took up his case. The rule of law deteriorated even further under Yanukovych, as seen in the appointment of the obedient and loyal judge Tupytskyy to the Constitutional Court.[7] Judge Vyacheslav Ovcharenko worked alongside Yanukovych throughout his career and helped cover up his two criminal convictions by falsifying their repeal allegedly by a Donetsk Court in December 1978. After Yanukovych became prime minister a second time, Ovcharenko made an unusual and incredible career leap from head of the Yenakiyevo city court to the Constitutional Court and during his seven-year term wrote only two decisions but more importantly ensured the votes were there for the 2010 ruling to return Ukraine to the presidential constitution. In 2013 he received another extraordinary promotion to chairperson of the Constitutional Court so that a long-time Yanukovych loyalist would be in control of a key state institution for the 2015 elections. Plans were laid to build him a dacha (palace) in Koncha Zaspa but the Euromaidan abruptly ended construction and his career and that of his mentor.[8] Under Yanukovych, the Constitutional Court was to have been led by the person who falsified the annulling of his criminal records, an episode in his kleptocracy that could have been taken straight out of Orwell's novel *1984*.

In addition to weak rule of law there is near total absence of political will among Ukrainian politicians to seriously combat corruption, an underdeveloped civil society, ineffective state institutions, and weakly implemented and contradictory legislation. The majority of Ukrainian political forces do not understand the centrality of the rule of law to a consolidated democracy and market economy. Corruption is widespread across Ukraine's political spectrum. As what has been described as a "blackmail state," Ukrainian leaders have encouraged corruption in exchange for political loyalty and punishing Ukrainian elites who fall out of line. This chapter includes comparative studies of the rule of law with Peru and Georgia, demonstrating the centrality of political will in fighting corruption. The energy sector controlled by the gas lobby, which is covered in Chapter 10, has been the major source of corruption in Ukraine's political system, tying Ukraine closer to Russia and hampering European integration.

THE RULE OF LAW AND SOURCES OF CORRUPTION IN UKRAINE

Corruption has remained a difficult and enduring problem in Ukraine because of six factors: (1) political culture, (2) political will and civil society, (3) legislation and institutions, (4) political parties and organized crime, (5) blackmail state, and (6) offshore tax havens and the shadow economy.

Political Culture

One of the most important Soviet legacies lies within the realm of political and legal culture. Soviet modes of thinking in politics, economics, and justice; attitudes toward other men and women; and views of the outside world became deeply ingrained through decades of Communist Party indoctrination. Catherine Wanner writes "When that ideology has informed an entire social system for seventy-four years, a rejection, even if cogently articulated, cannot erase the fact that the ideology has already dramatically informed the thinking, values and character of those who were subject to it."[9]

Tibor Szamuely believes that written Soviet constitutions were worthless pieces of paper because Soviet life produced unwritten rules of behaviour that were far more important and continued to be influential in post-Soviet Ukraine. During the 1990s, Soviet law was in part replaced by unwritten "prison law" that migrated from the criminal world to the new business class during Ukraine's transition to a market economy. Policies are undertaken *po ponyattam* (our way of doing things *or* by understanding) in an unwritten manner, ignoring legislation and constitutions and deepening existing legal nihilism inherited from the Soviet Union. Soviet and post-Soviet unwritten rules include verbal instructions provided through *telefone pravo* (telephone law)[10] and the undertaking of political activities such as elections *po ponyatam.* The Orange Revolution unofficial anthem *Razom nas bahato* (Together we are many) by the hip hop-band Hryndzholly included the words "Falsifications no, machinations no, *ponyatam* no, no lies!"[11] Telephone law is used to ensure there is no documentation and thus no accountability in the handing down of verdicts in court from above and illegal verbal instructions given to policemen (such as from Interior Minister Kravchenko to General Pukach to "deal" with Gongadze).[12] In December 2011, Yanukovych revealed at a press conference that he had convened a special meeting of all those involved in the Tymoshenko case and warned them to be "very careful," a statement that was tantamount to admitting to his political direction of the trial.[13]

Following the convergence of the criminal world and the post-Soviet state during the 1990s, it became more difficult for post-Soviet leaders to distinguish between the *zona* (prison camp) and "normal life."[14] President Yanukovych, who served two prison terms, sometimes unwittingly lapsed into criminal language. These informal rules, Szamuely wrote, are the "real constitution" because they, "contain the actual rules of Soviet political life: the rules of party management of the country, of *nomenklatura* and *Glavlit*, of the organisation of elections and of the passport system, of 'doublethink' and thought-crime' ... Every intelligent Soviet citizen is familiar with these rules and acts in accordance with them."[15] In post-Soviet societies, "Informal internal rules and norms of behaviour are respected greater than state legislation."[16] The term *doublethink*, which is part of newspeak, was coined by George Orwell in his novel *1984* to describe the act of simultaneously accepting two mutually contradictory beliefs and worldviews as correct—to "tell deliberate lies while genuinely believing in them."

This is different from cognitive dissonance where contradictory beliefs lead to conflict in people's minds. Doublethink in the Soviet and post-Soviet contexts does not lead to contradictions and in the post-Soviet Ukrainian context has translated into virtual policies. In Soviet Lviv "People lived double lives—everybody knew about this but said this was not true."[17] Yanukovych welcomed the Euromaidan on November 29, authorized police violence against Euromaidan protestors during the early hours of November 30, 2013, after he had returned from Vilnius empty-handed, and condemned the very same violence that afternoon while at the same time the RNBO that he chairs was organizing vigilante provocateurs for the attack on the presidential administration the next day.[18] During the night he went hunting at *Mezhyhirya* "during the same time as the beatings on *Maydan Nezhezhnosti* when he also drunk the blood of animals seventy kilometres north of the capitol."[19] The official justification for the police action to clear the *Maydan* in order for council workers to put up that year's Christmas tree was preposterous and unbelievable, leading to the tree becoming a symbol of bloodshed and covered in anti-Yanukovych placards. The Russian leadership brought newspeak to an absurd level over Ukraine, denying that "green men" occupying the Crimea were Russian soldiers and ruling out they were involved in covertly aiding violent Donbas separatists—in the face of total disbelief by the outside world, especially after the downing of a civilian airliner by Russian missiles in July 2014. Virtual politics and deceit of such a nature has been near impossible for Western policymakers and experts to appreciate because it is so contrary to their own world. Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper called Putin a liar to his face at the Brisbane, Australia, G20 summit in November 2014.

During Russia's military intervention in Ukraine, Russian leaders took the concept of newspeak to a very high level, and lying and disinformation became normal discourse. In Minsk in August 2014 during negotiations brokered by the EU, Putin said "We talked about the need to end bloodshed as soon as possible, about the need to shift toward political resolution of all issues" and "Russia, for its part, will do everything to support this peace process if it starts." This was on the same day 30 Russian tanks and APCs (armoured personnel carriers) invaded southern Donetsk *oblast* and a day after 10 Russian paratroopers were taken prisoners whom Moscow belatedly admitted were its soldiers but claimed they had become lost and crossed the border by mistake. The Canadian delegation to NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) promptly prepared a geography lesson for Russian soldiers in the form of a map of the region with "Russia" (denoting the Russian Federation) and "Not Russia" (denoting Ukraine).

Soviet and post-Soviet virtuality—the gap between saying one thing in public and doing another in private—emerged and developed in the Stalin era and was brilliantly portrayed by Ilya Ehrenburg in his 1954 novel *The Thaw*. Cynicism toward official documents, deceit, and disbelief in Communist Party declarations are legacies of Soviet political culture that continue to influence contemporary Ukraine. The Soviet legal system was "deliberately designed so that the authorities permanently have the upper hand, leaving Russian citizens confused, disempowered, and on the back foot."[20] The Soviet system liquidated the truth while mass repression forced Soviet people to "think and act" according to rules laid down by the state that inhibited independent action.[21] In Orwell's *1984* the Ministry of Truth is considered to be a ministry of lies, the Ministry of Peace is actually concerned with war, the Ministry of Love is concerned with torture, and Ministry of Plenty with starvation. Similarly, in Ukraine the Ministry of Justice is not concerned with serving justice, the Ministry of Economy is not concerned with promoting economic growth, while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not promote the country's national interests.

In independent Ukraine, commitments are not upheld by ruling elites; while at the same time elites profess adherence to the constitution, legislation, business contracts, and international obligations. In 2003, for example, President Kuchma issued a decree banning censorship and a year later another decree outlined very detailed steps to conduct free and fair elections; at the same time, he facilitated censorship through *temnyky* issued by his presidential administration and oversaw the most fraudulent election in Ukrainian history. Moral corruption, dishonesty, cheating, lying, swindling, and cynicism were all present in the USSR, particularly during the "era of stagnation," and these facets of Soviet Ukrainian life

have deepened and grown in the post-Soviet era. In May 2009 during the UEFA Cup final in Istanbul Kyiv city council deputy chairperson Oles Dovhiy sarcastically joked during dinner to the head of Donetsk city council Levchenko about Ukraine moving (as in Soviet times) "into the radiant future."[22]

Fournier found a disparity in the Ukrainian classroom between the teacher's construction of a patriotic and socially responsible future citizen and the real world outside the school where the differences between "good" and "bad" are confusing and gray. Cynicism in the classroom habitually surfaced when students smuggled the real world into the school environment. Fournier's students perceive the state (as do Ukrainians more broadly) as double-faced; while being paternalistic during election campaigns (when populism is widespread) the state is also at the same time a violent usurper of the rights and freedoms it has bestowed upon Ukrainians.[23] This contradiction and the state's cynicism toward its citizens came to a crunch in the 2004 elections, bringing millions of Ukrainians on to the streets in the Orange Revolution and played a central role in laying the seeds for the Euromaidan.

During the 1990s, Ukrainians came to describe developments in their country as a *bardak* (mess) and *durdom* and believed *zakon dzhunhliv* (law of the jungle) prevailed in their country (see Table 2.1).[24] Ukrainians came to believe the most influential group in society was organized criminals. A blurred boundary emerged between criminals and the state outside the school classroom and workplace. The rhetoric of Ukraine "returning to Europe" stood in stark contrast with everyday Charles Darwinian "values based on toughness and force as a source of power, profit at all costs."[25] The capitalism Ukrainians came to experience in the 1990s (unlike Eastern Europeans most Soviet people had never visited the West prior to 1991) reflected the cruel picture Soviet propaganda had described it of: brute force and selfishness, a crooked economic system lacking in morals.

As the mighty Soviet state rapidly disintegrated the chaos "produced not 'free' but 'feral' elites who have little connection to society whose citizens and voters they treat with contempt and to whom they do not feel responsibility.[26] With little devotion to the state or society a 'destructive cycle' was set in motion in the 1990s of 'Where's mine and what is in it for me.' "[27] They believe the world is a Machiavellian place where the ends justify the means, as witnessed in Ukraine during Yanukovych's presidency, who was described as "thuggish and vindictive."[28] Post-Soviet ruling elites profess to support the interests of the masses while holding a deep disdain for them. This was vividly seen when Yanukovych was unknowingly taped during one of his 2010 election rallies asking "*А че эти дебилы не расходятся* (Why are these morons still not dispersing)."[29] Some Ukrainian elites hold contempt for, and are cynical toward, their voters whom they treat as *bydlo* (scum).[30] Yanukovych described his

opponents in the 2004 elections as *kozly* (prison slang for bitches). Tihipko shrugged off the dramatic drop in his popularity since the 2010 elections. "You know, popularity ratings fall today and tomorrow they can be raised."[31] Betraying the hopes of 13 percent of the Ukrainian electorate came easy to him, showing how much the claim he had been a "new face" candidate in the 2010 elections had been a myth; Ukrainian voters took their revenge in 2014 when the renewed *Silna Ukrayina* failed to enter parliament.

The stereotypical "bandit" in real life and on Soviet and Ukrainian television was rough and aggressive, spoke little, and when he did speak it was in Russian mixed with prison slang; he was fearless, immune to feelings, and without remorse.[32] New Ukrainians, like their New Russian counterparts, often wear tight-fitting sports clothes and flashy jewellery. Very expensive watches have been especially popular—after the explosion that assassinated Brahin, all he could be identified by was his watch. Akhmetov wears a Patek Philippe Minute Repeater worth over $750,000 (6 million *hryvnya*) in a country where the average wage is $400 a month.[33] New Ukrainians are often surrounded by *krutyy* (devious and ruthless) tough-looking *patsany* (guys)[34] of the type who were sent as vigilantes in their tens of thousands to Kyiv by the 2004 Yanukovych election campaign and under Yanukovych conducted election fraud, violence against journalists, and corporate raids.

Ukraine inherited a path-dependent political culture from Russia and the USSR compounded by a highly corrupt and nontransparent transition to a market economy in the 1990s. Meanwhile, "informal practice facilitating corruption is deeply embedded in Ukrainian national culture and the communist past."[35] The transition institutionalized an oligarchy and clannish power and the division of Ukrainian society into the super wealthy and the poor. A middle class has emerged but it is far smaller than it could be because the country was stuck at the crossroads. The Razumkov Centre found there to be a "low level of political culture and morals of state and political elites."[36] Corruption is widely tolerated and accepted because a large proportion of elites and public do not believe it reflects an "abnormal" phenomenon.[37] Speaking of the Yanukovych team, Leshchenko wrote, "Democratic traditions are not very developed in the new Presidential team."[38] There are two important components to Ukraine's corrupt political culture. First, policies are undertaken not in accordance with legislation and the constitution but what can be undertaken in an absence of fear of criminal prosecution. Second, there are no limits to what can be stolen and power that can be grabbed. Obstacles to the political and economic monopolization of power are removed through co-option, bribery, blackmail, threats, and selective use of justice.

Ukraine's business, political, and state elites do not plan beyond the short term in what the then–opposition leader Yushchenko once famously

described as a *momentocracy.* When President Kuchma launched Ukraine's transition to a market economy, he complained that "everybody views themselves as transitional figures. They want to grab something and run off with it. I'm taking about people at the very top."[39] By the end of the second decade of Ukrainian independence, the short-term mentality of Ukraine's elites had deepened, showing how difficult it is to change this culture. In the short term, ruling elites expropriate as much as they can because they can do so with unrestrained impunity[40] while greed is insatiable, rapacious, and unlimited. Short-term horizons arise from political and economic instability because elites do not feel their property rights are secure and the population does not see them as actors who have accumulated their capital in a legitimate manner. Changing the culture of *momentocracy* is therefore essential to reducing corruption.[41]

Political Will and Civil Society

Political will is a necessary condition in the fight against corruption together with state capacity, a loyal apparatus, and a population that supports the struggle. After the Orange Revolution, Interior Minister Lutsenko complained that Yushchenko's anti-corruption program lacked concrete objectives and political will; in other words they were virtual policies. After the Euromaidan, Chornovol, after a brief of time as head of the government's anti-corruption bureau, said, "There is no political will in Ukraine for an uncompromising wide scale war on corruption."[42] The Razumkov Centre agreed, "Ukraine's political elite proved unprepared to accept a non-corrupt model of politics and governance, and therefore remain unprepared for large-scale and, most important of all, effective struggle against political corruption. As a result, accusations of political corruption became merely a tool in political struggles and the public rhetoric of politicians."[43] Lutsenko pointed to virtual policy and rhetoric, rather than action, as a key problem in Ukraine: "In the absence of political will we will continue to hold meetings, write plans, concepts and other activities which will not bring us anything."[44]

Not fulfilling the ideals and hopes of the Orange Revolution had a disastrous impact upon societal views of Ukrainian elites—as vividly observed in the Euromaidan. After leaving office Yushchenko had an incredibly high 83 percent negative level of distrust, which was higher than that experienced by Kuchma when he left office. Distrust in Orange politicians was coupled with widespread disillusionment and little expectation of change for the better. These three factors (distrust, disillusionment, and low expectations) combined to produce public passivity and cynicism until November 2013 when mass protests erupted against the government decision to not seek an association agreement with the EU. Rakhmanin recalled, "I do not regret for one second that I was on

the *Maydan* (Independence Square). I regret that Yushchenko was there."[45] Not surprisingly, Yushchenko never showed his face on the Euromaidan.

Political corruption has produced abysmally low levels of public trust in all Ukrainian politicians, including those described as "new faces." Opposition politicians Tymoshenko and Yatsenyuk received –56 and –62 percent ratings, respectively, *after* Yanukovych came to power and although Yatsenyuk had less historical baggage only 37 percent of Ukrainians held a positive view of him, or only 4 percent more than for Tymoshenko.[46] The Razumkov Centre explained the impact of political corruption: "Political corruption has poisoned all branches and institutes of state government and local self-government, and presents the main obstacle on Ukraine's development into a truly democratic state. Political corruption may be identified as the main reason for the political crises of 2006–2009, and in more general terms, after the 1994 presidential elections did not permit Ukraine to undertake a fundamental internal modernisation and reach EU standards in different sectors."[47]

Weak societal pressure, low expectations of politicians, and their lack of accountability permit Ukraine's elites to live above the law. When asked who is interested in fighting corruption 69 percent of Ukrainians answered "society," the only answer with a high "Yes."[48] Ukrainians gave high "No" answers when asked if state institutions were interested in combating corruption. Ukraine's media outlets routinely expose corruption while state institutions never take action and block further investigations and prosecutions. Yanukovych never set an example in providing political will to combat corruption when he lived in the *Mezhyhirya* palace on a government salary and allegedly received millions of dollars of royalties from books that have not been written and were printed by a publishing house that does not publish books. In some cases journalists exposing high levels of corruption have been murdered and their murderers have never been brought to justice (e.g., Gongadze [2000, Kyiv], Aleksandrov [2001, Slovyansk, Donetsk], and *Novyy Stil* magazine editor and investigative journalist Vasyl Klymentyev [2010, Kharkiv]). Nevertheless, fewer journalists, civil society activists, security force personnel, and prosecutors have stood up against crime and corruption than their compatriots in Italy during the 1970s and 1980s, many of whom were murdered. It is rare, if ever, for prosecutors to be targeted by criminals in Ukraine (unlike Italy) because they have to a greater extent become an integral part of the corrupt institutional nexus and because the Soviet system had earlier destroyed moral values of right and wrong.

Very low trust in state institutions and high negative levels of trust in Ukrainian politicians are a reflection of the lack of efficacy that Ukrainian citizens feel they hold over their political leaders who have always been unaccountable for their actions. Ukraine has the lowest levels of public

trust in state institutions in Europe.[49] A 2012 poll by the Democratic Initiatives think tank found 73 percent of Ukrainians believed they had no influence on state institutions, with only 15 percent disagreeing. In Eastern and Southern Ukraine, where multiple identities are more prevalent and civil society is weaker, the population has the lowest feelings of efficacy (11 and 14 percent, respectively).[50] Ukrainians believe politicians care about themselves but not their citizens or the country's national interests; not surprisingly, two-thirds of Ukrainians would, if they could find the means, emigrate from their country. The Ukrainian parliament includes many wealthy people who desire immunity from prosecution and possess diplomatic passports, who abuse their positions to lobby their business interests and skim government contracts.[51]

The population is expendable and treated as subjects, rather than citizens, increasing their atomization and low feelings of efficacy and self-esteem. Ukrainians neither trust nor expect to benefit from their political leaders. The state in Eurasia has always in Robert C. Tucker's words had a "totalitarising role"[52] and in return seeks to give as little possible back.

Hannah Arendt believes the *holodomor* was a defining historical event in creating atomized Ukrainians and an alienated Soviet Ukrainian society. Starvation, Snyder wrote, "led to amorality, to crime, to indifference, to madness, to paralysis, and finally to death."[53] "Total exploitation necessitated total control," Tucker writes; therefore, collectivization resembled the reimposition of serfdom with the state acting again "in the role of conqueror of rural Russia."[54] Many of the attributes of the Soviet state's relationship to the population have remained in place, such as an exploitative relationship of the state (which today includes oligarchs) to the population and punitive attitudes of the authorities to infraction of the rules of the game (e.g., Tymoshenko).[55] Post-Soviet Ukraine continues to experience soulless formalism among bureaucratic officials (Azarov), servility toward superiors (especially under Kuchma and Yanukovych), and arrogance to inferiors, which is commonplace.

Some freedoms have emerged that did not exist in the Soviet Union, such as freedom to travel abroad and to choose one's occupation and while an authoritarian state—unlike its totalitarian predecessor—it does not seek to indoctrinate its subjects.[56] The Ukrainian state and population remain estranged, and as Graziosi believes in the context of post-Soviet Ukraine and Russia, the elites do not encourage the emergence of a middle class and civil society because these would threaten their monopolistic access to resources and rents.[57] Article 2 of the 1977 Soviet constitution stated that "All power in the USSR belongs to the people" while Article 5 of the 1996 Ukrainian constitution states in similar terms that "The people shall be the bearer of sovereignty and the sole source of power in Ukraine."[58] In both cases these statements were—and continue to remain—a fiction.

Box 9.1 Why Peru Accomplished Justice and Imprisoned a President

Vladimoro Montesinos, chairperson of Peru's Servicio de Inteligencia Nacional (SIN), clandestinely videotaped bribes he gave to politicians, businesspersons, journalists, and judges. He himself was very corrupt with an unexplainable $600,000 annual salary and $48 million in Swiss bank accounts. A naval officer leaked one of these videotapes that was broadcast on Peru's Channel N television showing a $15,000 bribe given to a Peruvian member of congress.

Mass protests erupted in Peru similar to events in Ukraine following the release of a tape recording, implicating President Kuchma in the murder of journalist Gongadze. President Alberto Fujimori fled the country for Japan before finishing his term in office while Kuchma completed his presidential term and remained in Ukraine without criminal charges. A public trial of Fujimori in his absence charged him with 67 counts of embezzlement, human rights abuses, ordering violence to be undertaken against his opponents, illegal telephone tapping, diverting state funds, bribing officials for their loyalty, corrupting and controlling the judiciary and the media, organizing a death squad, and narcotics smuggling. Peruvian courts additionally charged 21 Peruvian members of congress, ministers, businesspersons, journalists, and military officers with corruption and abuse of office. The Melnychenko tapes point to many of the above crimes having been also committed by Kuchma and senior Ukrainian officials with one exception, the organization of death squads that operated in Peru during the war against the Shining Path and Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement Maoist guerrillas. These actions to clean up Peru's corrupt system by interim president Valentin Paniagua, who succeeded Fujimori, restored democracy to Peru. No such steps were ever taken in Ukraine.

Fujimori spent five years in exile in Japan, moving to Chile in November 2005 from where he planned to stage a political comeback but was instead repatriated to Peru where he stood trial and was sentenced. In September 2007, the Chilean Supreme Court upheld the decision to extradite Fujimori to Peru where his trial was broadcast live on television. In April 2009, Fujimori was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment in a landmark ruling, the first occasion when a democratically elected Latin American leader was tried and sentenced for abuse of office and for human rights abuses. General Pukach and three lower ranking police officers present when Gongadze was murdered were imprisoned but every senior official incriminated on the tapes for abuse of office and organizing the Gongadze murder has remained untouched. When the court charge was read out, Pukach shouted that Kuchma and Lytvyn should be with him in the dock.

Montesinos fled to Venezuela, which extradited him to Peru where he stood trial and was convicted. SBU Chairperson Leonid Derkach, who headed one of the two law enforcement bodies that had kept Gongadze under surveillance, was removed in February 2001 but has never been charged with any crimes. Marchuk implicated Leonid Derkach in arms

(*continued*)

smuggling in the second half of the 1990s, events that were portrayed in the 2005 Hollywood movie *Lord of War*, starring Nicholas Cage. Interior Minister Kravchenko, whose police officers abducted Gongadze, was also dismissed with Leonid Derkach but he too was never criminally charged. In March 2005, on the day he was set to give testimony to the prosecutor general's office, he suspiciously committed "suicide" with two gunshots to the head. The two shots to Kravchenko's head led to widespread speculation that his death was not in fact "suicide" and that he had been neutralized as a potential witness because he could have implicated higher-up officials; that is, the "organizers" of Gongadze's murder. Mykola Polishchuk, one of Ukraine's best experts on gunshot wounds, reached the conclusion that Kravchenko had not committed suicide. Two days prior to the "suicide" Prosecutor General Piskun had publicly revealed that Kravchenko was set to be interrogated, an invitation that should have remained confidential in order to protect a crucial witness. Piskun was never fired for the fiasco and Yushchenko kept him as prosecutor general for another eight months. The Party of Regions elected Piskun to parliament in 2006 and 2007.

Peruvian courts used the video tape recordings for criminal prosecutions whereas in Ukraine the tape recordings have always been contentious, pointing to deeper difficulties in Ukraine's justice system and rule of law. SBU Chairperson Nalyvaychenko argued the tapes were collected without legal authorization and therefore a Ukrainian court of law could not use them. "All recordings received by illegal means should be thrown out," he believed, because recordings required sanction by the prosecutor general's office. The Constitutional Court ruled in October 2011, a few months before a short-lived case against Kuchma was closed, that evidence received through illegal means could not be used in court.

American company Bek Tek, whose director Bruce E. Koenig had worked for the FBI for 25 years during which he had been one of their leading experts on tape recordings, undertook an expert evaluation and found the tapes he had access to be authentic.The Ukrainian authorities had been unwilling to use the tapes as evidence against Kuchma because they could also be used against other members of the Ukrainian elite; for example, the tapes include conversations by Donetsk Governor Yanukovych and head of the state tax administration Azarov, both living in Russian exile, and tycoons who support the president.

Sources:

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Box 9.2 How Georgia Rooted Out Corruption and Reformed the Judiciary

Georgia under President Shevardnadze (1993–2003) was defined as a failed state with high levels of corruption, organized crime had taken control of large sectors of the economy, and it was the only former Soviet state with a larger shadow economy than Ukraine. Since the 2003 Rose Revolution, Georgia has made strides in rooting out corruption, especially in the police and judicial system. Rose revolutionaries destroyed the nexus between organized crime and the state, a similar campaign to that undertaken by two Tymoshenko governments but with two caveats. First, Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili gave his full support, which Yushchenko never did to his police minister. Second, Georgia did not possess a political *krysha* (roof), such as the Party of Regions that tolerated links between politicians, businesspersons, and organized crime. The Georgian authorities, Gavin Slade writes "placed crime at the centre of the Rose Revolutionaries reform project" whereas the Yanukovych administration colluded with organized crime and at the same time concocted criminal charges to imprison Lutsenko and Tymoshenko.

Rooting out systematic corruption is unlikely to be undertaken by the older generation of Ukrainian politicians who were socialized in the Brezhnev "era of stagnation," and following the Rose Revolution, Georgia moved from being ruled by the older to the younger generation that had studied and trained abroad. Former Georgian president Shevardnadze's grandson was a member of this author's spring 2006 semester class at George Washington University on "Transition and Coloured Revolutions in Ukraine and other Post-Communist States." Georgia has one of the youngest political, bureaucratic, and economic elites in the world with the average age of Georgian bureaucrats 30 and ministers and parliamentary deputies 32 compared to an average age of 60 in the first Azarov government. President Yanukovych, Prime Minister Azarov, and Parliamentary Chairperson Rybak, born in 1946–1950 and aged 63–67 were incapable of modernizing and Europeanizing Ukraine. Hayduk told U.S. Ambassador Taylor that Azarov is a Soviet apparatchik who will never bring European government standards to Ukraine. Georgia has undergone a process of Westernization and Europeanization since the Rose Revolution, which never took place in Ukraine until the Euromaidan.

The Rose Revolution, unlike the Orange Revolution, launched a new contract between citizens and the state, and the Georgian campaign against corruption became "a guarantee of the new social contract between rulers and ruled," Alexander Kupatadze writes. The absence of similar progress in Ukraine has meant continued low public trust in state institutions, unpopular politicians, public unwillingness to pay taxes, and stable and large size of the shadow economy. Between 65 and 69 percent of Ukrainians do not trust the judiciary and political parties. The success of Georgia's anti-corruption crusaders led to the growth in support for the country's Euro-Atlantic integration. In 2014, Transparency International ranked Georgia in 49th place

(*continued*)

compared to Ukraine in 26th. Georgia was ranked better than old and new EU members Italy, Greece, Romania, and Bulgaria (all 43rd) and sits just below Poland (41) and Hungary (46).

In 2008, Georgia purged its Soviet-era Criminal Code with a new Criminal Proceedings Code that is fully adversarial, has clear standards of evidence, gives preference for noncustodial sentences in pretrial situations, and introduced trial by jury. Levan Ramishvili, director of the Georgian Liberty Institute, provided the rationale for jury trials: "It is harder to pressure 12 people than it is to pressure one judge." Ukraine has no framework for jury trials and operates under the Soviet system where the prosecutor is all-powerful and the judge is an arbiter. Ukraine's prosecutor general's office remains a neo-Soviet institution and less than 1 percent of criminal cases lead to a nonguilty verdict.

The goal of neo-Soviet justice systems such as that in place in Ukraine is to punish—not administer justice—as vividly witnessed in the Tymoshenko trial held in a small courtroom in a humid and hot summer with an inexperienced judge. Wilson explains: "Donetsk is a very specific, clannish political culture' that has 'clear and simple rules—you reward your friends and punish your enemies, and that has to be done in a public way, so that people know whose boss." Viktoriya Syumar explains the reasons for the demonstrative brutality: "It is the case, they [the authorities] are afraid. By carefully hiding their own fears, they are trying to impose fear on us. Who wants to be in opposition? Who wants to become a viable alternative? If you do, the same could happen to you . . . Hence the irrational and demonstrative cruelty. Human dignity does not enter into their calculations."

In Georgia, sweeping public sector reforms led to the transformation of the entire justice system. From 2003 to 2010, prosecutions took place of 1,064 police officers, 109 investigators, 20 prosecutors, and 30 judges. During the same period Georgia's prison population swelled from 6,274 to 23,789 as the administration's anti-corruption drive bore fruit. Many long-serving judges were retired in Georgia and a new generation of young judges were appointed who had received Western education. The salaries of public officials, including police officers, prosecutors, and judges, were increased, reducing incentives to take bribes. A zero-tolerance policy toward corruption was adopted and new standards introduced, including a written examination for judges.

The Rose revolutionaries were young, Western educated patriots with "impressive level of dedication, vision and optimism that his team brought," Kupatadze writes. They were committed to integrity and honesty and introduced new ideas, motivation and alternative visions. Yushchenko never possessed any vision, introduced contradictory policies, and wasted his presidency fighting two of his three prime ministers.

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For Soviet citizens who lived through the 1930s and 1940s, life became worthless and they became cannon fodder for the state. Leonid Plyushch, a Ukrainian dissident who had been incarcerated in a psychiatric hospital, said "The Soviet Union is the country of man's maximum alienation from all of his products—the state, the economy, science, art, morality, ideology, the church and even himself."[59] Building a market economy with the rule of law in Ukraine with this Soviet cultural legacy was inevitably going to be a herculean task.[60] Although Western Ukraine did not experience Tsarist Russian rule, five decades of Soviet culturalization had an impact in changing Galicians and others as it did on Eastern Germans who continue to remain different to Western Germans. Soviet Galicians, as this author experienced in the late 1980s, are quite different to the Galicians brought up in the interwar Polish state.

When asked why Georgia had done better than Ukraine, Yushchenko pointed to greater national unity among Georgians, which was a facile explanation that sidestepped his absence of political will and vision, lack of a team, and inability to work with other Orange leaders.[61] Georgia then had two frozen conflicts, which Ukraine did not have until 2014. Another factor has been the chameleon-like nature of most politicians. Tihipko told U.S. Ambassador Tefft that Ukraine could learn from Georgia's experience of fighting corruption, introducing economic reforms, and making the country investor friendly.[62] Three years later Tihipko merged the *Silna Ukrayina* party with the Party of Regions after joining a government whose prime minister was the leader of the Party of Regions. Azarov ruled out

Table 9.1

Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index in 12 Former Soviet Republics and 7 EU Members (2014)

Country	Score
Estonia (EU)	69
Lithuania (EU)	58
Latvia (EU)	55
Georgia	49
Italy (EU)	43
Greece (EU)	43
Romania (EU)	43
Bulgaria (EU)	43
Armenia	37
Moldova	35
Belarus	31
Azerbaijan	29
Kazakhstan	29
Kyrgyzstan	27
Russia	26
Ukraine	**26**
Tajikistan	23
Uzbekistan	18
Turkmenistan	17

Note:
Ukraine remains close to the bottom of the 15 former Soviet republics with only 3 Central Asian states ranked below it in the last year of Yanukovych's presidency (2013). This represented a decline from the previous year when there were four countries below Ukraine reflecting massive and growing levels of graft during the Yanukovych presidency.
Source:
http://www.transparency.org/cpi2014/results.

using the Georgian experience of reforms in Ukraine[63] and oversaw a massive increase in corruption[64] (see Table 9.1). At the November 2013 World Economic Forum in Kyiv, I asked Prime Minister Azarov why Ukrainians did not believe the president was committed to fighting corruption, regardless of official rhetoric. He replied that his government had done more to fight corruption in the last three years than had been undertaken in the last

two decades, forgetting he had been in government for eight of those. Azarov, like Yanukovych and his "Family," are fugitives sought by Interpol.

Legislation and Institutions

Ukraine's prosecutor general's office is overmanned, militarized (as in the Soviet Union with prosecutors wearing uniforms), and corrupt from top to bottom. With 18,000 prosecutors the office is twice as big as the United Kingdom's three criminal services for England and Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. The prosecutor general's office record of investigating high-level abuse of office is nonexistent and to all intents and purposes attempts, often using Western assistance, to reform it have failed. The prosecutor general's office cannot be effective in investigating corruption and high-level abuse of office, assuming presidential political will was found, because it is an intricate part of post-Soviet Ukraine's criminal nexus and protects rather than constrains Ukraine's elites within the confines of the law.

Ukrainians perceive *and* believe the institutions (judiciary and prosecutor general's office) that ostensibly deal with abuse of office and corruption are themselves corrupted. Corruption in the legal sector is propounded by "instrumental" attitude to the law as criminal cases against members of the elites are opened but go nowhere, investigations are purposefully slowed and eventually closed, and individuals return to public office. Criminal charges for abuse of office were closed against senior officials Kravchenko, Leonid Derkach, Kivalov, Volodymyr Satsyuk, Volodymyr Shcherban, and Kolesnikov. Pukach told prosecutors that the organizers of Gongadze's murder were Kuchma and Lytvyn but a virtual investigation of the former was closed in 2011, and there has never been an investigation of the latter. While Tymoshenko was in jail for allegedly bringing losses of $190 million to the state, Kyiv Mayor Chernovetskyy, who oversaw the biggest land grab since Ukraine became an independent state, remained a free man. No criminal cases were ever launched against Yushchenko and Yekhanurov for signing the 2006 gas contract, which was equally as bad as that signed in 2009.

In 2005, Volodymyr Shcherban fled to the United States to seek political asylum, fearing criminal prosecution for election rigging, extortion, tax evasion, and abuse of office. In November 2006, when Yanukovych headed the government, Volodymyr Shcherban was deported from the United States to Ukraine. Akhmetov, a long-time acquaintance and business partner of Volodymyr Shcherban, posted $2 million to cover his legal fees and bail when he was in the United States, although SCM denied this at the time.[65] Lutsenko complained to U.S. Ambassador Taylor that the prosecutor's office had refused to prosecute well-known criminals when he had been interior minister. Referring to Volodymyr Shcherban, he said the refusal of the prosecutor's office to prosecute Volodymyr Shcherban

and Oleksandr Melnyk[66] was a green light to criminals that they had impunity and could cut a deal with the authorities.[67] The prosecutor's office was uninterested in pursuing the case against Volodymyr Shcherban, and seven witnesses recanted their statements because they feared for their security.[68] SPU member Vasyl Tsushko, interior minister in the 2006–2007 Yanukovych government, was criminally charged with abuse of office after sending *Berkut* riot police to storm the prosecutor general's office in May 2007, but the case was dropped in 2010. In the same year, a Kyiv court closed the criminal case against Bakay[69] for stealing $1 million when he headed in 2003–2004 *Derzhpravlinnya Spravamy* ([DUS] State Administrative Directorate), a rather clumsily titled government "Ministry of the Privileged" that has its roots in the Soviet *nomenklatura* system.

These closures of high-profile criminal cases were made possible because the Donetsk clan (unlike Orange political forces) understood the importance of controlling the prosecutor general's office. Prosecutor General Oleksandr Medvedeko admitted that the prosecutor's office is where criminal cases die and "we have no achievements, not a single person has been brought to criminal responsibility."[70] During the 2004 elections, a conversation, recorded illicitly by the SBU, showed how the appointment of a prosecutor general was part of the negotiations with those who were in power. Oligarch Pinchuk asked Piskun, a candidate to replace Prosecutor General Hennadiy Vasylyev who had become discredited during the election fraud, "In short, assure us that you are a friend." Piskun replied "Not only" to which Pinchuk asked "A great friend?" Piskun said "Yes, and tell him (Kuchma) that we, as has our family have been friends we will continue to be so. Everything will return to normal."[71] Piskun was reappointed prosecutor general on December 10, 2004, only three days after the vote in parliament to hold a rerun of the second round of the election (see Chapters 2 and 3). Piskun's appointment guaranteed immunity to former officials as part of the deal struck during the round-table negotiations, and his quip about "returning to normal" signified that he believed the Orange Revolution would not have an impact, as Ukraine would quickly return to Kuchma-era practices.

Yushchenko controlled the prosecutor general's office under both the presidential (that operated in 2005) and parliamentary constitutions in 2006–2010. However, he never provided Lutsenko with political and moral support and Yushchenko was never perturbed by how the Donetsk clan's grip on the prosecutor general's office undermined the rule of law in Ukraine. President Yushchenko's inaction pointed to a fundamentally weak understanding of the rule of law and its centrality to European values, even among political forces routinely described as "pro-Western." An example is his long-time ally Poroshenko who as secretary of the RNBO sought to abuse his position for personal gain and (because of his long-established ties

to Donetsk) lobbied for Medvedko's appointment. At an April 2005 meeting in Poroshenko's office, Kolesnikov was warned of pending criminal cases against him and Akhmetov. Kolesnikov was advised that these could be closed if he transferred to Poroshenko's control the TRK Ukrayina and NTN television channels and some businesses as well as providing 15–20 places for his allies in the Party of Regions in the next election campaign. Kolesnikov refused, was arrested six days later, and spent four months in pretrial detention (Akhmetov fled Ukraine to Monaco where he spent a good part of 2005).[72] The dropping of criminal accusations and charges, instituted in 2005 by the Tymoshenko government against members of the Kuchma and Yanukovych teams during the euphoria following the Orange Revolution, were a condition for the Party of Regions to vote for Yushchenko's candidate Yekhanurov as prime minister and this amnesty was enshrined in the September 2005 memorandum. A month later Piskun was replaced as prosecutor general by Donetsk-based Medvedko, who stayed in this position through to the end of Yushchenko's presidency in 2010.

The Donetsk clan have always understood the importance of controlling key state institutions and toward this objective Azarov headed the state tax administration and ministry of finance for eight of Kuchma's ten years in power (the state Tax administration did not exist in 1994–1995). Koshiw explains how Azarov manipulated Kuchma and helped build the blackmail state:

> Azarov was an exceptional figure in the inner circle. He was smarter and shrewder than was Kuchma. His tax inspectors and tax police provided him with in-depth knowledge of the personal and company finances of the elite, and he exploited this to the full in his relationship with Kuchma. He also had a spy network. With his sharp mind he manipulated Kuchma, as well as corrected him on the facts under discussion. Azarov often presented Kuchma with the financial indiscretions of the elite and asked the president to select whom to punish. He gave Kuchma the impression that the president was making the decisions when actually it was Azarov who controlled the agenda.[73]

Prosecutor General Piskun (2002–2003 and 2004–2005), who was twice elected to parliament by the Party of Regions, Vasylyev (2003–2004), Medvedko (2005–2010), and Viktor Pshonka (2010–2014) have been loyal to the Donetsk clan. Lutsenko wrote from prison that the prosecutor general's office had been "privatised by the 'Regionaires.' "[74] Medvedko began his prosecutor's career in Donetsk and Luhansk where he chaired a botched investigation into the Aleksandrov murder. Medvedko's appointment was crucial in allowing Yanukovych to prevent, hinder, or halt investigations of state officials linked to his party and closed numerous criminal cases, including an investigation into falsification of documents clearing Yanukovych of two criminal convictions in the Soviet era.[75]

Pshonka, Medvedko, Vasylyev, and Kuzmin[76] worked together in the Donetsk prosecutor's office during the violent transition in the region in the 1990s and they then never investigated countless gangland assassinations and murders of journalists.[77] Zon writes that Vasylyev was in office, "during the gang wars in the province without managing to capture a single one of the assassins of the dozens of politicians and gang masters."[78] The prosecutor's office stalled the so-called investigation into the (still unresolved) 2004 poisoning of Yushchenko, one reason being because Kuzmin was thoroughly hostile to Orange politicians[79] (and hence chosen to oversee the criminal cases against Tymoshenko).[80]

Kuzmin's poor quality performance at the 2012 Yalta European Strategy conference led Aslund to describe him as someone who "looked like a thug, behaved like a bandit and spoke like a gangster." Former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine Steven Pifer said he failed to persuade foreign representatives at the conference about Tymoshenko's guilt.[81] Kuzmin's modus operandi showed him to be a prosecutor true to his Soviet training. The operating culture of the Donetsk clan's prosecutors, such as Pshonka and Kuzmin, is one of publicly declaring before the trial has commenced that a person is "guilty" and then collecting the "evidence" to confirm this prereached verdict. These methods are the complete negation of the Western concept that under the rule of law everybody is innocent until proven guilty. Kuzmin had already publicly sentenced Tymoshenko—before the conclusion of the investigation into Yevhen Shcherban's murder—claiming she had strong ties with the Yevhen Kushnir organized crime gang whose killers she allegedly hired in the mid-1990s. Furthermore, "there was direct evidence that the (Yevhen Shcherban) murder was carried out in the interests of Tymoshenko on Lazarenko's order, but that is not all: Mamota was murdered by the same gang of killers."[82] "When Yanukovych ordered them to begin political persecution of me I was joking that soon they will accuse me of murder. Now my joke has become a reality," Tymoshenko wrote in a letter from jail.

Under Pshonka, the prosecutor general's office was privatized to an even greater degree. From 1986, Pshonka was chief prosecutor in Kramatorsk, then deputy prosecutor in Donetsk *oblast*, and chief prosecutor in the region. The vote for Pshonka again highlighted the gulf between vacuous declarations in support of European integration and disinterest in European values in Ukraine. Nearly a constitutional majority of the Ukrainian parliament voted for Pshonka, including 36 opposition deputies (8 from BYuT and 28 from NUNS).[83] Yanukovych and Pshonka have been close allies since the late 1990s when the former was regional governor in 1997–2002 at approximately the same time as the latter was regional prosecutor in 1998–2003. Pshonka said two days after his appointment in an interview on Inter television channel, "As Prosecutor-General, I am a member of the team tasked with carrying out all the decisions made by

(Top) Lutsenko sitting in a cage in a Kyiv courtroom surrounded by *militsiya* (policemen) 10 months before being sentenced to four years' imprisonment, May 2011. (Bottom) Judge Rodion Kireyev reads out the sentence of seven years' imprisonment, three years' ban from holding public office, and a fine of 1.516 billion *hryvnya* ($187 million) to Yulia Tymoshenko at the Pechersk rayon court in Kyiv, October 2011. Holding Yuliya Tymoshenko's hand is her daughter Yevheniya Tymoshenko, with her husband Oleksandr seated to her left. (UNIAN)

the President," an open admission the prosecutor general's office is not independent from the president.[84] A search of his palace after he fled from Ukraine found a megalomaniac portrait of him dressed as Roman leader Julius Caesar. Pshonka had no relationship to the rule of law; during Yanukovych's presidency 65 million *hryvnya* were laundered through a bank with ties to him.

The Venice Commission[85] issued negative opinions on Ukraine's prosecutor general's office in 2004 and 2009, and a comment on the draft law of the prosecutor's office in 2012.[86] The 2010 Venice Commission opinion described it as a too powerful institution with functions that exceeded those in democratic states and the prosecutor general's office continued to de facto resemble a "Soviet-style Procurator." As with the ECHR rulings, ninety percent of which are not implemented by Ukraine, the Ukrainian authorities ignored these Venice Commission opinions. The prosecutor general's office is the prime source of abuse of the rule of law in Ukraine in continuing to use the Soviet system of *telefone pravo*, applying pressure on witnesses and judges to fall in line and decisions to prosecute inevitably lead to convictions. Judges do not have the independence to resist the prosecutor general's office, especially following greater centralization of the judicial system under Yanukovych.

The Euromaidan should have provided the opportunity to change business as usual in the prosecutor's office, but with the appointment of Vitaliy Yarema this was not to be the case. Trained in Soviet Ukrainian police academies and working for two decades in two of the most corrupt departments in the MVS to combat organized crime and criminal investigation, he was not the person to Europeanize and reform the overmanned, incompetent, and corrupt prosecution office. The prosecutor general's office is a dysfunctional and inept institution led by an equally ineffectual prosecutor appointed by a president who is unwilling to change the practice of business as usual. Replacing Yarema with Viktor Shokhin would be insufficient; the entire prosecutor office cannot be reformed and needs to be closed and replaced; without this step there will never be full accountability of ruling elites in Ukraine.

With business as usual it is little wonder there have been no criminal charges against leaders of the Yanukovych regime for murder and massive abuse of office. In the post-Soviet era, the prosecutor's office continued the Soviet practice of protecting Ukrainian elites. Meanwhile, the documents found at *Mezhyhirya* (and posted on the Yanukovych leaks web site www.yanukovychleaks.org) are not being investigated and corrupt business ventures of senior members of the Yanukvych regime, such as Ivanyushchenko's control of the "7 kilometre" market near Odesa, continue to freely operate. It is not surprising therefore that 80 percent of Ukrainians see no change in the fight against corruption. Ukraine's budding equivalent of the FBI, the Anti-Corruption Bureau established in

2014, should have improved the fight against corruption but its effectiveness was reduced at its birth when anticorruption policies were unconstitutionally placed under the "coordination and control" of the RNBO. The RNBO's expanded powers undermined the parliamentary constitution by de facto creating a position of vice president in secretary of the RNBO Turchynov who, similar to Yarema and Shokhin are not the person to energetically fight against corruption. Turchynov has always defended his allies against accusations, beginning with Lazarenko in the 1990s, corrupt BYuT deputies to Swiss accusations of money laundering against Popular Front deputy Mykola Martynenko.

Ukraine has adopted 8 laws, 2 criminal codes, 18 presidential decrees, 10 government resolutions, 2 instructions, 2 Supreme Court resolutions, and 2 orders from the finance ministry and civil service ostensibly to combat corruption. Ukraine's October 1995 law "On the Struggle against Corruption" became redundant after Ukraine joined the Council of Europe's Group of States against Corruption and the law expired in December 2010. Ukraine had no law on corruption for five months and in April 2011 a new law on corruption received 277 "votes" when only 158 deputies were registered in parliament, a reflection of the low priority of this legislation for the Yanukovych administration. Poor and inefficient coordination, and enforcement of anti-corruption legislation contributed to a lack of implementation. Adopting legislation is insufficient and the same will be the case with the law "On cleaning out the authorities" (commonly known as the lustration law) adopted on September 16, 2014. Very few of the 27 postcommunist states adopted lustration laws and of those that did it targeted former Soviet and Communist intelligence agents, not high-level corruption as such (in the Ukrainian case, it targets both). A bad signal was the law was only adopted after two failed votes (when it was backed by 217 and 225 deputies respectively) and only on the third attempt—after Parliamentary Chairperson Turchynov warned, "If you do not vote for lustration, there will be castration instead"—was passed by a majority of one vote (226).[87] UDAR, *Batkivshchina*, and *Svoboda* nearly unanimously supported the law, three new nebulous factions supported it half-heartedly (37 out of 111 deputies), while only 7 out of 77 Party of Regions deputies voted to adopt the new legislation, fearing it would be primarily directed at members of the former Yanukovych regime.

In July 2012, the Ukrainian contact group for Transparency International suspended its membership of the Presidential National Anti-Corruption Committee because, Oleksiy Khmara said, it was a virtual institution that merely imitated fighting corruption.[88] He pointed to the inertness of the National Anti-Corruption Committee and wrote "the state program for combating corruption isn't worth the paper it was printed on." Meanwhile, changes in legislation on public procurement have driven billions of public money into the shadow economy.[89] In place

of genuine policies against corruption there are "loud statements and ostentatious campaigns"; in other words, virtual policies similar to Soviet five-year plans that were never meant to be achieved. Oleksiy Khmara writes, "Most anti-corruption action taken by the Ukrainian authorities are formal in character and boil down to adopting documents of a political nature, passing laws, creating or restructuring bodies that coordinate anti-corruption policy, training officials responsible for counteracting corruption, and so on. However, the most important reforms that could lower the level of corruption in Ukraine have never been implemented and the anti-corruption legislation that has been adopted has yet to acquire proper significance."[90] Oleksiy Khmara proposed six concrete policies:

1. Create a unified state register of persons called to account for corrupt actions that would be publicly available, by amending the law "On Protection of Personal Data."
2. Ensure openness of public servants' assets, receipts, and expenditures through declarations, particularly through their publication on the web sites of state institutions, and by amending the basic law on combating corruption.
3. Initiate real control over the declaration of public servants' assets, receipts, and expenditures.
4. Initiate legislative reform of political parties and election campaign financing, particularly in the abatement of their dependence on private financing and corrupt influences.
5. The Ukrainian president should decide who will coordinate anti-corruption policy and who will be politically responsible for its implementation, as well as increasing the authority of this coordinating body.
6. Provide, after revising its priorities, increased financial support for the State program for the Prevention and Combating of Corruption in 2011–2015.

Ukraine does not require new legislation to fight corruption but political will. Ukrainian citizens have long been aware of how corruption is undertaken, who benefits from corruption, and where the corrupt funds end up—in Ukraine, in the EU, and in offshore tax havens.[91] Azarov was in receipt of information about corrupt officials and businesspersons; he knew details of their bank accounts and how they siphoned rents from *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* and other state institutions. Only on two occasions did Kuchma lobby parliament to vote to remove immunity from a parliamentary deputy—Lazarenko in 1998 and Tymoshenko ally Mykola Agafonov[92] in June 2000—and these had little to do with fighting corruption.[93]

Ukrainian civil society continues to remain weak; although the Orange Revolution was the largest protest in post-war Europe, it was what Jane L. Curry and Doris Goedl describe as a "perfect storm" and an exception to what was normally a passive Ukrainian society.[94] The Euromaidan could turn out to have been different if its impact is longer lasting. India and Ukraine (until 2015) lacked independent agencies (which have been

successful in Singapore and Hong Kong) to combat corruption, and provide few resources to battling corruption. At the same time, Ukraine has no powerful national anti-corruption NGO that could mobilize protests against corruption in the manner of the mass protests that rolled across India in 2011.[95] In September 2012, Georgian national television channels broadcast video footage of torture and rape in Gldani prison in Tbilisi, leading to mass protests, by large numbers of students, contributing to the defeat the following month in the parliamentary elections of Saakashvili's United National Movement. Ukrainians rarely protest reports of prison torture and lack of police accountability because they have no trust in the *Militsiya* (*Militia*, the Soviet-era name for police still in place).[96] The brutal rape of Oksana Makar, who died from the ordeal, by three young men in March 2012 in Mykolayiv did not lead to similar nationwide protests as in Georgia and India. The exception in June 2013 was another violent rape and beating of 29-year-old Iryna Krashkova in the village of Vradiyivka, again in Mykolayiv *oblast* by a taxi driver (Serhiy Ryabinenko) and two police officers (Lieutenant Dmytro Polishchuk and Senior Lieutenant Yevhen Dryzhak), that led to the storming of a police station by 1,000 angry local people.[97] The rape followed numerous other acts of mistreatment and murders by the local police and became the straw that broke the camel's back. Ukrainians stormed two other police stations that year, including one in Kyiv, following insults and mistreatment in what can only be described as a breakdown of respect for the police and a willingness by Ukrainians to take direct action coupled with growing evidence "that passers-by even those not known to one another are willing to physically challenge police on a day-to-day basis."[98] The Razumkov Centre reported that "almost half the population of Ukraine in one way or another justify vigilante justice."[99] This served as backdrop to the anger that permeated the Euromaidan and contributed to its violent breakdown.

Until the Euromaidan Ukraine lacked a single coordinating center to combat corruption. Yushchenko did not use the RNBO to coordinate law enforcement structures and national security strategy against corruption instead transforming it into an alternative to the cabinet of ministers. Ukraine's security establishment was degraded under each of Ukraine's presidents—not only under Yanukovych—with widespread corruption affecting the ability of Ukraine to combat Russian aggression. Ukraine's armed forces were demoralized, top heavy with generals, and long-starved of resources with massive Soviet weapon stocks illegally sold abroad. Ukraine relied on volunteers for the National Guard to undertake the most difficult counterinsurgency combat but it—even under the Euromaidan Yatsenyuk government—had to purchase the majority of its equipment in dollars and cash from intermediaries who continued to make illegal profits for corrupt officers and middlemen. Volunteers described how they were lucky to receive a *Kalashnikov* from the National

Guard and had to purchase or were given by civil society groups everything else—helmet, bulletproof vest, kneepads, uniforms, knives, food, and medical supplies.[100] A civil society activist described how they collected $20,000 to purchase an APC for the Azov battalion. An investigation asked "It is difficult not to call this a crime" and asked "Why must troops buy for money from the state that which the state should be supplying free of charge?"[101] Without massive support from Ukrainian civil society, it is doubtful that the army and National Guard could have fought back and defeated the separatists until Russia's invasion in August 2014.[102]

Corruption in Ukraine had been permitted to reach such a level that it threatened Ukraine's bankruptcy and security and therefore viability as a state. A National Guard volunteer soldier explained:

> The problems of the National Guard are the same general problems of Ukraine in any area; in fact, the National Guard is a small model of Ukraine. There are patriots and there are fools. There are those who steal, for instance, the humanitarian aid, don't supply enough food to the soldiers, don't give them what they should, and forget something. There are people that organise things properly circumventing the bureaucratic bodies. Then there are those who organize logistics and supplies; they even bring very good accouterments. They circumvent the bureaucratic bodies because they know that it makes life easier. It is the same but on the scale of the country. Currently it is much easier to do everything in this country (from simple things to business) avoiding state institutions. As soon as the situation in the country changes, as soon as the country begins working for the interests of the people then changes will also take place in the National Guard. Then its top leadership and structure will begin working in the interests of its soldiers to facilitate their main task of defending the native land.[103]

The misuse and marginalization of the RNBO continued under Yushchenko and Yanukovych leading it to play two roles never laid out in legislation. The first of these was to act in effect as a woman's "spa." Party of Regions faction leader Bohatyryova was appointed RNBO secretary in December 2007 and until her replacement six years later hired her friends as "assistants" whose only function was to take care of her shopping and other whims in the role of glorified servants and personal assistants. The second function of the RNBO was to act as a waiting room for officials who were currently out of favor with the president,turning it "into a dumping ground for retired politicians."[104] Rather than pushing out-of-favor officials such as Sivkovych and Shufrych into the opposition, the president assigned them positions in the RNBO because they could be useful to him in the future. "We will never throw out people," Yanukovych explained his approach to cadres. Kuzmin, who was closely associated with criminal cases against Tymoshenko and other opposition leaders, was

demoted to the RNBO in October 2013 as a conciliatory step to the EU, ahead of the Vilnius Eastern Partnership Summit a month later.

In 2012, the appointment of Andriy Kluyev represented the transformation of the RNBO into a vehicle to provide state-administrative resources for the Party of Regions in the 2012 and 2015 elections. Andriy Kluyev headed Yanukovych's 2004 shadow election (see Chapter 3). This function emerged under Yanukovych when the RNBO became a center for coordinating state-administrative resources in support of the authorities during elections and, according to Bohoslovska, organizing provocations by vigilante-sportsmen against the opposition.[105]

When led by national security expert Volodymyr Horbulin in 1996–1999, the RNBO was a very different institution.[106] ISD co-owner Hayduk paid tribute to Horbulin as the founder of the RNBO and U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, Herbst, described him as Ukraine's leading strategic thinker.[107] When Hayduk became RNBO secretary he sought to prevent it from becoming a political club.[108] Four secretaries of the RNBO appointed by Yushchenko had no experience or intellectual knowledge of international and national security affairs and they included businesspersons Poroshenko and Kinakh, conservative rural politician Ivan Plyushch, and Bohatyryova from the medical sphere. Their appointments suggested national security issues (including coordinating policies to fight corruption) were unimportant for Yushchenko.

The limited intellectual resources available to the RNBO could be seen when Bohatyryova plagiarized sections of the Stanford University commencement address by the late Steve Jobs, the co-founder of Apple Computers, in her June 2011 address to graduates of the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy. Plagiarism is extensive among Ukrainians and Russian post-Soviet political elites and Lytvyn and Viktor Yanukovych, youngest son of President Yanukovych, have been caught plagiarizing.[109] A nonexistent German university registered in a dormitory suburb of Köln named former head of National Bank of Ukraine and First Deputy Prime Minister Arbuzov as one of the best bankers in Eastern Europe—a similar false claim to that found on Chief of Staff Lozhkin's CV.[110] Yanukovych allegedly earned a master's degree in international law and PhD in Economics while serving as Donetsk governor from 1997 to 2002 although neither degree had improved his grasp of international relations or economics. The Orange political camp has also practiced plagiarism; Zvarych's appointment as justice minister turned into a scandal when an anonymous source revealed to *Ukrayinska Pravda* he had lied in his CV about possessing an MA and a PhD from Columbia University.[111]

Judicial reform adopted in 2010 marginalized the power of the Supreme Court and transferred power to the Higher Court of Justice, a reform that conflicts with the 1996 constitution, designating this institution as the

highest judicial body for courts of general jurisdiction. The Supreme Court would no longer be the cassation court or highest court of appeal for criminal and civil cases; in December 2004 it had annulled Yanukovych's election as president and many commentators believed that in addition to exerting political control over the judiciary the downgrading was banal revenge. The Supreme Court would no longer supervise the lower courts and issue guidelines on how legislation should be interpreted, and because the workload shrank, the number of Supreme Court judges was reduced from 94 to 20 through early retirement. The replacement of Supreme Court Chairperson Onopenko by a Yanukovych loyalist meant, "Those in power have removed all barriers from the path to a loyal Supreme Court."[112] Political regimes that seek to strengthen extractive institutions have a lot to gain from reducing the power of the Supreme Court and the benefits often outweigh the risks.[113] Even in democratic systems, political leaders sometimes attempt to "pack" the Supreme Court, but in 2010, Yanukovych "hacked" the Supreme Court; "packing" is far less permanent and therefore less destructive to the rule of law than "hacking." The Venice Commission reported that "it is hard to avoid the conclusion that there is a deliberate intention to reduce the power of the Supreme Court which goes far beyond the desire to create a more efficient judicial system."[114]

Democratic regression, as most noticeable in the sphere of the rule of law and corruption, was a powerful driver that brought millions to the streets during the Euromaidan. A call for an end to all forms of political repression—two powerful demands made by Euromaidan protesters—was eerily reminiscent of demands made during the Soviet era showing to what degree the Yanukovych regime was a throwback to the Soviet past.

Ukraine rushed through legal reform in 2010 without waiting for the verdict of the Venice Commission, which, as expected, was highly negative,[115] and the noted legal expert and former justice minister Holovatyy, then a member of the Party of Regions, talked of a new "judicial Gestapo."[116] Judicial independence and the rule of law were set back by judicial reforms because they were highly centralizing and imposed strict executive control over the judiciary. An October 2010 decree established the High Specialized Court for Civil and Criminal Cases headed by former Luhansk judge and Party of Regions deputy Leonid Fesenko. The powers of the Council of Judges were transferred to the High Council of Justice controlled by Kivalov and dominated by Party of Regions appointees. The High Judicial Qualifying Commission received vast new powers over judicial appointments, salaries, promotions, and dismissals, enabling it to provide patronage to loyal judges. Needless to say, such reforms led to complete political control over the judicial system that had not existed under Ukraine's first three presidents and were

Young Ukrainians protest against political repression during the OSCE Ministerial Council meeting in Kyiv, December 2013. Their placards included the same demands as those made by members of the Ukrainian diaspora, including this author, held outside Soviet embassies and consulates in the 1970s and 1980s. (UNIAN)

completely contrary to the European values that President Yanukovych allegedly professed allegiance to.

The judicial reforms introduced vigorous central control through "mandatory special training" for which there is no provision in the Ukrainian constitution. The High Judicial Qualifying Commission received broad powers for selecting judges and bringing disciplinary proceedings against them that was used to select the "right" judges and remove "inconvenient" ones.[117] According to an analysis by experts at the Ukrainian Centre for Legal-Political Reform think tank, 44 "disloyal" judges were dismissed immediately following the reform,[118] and by the end of 2010, there was a purge of a further 300 "disloyal" judges. Judges who were used to prosecute the opposition were appointed to the Pechersk District Court, even though they were untenured (i.e., they had not completed their obligatory five-year probationary period), and their future promotion was therefore dependent upon their loyalty to the ruling authorities. Judge Rodyon Kireyev, with a remarkable resemblance to J. K. Rowling's fictional Harry Potter, untenured and aged only 31 but was used in the Tymoshenko trial, was promoted in February 2013 to acting deputy head of the Kyiv City

Pechersk District Court. The Venice Commission advised against appointing untenured judges for politically sensitive criminal cases. Criminal charges were laid against Kuzmin in spring 2014, and Kireyev went into hiding ahead of being dismissed.

The justice ministry has not performed much better than the prosecutor general's office except on two occasions when headed by president of the Legal Foundation Holovatyy (1995–1997 and 2005–2006) and Mykola Onishchuk (2007–2010), who had earlier chaired the National Commission on Strengthening Democracy and Rule of Law. In 2005, Yushchenko appointed Zvarych as justice minister, a Ukrainian-American without legal training. Head of the parliamentary investigative committee into the Gongadze murder, *Rukh* member Lavrynovych, did not investigate President Kuchma's role. Although evidence does not exist as to why he took this course of action, such steps are never undertaken in Ukraine without some form of (not necessarily financial) reward; for example, Prosecutor General Potebenko was bribed $100,000 to not undertake a full investigation of the Gongadze case and to cover up high-level involvement in the murder.[119] In February 2007, President Yushchenko awarded the Yaroslav Mudry state medal to Potebenko, "for his great personal contribution to the building of a law abiding state, strengthening of legality and law abiding, long years of conscious toil."[120] Since the 2002 elections Lavrynovych has been a member of the Party of Regions and was minister of justice in Prime Minister Yanukovych's second government and in Prime Minister Azarov's first government. When *Der Spiegel* magazine revealed Lavrynovych drove a top-of-the-range Mercedes GL 420 SUV stolen from Germany he ignored the scandal—it would be exceptionally difficult to argue there is rule of law in a country where the minister of justice drives a stolen vehicle.[121] Kivalov, who was removed from the position of Central Election Commission chairperson following the December 2004 Supreme Court ruling that overturned Yanukovych's election because of election fraud, is dean of the National University Odesa Law Academy where a monument has been built to him in a tribute to his narcissism (monuments are not usually built to people still alive). As though taken straight out of Orwell's novel *1984*, in 2007–2012 and 2012–2014, Kivalov headed the parliamentary committee on the Rule of Law and Judiciary.[122]

Every Ukrainian president has intervened in the workings of the Constitutional Court. In December 2003, the Constitutional Court ruled that Kuchma could stand for a "second term" in the 2004 elections because his first term (1994–1999) began before parliament approved the 1996 constitution. The degree to which this was viewed as a serious option was confirmed by Kolomoyskyy who in return for being permitted to continue controlling *UkrNafta* said he had paid $5 million each month into

a "special fund" at the behest of Pinchuk and the funds, a "camouflaged form of bribe," were to be Kuchma's election war chest.[123] In May 2007, Yushchenko intervened to prevent the Constitutional Court condemning his two decrees dissolving parliament. In 2010, the Constitutional Court issued two decisions that contradicted its own earlier rulings. First, deputies could join parliamentary coalitions as individuals when it had earlier ruled only factions could join coalitions. Second, the December 2004 votes to change the constitution were ruled unconstitutional because only one parliamentary session voted for them when constitutionally the requirement is for two votes to be held over two sessions. The ruling returned Ukraine to the 1996 presidential constitution; in 2008, the Constitutional Court had rejected a request by Yushchenko to investigate the validity of the constitutional reforms. The first ruling increased political corruption in parliament by facilitating the bribing of deputies to change factions while the second put under question the constitutionality of legislation adopted in 2006–2010. In December 2004, the Party of Regions had voted for constitutional reforms, which it overturned after its leader was elected into power. In December 2010, the Council of Europe's Venice Commission slammed the legitimacy of the new constitutional changes and criticized the decision to extend the life of parliament by one year. The 1996 constitution provides for four-year-term parliaments and therefore a parliamentary election should have taken place in March 2011, not in October 2012. These decisions by the Constitutional Court were followed by its refusal to deliberate over the compatibility of the 2012 language law (which de facto upgraded Russian to a state language) with the constitution as well as the decision to postpone Kyiv city council and mayoral elections until autumn 2015 (i.e., after the presidential elections). Taken together, the decisions showed to what degree the Constitutional Court had become a corrupted and distrusted state institution.

Ukrainian opinion polls have regularly found upwards of three-quarters of Ukrainians supporting the removal of parliamentary immunity from deputies. Orange parties included this goal in their election platforms, with NUNS making it a central component of its 2007 preterm election campaign, but this issue has never been supported by parliament. Immunity from prosecution would be an important step in reducing the number of businesspersons in parliament who seek immunity but could only have an impact if it is taken in conjunction with other steps directed toward separating business and politics and fighting corruption. The lustration law can only be used against those who do not possess immunity from prosecution. Businesspersons enter parliament to receive immunity because of fear of potential criminal prosecution for past deeds, viewing parliament in the same manner as an insurance policy they hope they will never have to access. Akhmetov sought political immunity through his election to

parliament by the Party of Regions in 2006 and 2007 because Orange political forces were in power; he had no reason to seek immunity prior to 2004 (when Kuchma was in power) and did not seek a seat in the 2012 elections (when Yanukovych was in power).[124] Presidents who are leaving office seek immunity because they no longer have political protection and therefore their *krysha* (roof) becomes the incoming president. Outgoing presidents Kuchma and Yushchenko in 2004 and 2010, respectively, sought immunity for their families and themselves from incoming presidents Yushchenko and Yanukovych.

Political Parties and Organized Crime

Spanish National Court prosecutor Jose "Pepe" Grinda Gonzalez first coined the term "virtual mafia state" and considered Belarus, Chechnya, and Russia to represent this category, believing that Ukraine was moving in that direction. For each of those countries, he alleged, one could not differentiate between the activities of the government and organized crime groups.[125] Edward Lucas writes, "Gangsterdom, spookdom and officialdom are intertwined, to the point that they are really just one pillar with three sides—a kind of unholy trinity."[126] In spring 2012, an article in the influential *Foreign Affairs* magazine included Ukraine in its list of "mafia states" around the world.[127] Timothy Garten Ash reported that, "One EU official privately comments that this is indeed a country in transition: from an oligarchical economy to a mafia one."[128] Wilson writes that, "Ukraine has always been seen as an oligarchic state; now it often seems like a Mafia state."[129] Ukraine's image as a mafia state became perverse under Yanukovych and was confirmed by the violence on the Euromaidan and after in the Donbas. Although Ukraine's presidents have all led corrupt administrations, the only one to transform into a mafia state was under Putin's favourite, Yanukovych—undoubtedly because they have much in common.

The pervasive nexus of business-politics-crime adds to the virtual nature of anti-corruption policies. All Ukrainian political parties participate to varying degrees in corruption because they receive the bulk of their funding from the shadow economy and capital deposited in the EU and offshore tax havens. "Political corruption is nourished by the activities of the most powerful financial and industrial groups and structures of the shadow economy that have sufficient resources to finance politics in an opaque manner and thereby influence the authorities," the Razumkov Centre reported.[130] But, only two political forces (Party of Regions and Crimean Russian nationalists) have colluded with organized crime.[131]

In the 1990s the three regions of Ukraine where violence was greatest in the number of murders committed were the Crimea, the Donbas,

Monument in Odesa to murdered *militsiya* that shows a surge of killings after World War II and during the 1990s, both periods of transition from instability following World War II and the disintegration of the USSR, October 2014. (Taras Kuzio)

and Odesa.[132] The Donetsk region developed a nexus of politics, business, and organized crime that built on the violent removal of business competitors and journalists.[133] Criminal and business groups took control of law enforcement in Donetsk to a degree that did not exist anywhere else in Ukraine. In spring 2014, there was "almost total betrayal" by the police force in Donetsk and Luhansk when they aligned with the separatists, according to interior ministry adviser Antin Herashchenko. After Ukrainian forces regained control of territories in the Donbas, 90 percent of militia officers refused to take lie detectors because they had, in the words of President Poroshenko, "betrayed their country or voluntarily retired." A third of traffic police (the notoriously corrupt DAI [State Automobile Inspectorate]) in Donetsk were released from service for supporting the separatists.

The origins of this nexus lie in the late 1980s and 1990s. Donetsk oligarch and Ukrainian patriot Taruta dismissed the whole Donetsk-Regions group as looters of the former Soviet state and corporate raiders.[134] Horbulin told U.S. ambassador to Ukraine Herbst that the Party of Regions included criminal figures that had no democratic inclinations.[135] A U.S. cable from

Ukraine reported the Party of Regions to be a haven for Donetsk-based mobsters and oligarchs with Akhmetov as the "clan's godfather"[136] who is the financial muscle behind the Party of Regions.[137]

The Party of Regions also established alliances with political forces that had criminal ties in Odesa and the Crimea. The leader of the scandalous *Rodina* party in Odesa, Markov, has a criminal history that extends back to the mid-1990s. In Odesa, *Rodina* party activists had undertaken a campaign of terror against pro-Ukrainian and Orange supporters (see Chapter 5). *Rodina* received financial support from local organized crime and covertly from Russian intelligence; the latter leading to the expulsion of the General Consul in Odesa in summer 2009 after he and another Russian diplomat in the Crimea were accused of undertaking activities "incompatible with their status" (i.e., espionage).[138]

Close ties between organized crime and political parties such as *Za Soyuz* (For Union) and the Russian bloc in the Crimea go back to the 1990s, according to Crimean Communist Party leader Hrach.[139] Experts at the government's National Institute for Strategic Studies (NISS) told this author in the late 1990s that organized crime was more of a threat to Crimean security than separatism. The Crimean branch of the Labour Ukraine party included Mykola Kotlyarevskyy ("Kolya the killer"), Oleksiy Shatskykh, and Vitaliy Dychuk who were leaders of organized crime gangs. The Party of Economic Revival ([PEVK] which in 1998 was renamed the Party of Economic Revival) was closely linked to organized crime from the early 1990s even though its leaders included senior former Crimean communists such as Bahrov. The Christian-Liberal party was a "straightforward mafia front" where "only the words 'of Crimea' bore any relation to reality."[140] Organized crime gang warfare in the first half of the 1990s destroyed the PEVK and Christian-Liberal parties.

The closure of political *kryshy* for Crimean organized crime only took place when Moskal headed the autonomous republic's police department in the late 1990s and when Lutsenko was interior minister in two Tymoshenko governments. In the Crimea, President Kuchma battled Crimean Russian nationalists because they represented a threat to Ukraine's territorial integrity but in the Donbas he negotiated a nonaggression pact that permitted de facto autonomy in exchange for the region's political loyalty to the president.[141] Therefore, the business-political-crime nexus that received autonomy to expand and consolidate in Donetsk under Kuchma proved to be more successful and durable than in the Crimea, a region where there were also fewer resources and far smaller industrial base for *prykhvatyzatsiya*.[142]

Donetsk governor, prime minister, and president Yanukovych turned a blind eye toward, and dismissed evidence of links between, the Party of Regions and organized crime. The Party of Regions had given organized

gang members places on its lists, facilitating their election to parliament, local government, and the Crimean parliament (see Box 9.3).[143]

In the Crimea, the two main organized crime gangs were established by local Armenians (*Seylem*) and Viktor Bashmakov (a former resident of Moldova's separatist Trans-Dniestr region. According to Interior Minister Lutsenko, the *Seylem* gang had been responsible in the 1990s for 52 contract murders, including 1 journalist, 2 police officers, 30 businesspersons, and 15 organized crime competitors.[144] Aksyonov, a *Seylem* crime leader in the 1990s with the nickname "Goblin," was installed as Crimean leader during Russia's occupation, showing to what degree Russian and Soviet nationalism had become interwoven with organized crime. A Crimean Tatar leader remembered "In the 1990s Aksyonov was a rank and file 'brigadier' and was running rackets"; "Goblin" in fact admitted to owning $4 million in assets.[145] Firtash provided financing for the 2010 election campaign to the Crimean parliament for the Russian Unity party led by Aksyonov.[146]

In the 2006 elections, hundreds of candidates who had problems with the law ran for the Crimean parliament and local councils, according to Lutsenko, in the *Za Soyuz*, For Yanukovych!, and Kunitsyn blocs. Party of Regions deputy Vasyl Kyselyev condemned the presence of *Seylem* organized crime gang leader Oleksandr Melnyk in the For Yanukovych! bloc in the 2006 Crimean election campaign. Yanukovych responded with a stern rebuke to Kyselyev: "I take responsibility for him."[147] In the 2006 elections to the Crimean parliament, *Seylem* organized crime gang leader Oleksandr Melnyk was 21st in the For Yanukovych! election bloc. This political force also included Ihor Lukashev who chaired the Crimean parliament's budget committee and is known as the "wallet" of the *Seylem* gang. The Kunitsyn bloc elected *Bashmaki* organized crime gang leader Ruvim Aronov. Lutsenko revealed an episode when he was interior minister during the early period of Yanukovych's second government. "In the evening the three of us—Yanukovych, I and a chauffeur drove to *Mezhyhirya*, which had not then been 'privatised.' With music playing, the Prime Minister says to me, 'Just don't go after Sasha.' I ask him, 'Which Sasha?' He replies, 'Do not pretend (you do not know) ... Sasha (Oleksandr) Melnyk.' "[148] Lutsenko replied to Prime Minister Yanukovych, "Viktor Fedorovych, there is a game called cops and robbers. Well I am the cop. He thought I was kidding."

Lutsenko's story and the U.S. cables describing the integration of organized crime with the Party of Regions provide us with an important insight into the Yanukovych administration's operating culture and its attitudes to the rule of law and corruption. Yanukovych's response to Lutsenko revealed his lack of understanding of the rule of law while his view of the police and prosecutor general's office showed that he viewed them not as instruments to fight organized crime and corruption but to protect

Box 9.3 Have Soviet Traditions of the *Vorovskoy Mir* (Criminal World) Survived the Transition into Post-Soviet Reality?

"People don't abandon the underworld."
General Vladimir Ovchinsky, Russian Interpol

Chalidze discussed many factors upheld by the *vorovskoy mir* in the Soviet Union, sometimes referred to as the "thieves' code." These have been classified into 10 factors followed in each case by a commentary as to whether they have survived transition into the post-Soviet world.

1. One of the most important aspects of Soviet criminal culture was its ability to adapt to new situations, from the coming to power of the Bolsheviks, to the rise of Stalin and the disintegration of the USSR. As in every transition, such as the movement of the Sicilian mafia into the narcotics trade in the 1970s and 1980s, there will be conservatives who oppose change and not all the leaders of the *vorovskoy mir* agreed with dropping the "thieves' code" but they eventually lost out to the more ruthless supporters of change. The *vorovskoy mir* quickly adapted to and took advantage of the disintegration of the Soviet Union. *The Sicilian Girl* (*La siciliana ribelle*), a 2009 Italian film directed by Marco Amenta, was inspired by the story of Rita Atria. In 1985 and 1991 in Balata, Sicily, She witnessed the assassination of her father Don Michele and her brother by the Mafia because of their opposition to the narcotics trade. She breaks the code of silence and with her detailed diaries becomes an important witness under protection in a trial in Rome. A "Rita Atria" has still to appear in Ukraine.
2. Thieves reject ownership of property and goods. This part of the "thieves' code" was abandoned in favor of flaunting wealth to the outside world, especially expensive property, cars, jewellery, and watches. Russian Interior Minister General Alexander Gurov describes how the concept of "organized crime" first appeared under Gorbachev in confidential documents and he describes the abandonment of the "thieves' code" during the transition by the late 1990s from "organized crime" into a "mafia." Money, property, and cars, the more expensive the better, were meant to conjure up new forms of respect.
3. Thieves do not steal from one another was another code that was also abandoned. Former criminal authorities gained from the deaths of others during massive asset stripping of the Soviet state when institutions had collapsed or were not yet built in post-Soviet countries. Honest relations were maintained within the criminal brotherhood but they were untruthful and deceitful toward outsiders. This culture has survived the transition to the post-Soviet world.

4. Thieves prefer to steal without killing because, as Chalidze found, "Most thieves are not bloodthirsty killers." This aspect of the "thieves' code" was quickly abandoned, as starkly seen in the large number of high-profile assassinations in Ukraine and Eurasia from the mid-1980s to the late-1990s.
5. Thieves respected courage, a factor that worked toward them being more willing to use violence than their post-Soviet competitors who emerged from the liberal *Komsomol*. The more ruthless working class Donetsk clan emerged victorious over Dnipropetrovsk and Kharkiv whose elites had ruled Soviet Ukraine when the Party of Regions established a monopoly of power.
6. Thieves do not pursue social ties, including family ties, and the relationship of thieves to their (unmarried) "wives" was one of master and slave. Disrespect for women was clearly evident in comments by Yanukovych and Azarov during the 2010 elections and since and in the manner in which the First Lady is hidden out of public view. First ladies under Ukraine's first three and fifth presidents were and are in public view.
7. Thieves were uninterested in Soviet politics and possessed no ideology. By the 1980s the Soviet criminal and political worlds were therefore similar in their cynicism and ideological amorphousness. But, the transition to the post-Soviet world forced them to mimic democracy by establishing virtual parties whose real purpose was to act as political *kryshy* for business and criminal activities. "By the end of the 1990s," Ukrainian *vor v zakonye* Leonid Bilunov said "chaos had fizzled out. There were fewer killings. The Criminal authorities had transitioned into solid, respectable gentlemen. Some even joined the economic and political elites."
8. Thieves did not exhibit patriotism because they maintained a distance from the state and serving a foreign state was therefore not considered to be treasonous. Volkov pointed out that the old code of maintaining the state at a distance became obsolete in the 1990s because "at a certain point, alliances with local authorities become necessary for the efficient protection of investments." The nexus required an alliance of different actors composed of new businesspersons, political elites, and criminal authoritative leaders (such as in Donetsk under Governor Yanukovych). On some occasions thieves did collaborate with the state, such as during World War II and in places of confinement when they persecuted political prisoners on behalf of the authorities. In the post-Soviet world, some ex-criminals have reached senior positions in the leaderships of independent states but it is difficult to view them as evolving into patriots. As kleptocracies, ruling elites in Ukraine and many other post-Soviet states prioritize rent seeking over the national interest.
9. Thieves spoke their own slang or dialect, and Chalidze believed "there is a good deal of overlapping between prison speech and thieves' language." Such attributes of one's personality would inevitably

(*continued*)

survive the transition into the post-Soviet world and would not be alleviated by the purchase of a PhD. Yanukovych has slipped into prison jargon on more than one occasion when describing his political opponents as *kozly* (bitches) and *shleper* (major criminals).

10. Thieves held a special relationship with ordinary citizens. A *vor v zakonye* describes "No bureaucrat or corrupt person gives charity like people in my circles do." This relationship may have transformed into the election populism promoted by post-Soviet political parties coupled with their willingness to cooperate with Soviet-era communist parties. Post-*Komsomol* centrist parties in Ukraine did not cooperate with the KPU. The Party of Regions exhibited a strong penchant for populist paternalism.

Sources:

Valery Chalidze, *Criminal Russia. Essays on Crime in the Soviet Union* (New York: Random House, 1977), Chapter Three "The Professional Underworld" and Chapter Four "The Soviet Authorities and the Underworld," 33–72.

Alexander Gentelev, producer, *Thieves by Law* documentary, 2010, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1w8zME-uDtw.

Vadim Volkov, *Violent Entrepreneurs: the Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 123.

elites who are in power. Lutsenko said Deputy Prosecutor General Kuzmin was responsible for Oleksandr Melnyk's evasion of justice after the Party of Regions lobbied for the prosecutor's office to turn a blind eye. "Kuzmin signed arrest warrants for two gang members, but not for the boss. After his 72 hours of detention had expired, he was released, and he went straight to Boryspil (airport)." "Having all the evidence connecting the gang to murders, including that of the murder of a police officer, Deputy Prosecutor General Kuzmin releases the man who Yanukovych shelters, the head of an organised crime gang."

Crimean and Donbas separatists worked together against the Euromaidan protesters and authorities through criminal leaders Ivanyushchenko, Anatoliy Zuyev, Serhiy Shakhov, Bezler, and Armena Sarkisyan. Ivanyushchenko's palace in Yenakiyevo became a logistical nerve center for the terrorists, and terrorist commander Bezler had headed security for the youth wing leader of the Party of Regions, Artur Herasimov.[149] With strong ties to crime, it is little wonder separatist groups have committed a wide range of human rights abuses that have included abductions, torture and ill treatment, unlawful detentions, and killings as well as seizing buildings and attacking Ukrainian security forces.[150]

An underground torture center in Luhansk became so notorious even separatist leaders were forced to act, closing it after assassinating LNR's rapid-reaction battalion commander Lieutenant-Colonel Aleksandr Bednov ("Batman") and six of his men. A UN report complained of separatists "terrorising" the population under their control, pursuing killings, abductions, torture, ill treatment, and other serious human rights abuses such as threatened executions and forcible mobilizations. Separatists deliberately shot at Ukrainian forces from residential buildings so that return fire would kill and wound civilians and destroy buildings.[151] Mistreatment of captured Ukrainian soldiers has been widely documented.[152]

Lutsenko also accused Kuzmin of "rehabilitating" notorious crime boss Givi Nemsadze.[153] Nemsadze was head of one of the bloodiest organized crime gangs in Ukraine, active in the Donetsk region in the 1990s where, Lutsenko said, he was responsible for 57 murders.[154] Givi Nemsadze's organized criminal gang was working for the local authorities in Donetsk who were in power in the late 1990s and led to the obliteration of the rival Kushnir gang.[155] Givi Nemsadze and Akhmetov have remained "partners and close friends."[156] Twenty-three of Kushnir's gang were murdered and 8 imprisoned in 1997-1999. In 2010, Givi Nemsadze was rehabilitated after he was released from criminal liability by Kuzmin, claiming there was a mix up because it had been his deceased brother Guram who had led the organized crime gang, not Givi. Investigative journalist Chornovol alleges Kuzmin received a major payoff for covering up Givi Nemadze's crimes, including a mansion in an elite exclusive suburb of Kyiv.[157]

In September 2008, a shoot-out in Kyiv between two Caucasian organized crime gangs was traced back to Party of Regions deputy Elbrus Tedeyev. A Mercedes car was seen driving away from the scene—where one person was killed and a second was seriously injured—with parliamentary number plates of Party of Regions parliamentary deputy Elbrus Tedeyev. Elbrus Tedeyev initially stated his cousin and colleagues were practicing "sports" (shooting) in the park where the shoot-out took place and claimed he did not have a cousin called Robert Tadeyev. Interior Minister Lutsenko ordered the arrest of Robert Tedeyev and declared at a press conference that Party of Regions deputy Elbrus Tadeyev belonged to the Caucasian *Savlokhy* organised crime group.[158] Elbrus Tadeyev had been on an organized crime wanted list that was compiled by the MVS directorate on organized crime in 2001 but he was then suspiciously removed from the list.[159] He was elected to parliament in 2012 by the Party of Regions and was one of the 18 parliamentary deputies who continued to have ties to organized crime.

In 2005 and 2007–2010, when the interior ministry was led by Lutsenko, attempts were made to break up nexuses between business, politics, and crime. In spring 2005 Lutsenko told oligarchs in Ukraine (and Akhmetov

during a personal meeting in Austria) to cut any ties they may have had with criminal groups.[160] When the Party of Regions has been in power in 2006–2007 and 2010–2014, the criminal world has felt greater freedom to emerge from the shadows and flex its muscles. Organized crime felt protected during the 2006–2007 Yanukovych government[161] and the new alliance forged between the Party of Regions and Crimean Russian nationalists facilitated the ability of organized crime leaders to emerge from the shadows and their decade-long marginalization and to re-enter local and national politics. In March 2007, a sniper assassinated Russian businessperson Maksim Kurochkin (with the criminal name of "Mad Max") as he was exiting a Kyiv courthouse under Alpha escort where he had been on trial for extortion, in what a British newspaper described as the return of gang warfare to Ukraine. In the 2004 presidential elections, Kurochkin had organized the pro-Yanukovych Russian Club and he (in a similar manner to former interior minister Kravchenko) was killed because he knew too much.[162] Under Yanukovych, organized crime gangs operated more freely than they did under Presidents Kuchma and Yushchenko: "Some *oblasts* are fully controlled by crime bosses and for criminal groups today it is a complete paradise for them because they have full freedom."[163] Moskal also said that in 2010–2013 at a minimum one Crimean mayor was assassinated each year, including Kyryl Kostenko and three other mayors. In 2012, Hennadiy Akselrod, a prominent local businessperson, was assassinated in Dnipropetrovsk. The above factors laid the ground for violent counter-revolution and separatism.

Blackmail State

The "blackmail state" as first coined by Keith A. Darden[164] is defined as "where graft is systematically tracked, monitored, and granted by state leaders as an informal payment in exchange for compliance, it may even be essential to the basic integrity of some states—providing both an added incentive to comply with leaders' directives and also the potent sanction of criminal prosecution in the event of disobedience."[165] Furthermore, "The surveillance institutions, particularly the State Security Service and the Tax Inspection Agency, monitored this activity but not for the purpose of enforcement. To the contrary, these organs occasionally intervened to assist the perpetrators in covering their tracks."[166] The "blackmail state" breaks down if, as in the case of Lazarenko, an oligarch politically challenges the leader that leads to files that have been collected being used to institute criminal charges against him.

In 1999, Lazarenko became the second prime minister (after Zvyahilskyy) to seek asylum abroad. Criminal charges of corruption against high-ranking officials have only been instigated either *after* they have gone into opposition to the executive, as in the case of Lazarenko, or after

they have left office because they are *protyvnyky* (hostile adversaries), as in the case of Tymoshenko; *oponentiv* (opponents) can be bought off. Parliamentary Chairperson Lytvyn told the March 2012 Party of Regions congress "we preach the class principle of if you are not with us then you are my enemy and you need to be destroyed."[167] In a 1973 movie about a real-life police whistle-blower on police corruption in New York, police officer Frank Serpico refuses to follow other police officers and take bribes only to have them turn against him because he refused to play by their rules and in the process becoming a threat to them.[168] Darden points out that under Kuchma it was rare for the Ukrainian authorities to punish the opposition or to conduct "prophylactic purges" against them, an approach that changed under Yanukovych.[169]

President Kuchma and the SBU knew Lazarenko was involved in corrupt activities but while he was the president's ally no steps were taken against him. In one of the tapes made illicitly by Melnychenko in Kuchma's office, there is a conversation where Kuchma asks Prosecutor General Potebenko whether the United States is likely to agree to Ukraine's request to extradite him.[170] Potebenko replies that it would be not in "our interests" for Lazarenko to be extradited to Ukraine because a trial would have harmed Kuchma's election chances in 1999 by revealing his culpability in Lazarenko's corruption and money laundering.

Kuchma and his allies worked with him until "Lazarenko's too rapid growth of interest in the possibility of replacing Kuchma in the 1999 presidential election became too obvious."[171] In June 2000, Kuchma, hinting at how he controlled the prosecutor general's office, told Volodymyr Shcherban that "If he (Lazarenko) had stayed (in Ukraine), nothing would have happened to him."[172] In return for criminal charges to be ended Lazarenko would have had to drop his opposition to the president (as did Tymoshenko in 1999). Kuchma received expensive gifts from Prime Minister Lazarenko and awarded him with two state medals. In March 1997, Prime Minister Lazarenko invested $3.8 million into the mobile company Kyiv Star at a time when he had good relations with President Kuchma; the investment was a sign of goodwill toward him and his family. In a rigged tender the Lazarenko government awarded UMC (Ukrainian Mobile Communications), Ukrainian Radio Systems, and Kyiv Star the tenders for the SM-900 system; Motorola pulled out of Ukraine after failing to receive one of the three tenders, losing hundreds of thousands of dollars it had invested in Ukraine. Although formed four years earlier when Kuchma came to power, Kyiv Star had remained dormant until 1997 and prior to receiving one of the three tenders it did not even have an office in Kyiv and to all intents and purposes was a virtual company. The senior directors of Kyiv Star, which emerged only a year after the tender was awarded, were Yuriy Tumanov, President Kuchma's brother-in-law; Elena Franchuk, Kuchma's daughter who married oligarch Pinchuk

in 2002; and Iryna Kravchenko, the daughter of Kuchma loyalist Interior Minister Kravchenko. Kyiv Star is today one of the largest mobile phone operators in Ukraine.[173]

Other members of Ukraine's elites implicated in Lazarenko's corruption that had business and government relationships with him included Prime Minister Marchuk to whose Swiss bank account $7 million was wired in gratitude for facilitating the entry of YESU into the Ukrainian gas market.[174] After this tribute, Marchuk did not believe it was immoral to be Melnychenko's handler whose purpose was to collect *kompromat* on the president and campaign on an "anti-corruption" platform in the 1999 elections against the incumbent Kuchma.

In June 2000, Lazarenko, then in custody in the United States, was convicted in absentia of money laundering by a Swiss court and given an 18-month suspended prison sentence. Two years later a Ukrainian court tried and convicted him in absentia of ordering the murders of Yevhen Shcherban and Vadym *Hetman* in 1996 and 1998, respectively.[175] A further trial of Lazarenko opened in San Francisco in 2004 and two years later the court sentenced him to nine years' imprisonment and a fine of US$10 million on charges of extortion, fraud, and money laundering $120 million into the United States. He was released in late 2012.

Offshore Tax Havens and the Shadow Economy

Although the shadow economy has a long-term presence in the Soviet Union the existence of offshore tax havens with billions of dollars deposited from Ukraine is more of a post-Soviet phenomenon. Large volumes of unaccountable funds in the shadow economy and offshore tax havens ensure an opaque nature to Ukrainian politics and election campaigns. The former is largely a domestic question whereas the latter is a product of the EU's multi-vector policies toward corrupt practices in Eurasia and elsewhere; while the EU condemns high corruption levels in Ukraine its member states accept capital from that country with little due diligence. The European Council on Foreign Relations labeled Greece and Cyprus as Russian "Trojan horses" with Athens a military partner and Nicosia a giant money-laundering hub through which hundreds of billions of dollars flow each year. As Lucas writes, Russia's biggest export was not energy but corruption.[176] Yanukovych and all senior members of the "Family" had billions of dollars and euros in European and offshore accounts; with Ukraine the most corrupt country in Europe it is incredulous that these governments only understood these funds to have been acquired in a criminal manner only *after* the launderers fled from Ukraine.[177] Do these governments not have access to Transparency International?

Large underground shadow economies emerged throughout the USSR in the 1970s and 1980s where businesspersons (called *akuly* [sharks] by

criminals) cooperated with the criminal world in a conspiratorial and hierarchical double life that used stolen goods. Shelley points out that the Soviet shadow economy could only have existed with the participation of government and security force personnel.[178] In the last two decades of the USSR, criminals resorted to blackmail, extortion, and protection rackets against *akuly*; in other words, these practices were already well established prior to their widespread use in the 1990s. In many regions of the USSR, especially the Caucasus and Central Asia, local politics and crime merged into a nexus. As with *Komsomol* leaders, former shadow economic entrepreneurs (*tsekhoviki*) were among the first to "anticipate the coming political changes and act accordingly"[179] during the second half of the 1980s when the Soviet economy liberalized.

The long-term presence of the shadow (also called the second or unofficial) economy in Ukraine has its origins in the Soviet era, particularly during the growing corruption of the "era of stagnation." Katsenelinboigen differentiates between a number of types of markets, including the semi-legal "Grey market," "Illegal Markets," and the "Black Market."[180] Chalidze points out that illegal private companies or private sectors in state companies were numerous in the Soviet Union and most Soviet people purchased goods from them.[181] F. J. M. Feldbrugge defined the shadow economy as including diversion of state property, use of state property for private purposes, private trading, professional activities and services, private enterprise, bribery, and illegal activities in state companies.[182] Paying bribes to teachers, to doctors, and to enter higher educational institutions also existed in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet shadow economy included private agricultural plots; private business offshoots of collective farms; bribes given to police officers and officials; *prinosheniye*, the selling of state positions; transportation of goods; production, distribution, and selling of alcohol; and smuggling from Poland through major ports such as Riga, Leningrad, Vladivostok, and Odesa. Lviv's shadow economy, although never as large as that found in Donetsk (Stalino) and Odesa, was evident from the higher number of criminal charges of abuse of office, bribery, theft, and speculation.[183] Kyiv, Kharkiv, and Dnipropetrovsk also had large shadow economies. Gregory Grossman wrote that "the Odesa black market enjoys high renown."[184] This continues to remain the case today in "7 km," the name given to the largest market in the former USSR located seven kilometres from Odesa that employs 60,000 people and is spread over 170 hectares.[185] Party of Regions organized crime leader Ivanyushchenko, whose business interests are registered in London, UK, took control of the market under Yanukovych and continues to run it without hindrance from the Euromaidan authorities earning a whopping 500,000–700,000 *hryvnya* each day.[186] Some of these funds would be used to finance separatists, making it all the more bewildering why his source of large

amounts of cash was not closed. Odesa was reported in a special BBC program to be a conduit for Columbian narcotics.[187] In the 1990s Military Intelligence Chairperson Smeshko told Kuchma that it had provided the FBI with 70 pages of intelligence on Ukrainian pilots flying Ukrainian Antonov-32 B planes that were involved in the Columbian narcotics trade.[188] In May 2012 Volodymyr Rokytskyy, deputy chairperson of the SBU, was photographed in public at a joint Ukrainian–American meeting to combat the narcotics trade wearing a $32,000 luxury watch, which amounts to his yearly official income.

What was described as "the Odesa Network" facilitated the export of Russian and Ukrainian arms to rogue states and countries that are not placed under UN arms embargoes.[189] Oktyabrsk near Mykolayiv on the Black Sea coast was purposefully built in the Soviet Union for the export of arms and was the port from which missiles were sent to Cuba during the 1962 missile crisis. Oktyabrsk port manager Andrei Yegorov, a former submarine commander captain in the Russian Black Sea Fleet, is "reported to be a tool of Russian-Ukrainian oligarch Vadim Novinsky who is reputed to own Oktyabrsk."Furthermore, "Novinsky is a business partner of and closely tied to Party of Regions figures such as Rinat Akhmetov (with whom he co-owns multiple steel and agricultural holdings), Dmytro Firtash, and Viktor Yanukov, who in turn are closely tied to organised crime and the Kremlin."[190] In summer 2014, Akhmetov and Novinsky merged SCM and Smart Holdings. Novinsky, who according to the *Odesa Network* report has ties to Russian intelligence, had a year earlier been elected in a Sevastopol district and joined the Party of Regions parliamentary faction in 2012 and Opposition Bloc in 2014.[191]

Running the shadow economy in the USSR were often national minorities such as peoples from the Caucasus and Central Asia traditionally excluded from other areas of social advancement and possessing a "trading culture";[192] Jews and Georgians in particular had a "reputation second to none."[193] This could be the reason why these ethnic minorities were some of the first to take advantage of the newly emerging private sector in the late 1980s and collapse of the Soviet economy that led to massive shortages of goods, growth of the shadow economy, and barter trade. In Donetsk during the 1990s the major criminal gangs were grouped around Jews (the Krantz and Kushnir gangs), Tatars (Brahin, Akhmetov, Yevhen Shcherban), Georgians (Givi Nemsadze), and Central Asians, a reflection of the multi-ethnic nature of the Donbas. Liberal Party leader Markulov who was of Dagestani ethnic origin was never accused of criminal ties but who feared for his life and fled from Ukraine.

Grossman writes about how the shadow economy undermined Soviet values and the authority of the Communist Party; it "aggravates cynicism and lawlessness inside the Soviet Union, and even within the party itself."[194] The Soviet shadow economy increased corruption, undermined

respect for the law, bonded government officials and economic managers incarcerated in prison with criminals, and provided start-up capital for cooperatives and privatization in the late 1980s. In May 1987 new legislation permitted the opening of cooperatives, private businesses, and open air markets with all manner of cheap imported goods becoming "cows for milking" as described by a *vor v zakonye* in the documentary about organized crime in the former USSR.[195] In other words, all of the above provided the basis for the rapid emergence of the business-political-crime nexus when the private sector was permitted in the late 1980s and 1990s.

The absence of political will to tackle corruption has created a de facto stable shadow economy, leading to high and numerous taxes on the official economy. The shadow economy is roughly equal in size to half of Ukraine's GDP and higher than in all post-Soviet states except Georgia until the Rose Revolution where it had accounted for 62 percent of GDP.[196] Ukraine's shadow economy is larger than energy-rich Russia and Kazakhstan, war-torn and impoverished Tajikistan and Armenia, and two EU members Bulgaria and Romania where high levels of corruption continue to fester. In 2003, toward the end of his two terms in office, Kuchma described the shadow economy was on the "scale of a national epidemic";[197] however, in the manner of his successors, Kuchma did nothing to reduce its size. The share of the shadow economy in Ukraine's GDP has remained constant throughout the transition to a market economy in the 1990s, following the return to economic growth in 2000 and under presidents Yushchenko and Yanukovych.

A country with half of its economy in the underground inevitably leads to organized crime and corrupt state officials exerting a large influence over the economy and politics. It is not possible to tax the shadow economy and therefore it cannot contribute to the Ukrainian budget. Of 22 million economically active Ukrainians, 8 million do not pay taxes, and 145 billion *hryvnya* ($18.15 billion) are paid as undeclared salary and wage payments "in envelopes," the equivalent of 36 percent of the total revenues of Ukraine's consolidated budget for 2011 (398.3 billion *hryvnya*). Nearly 70–80 percent of Ukrainians receive their salaries in envelopes (i.e., off the books) and every third works in unofficial businesses.

With a huge sector of the economy underground, political and economic corruption will remain endemic because the shadow economy acts as a large nontransparent source of funding during election campaigns and for political corruption in parliament.[198] Bribing parliamentary deputies has a long history in Ukraine; the Yushchenko government found a large number of entries in the budget for the payment of bribes of $1.5 million to deputies elected in single-mandate districts. Rybachuk, a supporter of the Yushchenko government, recalled "This was a fantastic blackmail scheme."[199] In the late 1990s left-wing parliamentary deputies were bribed by Poroshenko and Lytvyn to defect from the Peasant and Socialist Party

faction to pro-presidential factions such as Solidarity. Oleksandr Tkachenko was encouraged to defect after the writing off of $70 million U.S. credits guaranteed by the Ukrainian government, which had been given to his company *Zemlya i Lyudy* (Land and People) established in 1992 when he had been deputy parliamentary chairperson.[200] Opposition deputies in 2006–2007 and during Yanukovych's presidency were paid bribes in millions of dollars to encourage them to defect from opposition factions to the Party of Regions. Political corruption in 2010 targeted opposition members to enable the creation of a parliamentary coalition loyal to newly elected President Yanukovych.[201] Eight of the top ten election districts that received the greatest budgetary subsidies in 2012 ahead of that year's elections were represented by the Party of Regions candidates, including Prime Minister Azarov, Serhiy Kluyev (brother of RNBO Secretary Andriy Kluyev), Artem Pshonka (son of Prosecutor General Viktor Pshonka), and two from Lytvyn's NPU.[202] Defection from pro-Kuchma political forces and the Party of Regions to the opposition has been very rare and allegations of bribery by the opposition are nonexistent.[203] BYuT deputy Roman Zabzalyuk claimed he received $450,000 as a bribe to defect to the pro-presidential Stability and Reforms coalition and $25,000 monthly "salary."[204]

TAXES, TRUST, AND THE STATE

Post-Soviet citizens have one of the highest levels of contempt and mistrust toward governments found anywhere in the world. When asked if they would follow tax laws if they did not consider them fair, only 36 percent of Ukrainians said they would do so, compared to 83 percent of Poles and 53 percent of Russians. Marc P. Berenson argues that this low Ukrainian response is a product of the greater disconnect between citizens and their state in Ukraine and he therefore argues that "efforts to change the relationship between citizens and the state will remain an on-going challenge."[205] Ukrainians exhibit a very high level of distrust in the state; only 9 percent believe it fulfils its obligations to citizens and only 15 percent of Ukrainians believe the taxes they pay go toward financing government expenditures.[206] Francis Fukuyama argues, "People don't trust that their tax money will be used wisely" and "People obey the law only because they believe that the law is fundamentally fair, and they are morally habituated to follow it. They are much less inclined to obey the law if they believe that it is unjust."[207] "Ukrainians see the government inadequately funding hospitals and schools yet purchasing expensive car fleets for themselves," said Oleksandr Zholud, an economist with the International Center for Prospective Studies.[208] In 2011, businesses paid on average 57 percent of their profits in taxes, leading to widespread tax evasion at

the top of the social hierarchy by sending capital offshore and at the bottom through nonpayment.[209]

A large shadow economy also discouraged the payment of taxes. Support for paying taxes is even lower among Ukrainians with higher status jobs and businesspersons who have greater ability to escape paying taxes through sending capital offshore. When asked what was acceptable from a list of options, 55 percent of Ukrainians replied that tax evasion is acceptable or sometimes acceptable (45 percent did not agree); 55 percent of Ukrainians violated traffic rules and 65 percent thought it permissible to avoid paying for public transport.[210] One factor explaining the high unwillingness of Ukrainians to pay taxes is they are cumbersome, high and involve paying bribes to officials. "Paying Taxes 2012," an annual study from PricewaterhouseCoopers, the World Bank, and the International Finance Corporation ranked Ukraine 181st out of 183 countries for three years in a row because it had some of the worst possible examples of ease of paying taxes and number of tax payments, time required to comply, and total tax rate compared to other countries. The survey placed Ukraine (181th) below Zimbabwe (126th) in ease of paying taxes, number of payments (183rd for Ukraine compared to 160th for Zimbabwe), time to comply ranking in number of hours (175th to 103rd), and total tax rate ranking as a percentage of profit (152nd to 74th). The World Bank had calculated that Ukrainians pay 135 different taxes, a world record, followed by Romania with 113 and Jamaica in third place with 72 taxes.

Democracies remain weak when they fail to deliver on promises that undermine their legitimacy while successful democracies require strong states that can enforce the rule of law throughout the country. At the same time, they also require strong and cohesive societies that can impose accountability, which is essential to rule of law–based democracies where rulers believe they are responsible to the people over whom they govern.[211] In post-Soviet societies such as Ukraine, there is no public accountability and Ukrainians distrust the state, seeking to avoid it and hide as much of their incomes from it as possible. Ukrainians have very low trust in political institutions, politicians, and democracy because they see the elites as above the law and perceive there to be high levels of corruption within these institutions. Ukrainians, "appear to respond to their state with less fear and little trust, preferring to be neither subjects of the state nor true citizens."[212] The question of seeking justice and fair treatment from political rulers lies at the heart of the Orange Revolution, Euromaidan, *and* the 2010 Arab spring.

A survey of post-communist countries by Pew Associates[213] found Ukrainians had one of the lowest levels of support for the transition to a market economy and Ukraine was the only country included in the

survey where more disapproved than approved of the move to a democracy and market economy. Only 36 percent of Ukrainians approved their country's transition to capitalism and only 30 percent approved of the democratic changes (Russia was higher in both categories). Only 11 percent of Ukrainians (compared to 26 percent of Russians) believed ordinary people have benefited from these changes with the majority of Ukrainians (as well as Russians, Lithuanians, Slovaks, Bulgarians, and Hungarians) believing they lived better under communism. Aslund is wrong therefore to write that Ukrainian political institutions and economy "were considered highly legitimate" and the market economy "enjoys solid political support."[214] With Pew Associates finding support for democracy "tenuous by many standards" it is not surprising Ukrainians did not mobilize to protest falling living standards in the 1990s or to protest in massive numbers the imprisonment of opposition leaders and democratic regression. In the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan, they came on to the streets when their backs had been pushed to the wall and they had reached the end of their tether.

Ukrainians believe there is entrenched institutional corruption throughout the country. When asked if normal and political corruption exists in Ukraine the public response was "yes," averaging between 87 and 91 percent over the country's four regions. Eighty two percent of Ukrainians said that parliamentary deputies were not interested in combating corruption.[215] Another opinion poll asked which parliamentary political forces are most prone to corruption and which forces seek to combat this phenomenon. Ukrainians viewed the Party of Regions to be most prone to corruption and it received the lowest level of trust as a political force that actively combats corruption. The public view of the Party of Regions as a party not committed to fighting corruption concurs with an Atlantic Council report by Jan Neutze and Karatnycky that found the Party of Regions ignored the question of corruption in its election programs (see Chapters 5 and 10). Following criticism of the absence of policies to fight corruption, the Party of Regions included a vague program that Neutze and Karatnycky found lacked "new or more specific ideas for fighting corruption." This, they believed, showed "evidence that anticorruption efforts simply are not a priority for the Party of Regions."[216] (This did not stop Karatnycky later becoming a cheerleader for Yanukovych's regime.)

Widespread corruption in the building of football stadiums for the Euro 2012 soccer championship led to them becoming more expensive to build than elsewhere in Europe. The state budget provided nearly $10 billion for Euro 2012, or 10 times more than was originally envisaged, and inevitably, not all of these funds were used for their declared purpose. In 2010–2012, most of these contracts were awarded to companies from Donetsk. Although Ukraine's Kyiv stadium for Euro 2012 cost a similar amount to

that in other European countries, the Ukrainian per capita income of $3,500 is in the group of countries with below-average gross income, and therefore salaries of construction workers are five to six times lower than that found in the EU. An in-depth investigation by *Ukrayinska Pravda* found, "Ukraine's preparations for the European football championships in 2012 have become a Bermuda triangle in which state costs disappear."[217] Costing $17 million President Yanukovych's helicopter is more expensive than those used by Chancellor Angela Merkel ($15 million), President Putin ($8.2 million), and President Obama ($6.4 million).[218]

An important aspect of Ukraine's post-Soviet political culture is the acceptability of corruption as a way of life, which has its origins in the Soviet Union. As Feldbrugge writes, "Any political and socio-economic system which practices and tolerates wide-spread corruption develops a set of informal rules regulating corruption."[219] Leading members of the Party of Regions (and other political forces) do not understand the question of corruption and do not see it as a major national security threat to Ukraine. Yefremov, head of the Party of Regions parliamentary faction, admitted "When I led the administration in the Luhansk region, I assembled my colleagues and said, 'If you are stealing 10 percent, and 90 percent works for the state, I understand you.' "[220] He believed this to be the norm because "Countries where corruption only accounts for 10 percent are the most developed in the world." Party of Regions deputy Valery Bondyk believes, "It's all right if the price of (Kyiv's) 'Olympic' NSK (Stadium) increased from 1.2 to 6 billion *hryvnya*. The most important thing is the image of the state. I understand during its construction some of the funds were stolen. Nevertheless, we built the stadium and now we will be able to understand who stole what and who to punish."[221]

ELITES AND RENT SEEKING

Populist criticism of corruption during election campaigns rarely translates into government policy after politicians come to power; one of the few exceptions was the 2005 Tymoshenko government that came into office following the Orange Revolution. Ukraine's elites from different political camps have protected one another and facilitated mutual corrupt enrichment schemes, the best (but not the only) example of which is in the energy sector.

As the cases of Georgia and Singapore show, political will to fight corruption begins with the country's leader setting an example, and in Ukraine, this was clearly not the case when President Yanukovych lived in a fraudulently privatized Soviet-era mansion *Mezhyhirya* fitted out at astronomical cost far greater than his official state salary would permit.[222] His new Crimean palace was completed in 2013.[223] *Mezhyhirya* is set on

140 hectares of land that is just less than the territorial size of Monaco (180 hectares).[224] The sums spent on the décor and furniture was astronomical (e.g., a €30,000 bed and €97,000 billiard table, an antique car collection worth billions of dollars, and $100 million sports center).[225] Yanukovych's acute paranoia led to the palace and grounds guarded by over 700 *Berkut* officers with APCs and a local private security company (*Dellit*). *Mezhyhirya* had 10 times better protection from air attack than parliament and government buildings in Kyiv. "This was a fully-fledged corporation with its own infrastructure, logistics, financial system, even militarised formations. The only inhabitant was Yanukovych."[226]

The *Mezhyhirya* complex was owned until its nationalization by the Euromaidan government by three entities: (1) Yanukovych owned a land plot of nearly 2 hectares, (2) *Vidrodzhennya Ukrayiny* (Ukrainian Revival) charity leased nearly 8 hectares, and (3) *Tantalit* private company,[227] controlled by "The Family," owned 27 hectares of land. An office was rented from *Tantalit* for the president in *Mezhyhirya* and the grounds included hunting and tennis grounds, a zoo, and a lake with a Spanish galleon.[228] The Kyiv and Crimean palaces recall Romanian communist leader Nicolae Ceau□escu's infatuation with grand and obscene palaces while *Mezhyhirya*, the grounds and palace, represents Soviet retro, the fantasy world of Disneyland and Michael Jackson's Neverland, and the worst cases of Las Vegas nouveau riche combined into a vulgar homily to greed. Motyl describes President Yanukovych's *noveau riche* taste in his *Mezhyhirya* palace:

"The real residence is a bona fide palace set within a palatial compound. As befits a Regionnaire with questionable taste, everything is in marble, and no inch appears to be spared some excessively florid design. Yanukovych even has columns on the inside of his abode, and they are some weird combination of Ionic plus Corinthian styles. It all amounts to a nightmarish amalgam of nouveau riche kitsch, late Ottoman excess, Disneyland vulgarity, and Donald Trump tastelessness."[229]

The problem of corruption is not confined to Ukraine as it has been exported to European countries that have benefited from the corruption. Ukrainian oligarch Pinchuk paid $6 million, just under the $6.2 million spent by Lazarenko for film star Eddie Murphy's Californian mansion, in cash during his birthday party at the posh French ski resort of Courchevel on New Year's Eve in December 2011.[230] Lazarenko's home cost less than the $7 million Yanukovych received for his Kyiv penthouse in 2007 at an alleged cost of $50,000 per square foot, which, when placed into perspective, was four times more expensive than land prices five years later in London's Westminster that are the most expensive in Britain. Yanukovych, like Lazarenko, had been a state official since the 1990s and the price he received for his penthouse was obviously inflated. Lazarenko's Californian home cost even less when compared with the $128 million

Yanukovych's *Mezhyhirya* palace near Kyiv came to symbolize corruption and kleptocracy during his presidency and was nationalized by the Euromaidan government. Photographs were taken during my tour of the palace and grounds in May 2014. (Taras Kuzio)

(£80 million in 2008) paid by Elena Pinchuk for the world's most expensive home in London—a five-floor, 10-bedroom Victorian mansion complete with huge underground swimming pool, gym, sauna, and cinema. Lazarenko's Californian mansion also looks very modest compared to the nearly $200 million paid by Donetsk oligarch Akhmetov two years later for three penthouse apartments that he has converted into one huge apartment across the road from the world famous Harrods store in the chic neighbourhood of Knightsbridge. In a 2011 ranking of London's 10 most expensive houses by *The Sunday Telegraph* newspaper, spots number two and four are occupied, respectively, by Akhmetov Knightsbridge's One Hyde Park and Pinchuk's Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington.

Mezhyhirya was merely symptomatic of a larger image problem of the president having no political will to combat corruption. In 2011, Yanukovych's tax return declared that an honorarium was allegedly paid for books he wrote that were published by the Donetsk-based *Novyy Svit* (New World) publishing house. In 2011 and 2012, Yanukovych's official

salaries were 757,000 *hryvnya* each year while his declared income was 17 and 20 million *hryvnya*, respectively. The difference between his official salaries and declared incomes in 2011 and 2012 were $2 million and $2.4 million, respectively, which were allegedly received from book publishing.[231] Yanukovych, who is a barely literate person, has not published books for many years while the Donetsk publishing house that paid him the honorariums does *not* actually publish books.[232] An independent Ukrainian television station searched Kyiv and Donetsk bookstores for President Yanukovych's "bestsellers"—but to no avail.[233]

Yanukovych is not alone within the Ukrainian elite in living in a mansion at the state's expense. Drawing on the Soviet *nomenklatura* tradition, Ukraine's elites continued to receive dachas in the two elite enclaves of Koncha-Zaspa and Pushcha-Vodytsya near Kyiv.[234] The upkeep of the two housing complexes cost the state budget 50 million *hryvnya* ($6.2 million) in 2012 and its 81 residents annually consume more electricity than a medium-sized town such as Vinnytsya with a population of 400,000.[235] The list of state-funded dachas reads like a "Who's Who" of Ukrainian politics and government over the first two decades of Ukrainian independence. These elite properties are administered by DUS that also services members of the government and presidential administration and controls a huge number of assets that include food processing, offices, transportation, elite clinics and hospitals, sanatoriums in the Crimea and Truskavets, and the *Dnipro* and *Ukrayina* hotels in Kyiv. Current *and* former parliamentary deputies are granted a huge number of privileges that include free access to sanatoriums in Ukraine.[236] If you are serviced by DUS, Kuchma writes, "you are part of the authorities system," and he adds, "This is how it was under the Soviet system."[237] Twenty-one years after the USSR disintegrated, Lytvyn was awarded a life-long dacha based on the authority of an August 1990 Soviet Ukrainian parliamentary resolution signed by then parliamentary chairperson Kravchuk.[238] The dachas in the two elite enclaves are off limits to the public in the same manner as elite residences of the Soviet *nomenklatura*. Orange politicians never raised the question of liquidating such a brazen example of corruption from the Soviet era of state-funded largesse even though it contributes to reinforcing the wide gulf between elites and society (as it did in the Soviet Union) by perpetuating the existence of a nonaccountable ruling class.[239] One of President Poroshenko's first decrees was to appoint a new head of DUS when to prove his commitment to fighting corruption he should have closed down this black hole of *nomenklatura* privilege.

Without the separation of politics and business, and politicians no longer acting as if they own the state and are above the law, ruling elites will continue to view the budget as sources of rents. "Budgetary costs are stolen by all who have access to them" Interior Minister Lutsenko complained.[240] Eighty-five percent of the military budget went to pay

salaries, utilities, medical, food, and construction with very little for equipment and servicing. A good proportion of even this meagre budget was stolen, especially during the Yanukovych presidency, leading to a decapitated military unable to defend Ukraine against Russian aggression in 2014.

Political forces who are in power hold an advantage during election campaigns because they have access to budgetary resources, "which can be used to not only make money for the election campaign but to buy the loyalty of opponents."[241] Political and economic corruption by Ukraine's elites breeds broader public cynicism about the value of voting (election turnout has been declining since the 1990s), increases distrust toward political representatives, and lowers public trust in state institutions. As many as 11 percent of Ukrainians were willing to sell their votes during the 2012 elections—a practice historically called "treating" that was eliminated in Britain as long ago as 1867 following the adoption of the Second Reform Act.[242]

It is illusory to believe that young people who enter a political system where corruption brazenly flourishes will begin to respect the rule of law because they are from the post-Soviet generation. The young deputy mayor of Kyiv Dovhiy was implicated in the land privatization swindles overseen by Chernovetskyy[243] who himself bizarrely lived part of the year in an apartment in northern Tel Aviv while he was the mayor of Kyiv.[244] Dovhiy was elected to parliament in 2014. Chernovetskyy immigrated to Israel in October 1994 and has Israeli citizenship (even though dual citizenship is illegal in Ukraine). It would not be difficult to imagine the scope of the scandal that would have erupted if the mayor of New York or Toronto lived for most of the year in another country. Tymoshenko forced through preterm mayoral elections in 2008 to remove Chernovetskyy from office but he received support from President Yushchenko and Chief of Staff Baloha. Our Ukraine and the Chernovetskyy bloc factions cooperated in the Kyiv city council and the U.S. embassy in Ukraine reported on Yushchenko's continued backing of Chernovetskyy because he was the only effective counterweight to BYuT in Kyiv.[245] Political expediency for *both* presidents Yushchenko and Yanukovych therefore trumped combating Chernovetskyy's massive corruption and his team returned to power with the election of Klitschko as Kyiv mayor. Chernovetsky's allies have cooperated with Vitaliy Klitschko and Poroshenko, in the latter case continuing the alliance forged earlier by Yushchenko and Baloha.

High-level corruption in the energy sector played a major role in undermining the unity of Orange political forces and discrediting Yushchenko's presidency. More importantly, warm relations between RUE, the gas lobby, and the Yushchenko administration indirectly assisted in the rise of the Party of Regions to become Ukraine's most powerful political machine, facilitating the coming to power of Yanukovych and the gas lobby in 2010, which is the subject of Chapter 10.

CHAPTER 10

Ukrainian Oligarchs: The Gas Lobby, Dnipropetrovsk, and Donetsk

We had our own big schizophrenic (Yanukovych) but pointing to Russia, there is a schizophrenic of short stature (Putin).

Ihor Kolomoyskyy

In their hearts, many people in the Donbas still see Moscow as their capital.

Jakob Preuss[1]

There was little doubt that an Eastern Ukrainian would rule independent Ukraine in the same manner as Ukraine had been ruled by Eastern Ukrainians in the Soviet Union. However, it was a commonly held assumption that Ukraine's post-Soviet leaders would come from two traditional centers of Soviet Ukrainian elites or clans[2]—Kharkiv and Dnipropetrovsk, rather than Donetsk. Independent Ukraine elected its first president from Western Ukraine and fourth president from Donetsk, two regions added to Ukraine by Stalin and Lenin, respectively. The two potential challengers to the Donetsk hegemony—Lazarenko and Tymoshenko—were removed by Kuchma in the late 1990s and Yanukovych during his presidency, respectively, clearing the path for the Donetsk clan to consolidate power for the first time in Ukrainian history, albeit their capture of the Ukrainian state was short lived.

In the first and third historic cycles, Kharkiv had been a source of cadres for national communists who had introduced liberalization and Ukrainianization. Under Shelest, *oblast* Communist Party secretaries with employment experience in Kharkiv and Kyiv grew by 12 and 16 percent, respectively, but by 1975 both had declined by 8 percent. In the third historic cycle, Dnipropetrovsk had been a source for Eurasianist elites who

received patronage from Soviet leader Brezhnev. In the period 1966–1985, *oblast* Communist Party secretaries with experience in Dnipropetrovsk increased from 8 to 21 percent. Beissinger found this development to be a growing trust-in-cadres policy by Moscow whereby Russified Eastern Ukrainians mediated Moscow's dominance over Ukraine. In the fifth historic cycle in the 1990s, Dnipropetrovsk became closer in identity to Kharkiv and also a source for liberal centrists and dissident oligarchs. The *Komsomol* Democratic Platform of the Soviet Communist Party moved into newly emerging business and banks in the late 1980s and first half of the 1990s. These former *Komsomol* leaders were the source for budding liberal centrist parties (Labor Congress of Ukraine and PDVU that merged into the NDP, MBR, SLON, and Labor Ukraine) aimed at politically representing the emerging middle class and with which Kuchma cooperated throughout the 1990s. Another source was the business–politics–crime nexus that emerged in other cities and regions (Donetsk, Odesa, and Crimea) that experienced rampant violence.[3] Ukraine's business elite was formed primarily from two social groups that included former criminal elements and *Komsomol* leaders and, as Oleh Medvedev differentiates between the "hard gangster style of Donetsk" and the softer style of the Dnipropetrovsk *Komsomol*, "[t]he first (Donetsk group) were brutal and feral street kids from mining town suburbs who rose to the top without any regard for rules or the remnants of Soviet morality under the sound of the crossfire of Kalashnikovs. The second (Dnipropetrovsk group) came from intellectual families that became cultured working inside the (Communist) Party. Their origin and education meant they did not dispose of their competitors by blowing them up inside football stadiums. It is no surprise which of these two subcultures won out in Ukraine."[4] The first group was eventually integrated into the Party of Regions, first in Donetsk and then in the Crimea, where they rubbed shoulders with the "Red Director" old guard, new middle generation oligarchs, and former pan-Slavists, upholding Eurasianist and neo-Soviet identity commonly found in these two regions. The second group, liberal and dissident oligarchs, were upholders of moderate Ukrainian ethnic identity promoted by President Kuchma during his decade in office willing to cooperate with national democrats.

Independent Ukraine inherited two legacies from Soviet nationality policies undertaken in the third and particularly the fourth historic cycles. First, Eastern Ukrainians believed they—not the agricultural and less industrialized Western Ukraine—are the natural leaders of the republic. The seven *oblasts* of Western Ukraine contribute less to the state budget than the city of Kyiv. Second, Moscow has greater trust in Russified and moderate Eastern Ukrainian elites than in Western Ukrainians to run the country's affairs. Shcherbytskyy could mediate Russian political dominance in the Soviet era, while Kuchma and Yanukovych would mediate

Russian influence in Ukraine. National Communist Shelest, Western Ukrainian Kravchuk, and "nationalist" Yushchenko and Poroshenko would be unable to undertake such roles in the eyes of Moscow.[5] This would remain true even though Kuchma's domestic and foreign policies were not that different.

UKRAINE AS AN OLIGARCHY

Welshman John Hughes founded Yuzivka in 1869, which was given the new name Stalino in 1924, a name that it kept until 1961. Donetsk, the name of the city since 1961, is a working-class city that provided leaders for a small number of Cabinet of Ministers positions and the Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party as well as hard-line support for the Eurasianist wing of the party. From the mid-1960s, the "Dnipropetrovsk mafia" took over the leadership of Soviet Ukraine from Kharkiv and Kyiv and came to provide over half of Kyiv's political leaders on the eve of Gorbachev's rise to power; as late as 1996, 80 percent of Ukrainian leaders had begun their careers in Dnipropetrovsk. In the 1990s, Dnipropetrovsk shared power with Kharkiv, and representatives from the Kharkiv elite received four of the six deputy chairperson positions in parliament: Hrynyov (1990–1993), Oleh Dyomin (1994–1996), Viktor Musiyaka (1996–1998), and Stepan Havrysh (2000–2002). Medvedchuk and Zinchenko were deputy chairpersons during the remainder of the Kuchma presidency. Kushnaryov and Tabachnyk, representatives of the Kharkiv and Dnipropetrovsk elites, respectively, headed the presidential administration in 1994–1998, and Kushnaryov was governor of Kharkiv *oblast* from 2000 to 2004. The majority of these six parliamentary deputy chairpersons emerged from the Soviet Ukrainian *Komsomol* elites. In the late 1990s, Hrynyov had been joint head of *Rukh* in Kharkiv and a leading personality in the first political face of the *Komsomol*, the PDVU, showing the closeness at the time between the Democratic Platform of the Communist Party and the democratic opposition.The influence of the Soviet *Komsomol* in post-Soviet Ukraine was additionally evident in the 2004 elections when Tihipko ran the Yanukovych election campaign and Zinchenko headed Yushchenko's campaign.

In the post-Kuchma era, and following the Orange Revolution, the Kharkiv elites were marginalized—for the first time since the 1920s—while the Dnipropetrovsk elites led or aligned with Orange forces (Tymoshenko, Kolomoyskyy), sat on the fence (Pinchuk), or were co-opted by the Party of Regions (Tihipko, Tabachnyk). Under Yanukovych, there was a total monopolization of positions by the Donetsk clan that included the president, prime minister, two deputy prime ministers, parliamentary chairperson, RNBO secretary, National Bank chairperson,

prosecutor-general, and the heads of four key courts, half of government ministers, a large number of regional heads of the SBU, and 90 percent of regional governors.[6] A Ukrainian anecdote describes a Donetsk police officer bundling a homeless person into a van who asks, "What have I done? Where are you taking me?" to which the officer replies, "To the Crimea. A mayoral post has just opened up." The Donbas's hostility to outsiders has been an integral component of Donbas political culture since 1917.[7]

Dnipropetrovsk elites returned into power following Kuchma's election in July 1994 but failed in their attempt to establish a dominant local party of power through the NDP or Labor Ukraine party. Only two of six prime ministers under Kuchma were from Dnipropetrovsk, including *Hromada* and NDP party leaders Lazarenko and Pustovoytenko. Kuchma never used the Dnipropetrovsk regional governor to mobilize, coerce, and blackmail local business elites to join the NDP or Labor Ukraine party. In August 2000, Donetsk Governor Yanukovych had bragged to Kuchma that his team had established a monopolization of political, economic, and media power in the Donetsk region in readiness for the upcoming parliamentary elections in three years' time. Yanukovych was recorded on a Melnychenko tape as saying, "This is why today, we can put anyone against the wall." Yanukovych bragged that he controlled the media in Donetsk *oblast* and "We have completely prepared ourselves for the coming election. Such a level of preparation has never existed before."[8] He was referring to 2002 when ZYU won first place in Donetsk *oblast* on the proportional list—the only region in Ukraine where this was the case (elsewhere the KPU or Our Ukraine came first).

Dnipropetrovsk groups did not unite into a regional clan and presidential political party because they remained divided into three competing oligarch groups: (1) Kolomoyskyy, (2) Pinchuk and Tihipko, (3) Lazarenko and Tymoshenko. These three oligarchic groups supported different political forces or launched their own political projects: (1) Kolomoyskyy remained outside politics until 2004 when he supported the Orange Revolution, in 2005–2010 he backed Yushchenko and Our Ukraine/NUNS, and from 2012, Klitschko/UDAR and Poroshenko. He also allegedly backed *Svoboda* and *Pravyy Sektor*; (2) Pinchuk and Tihipko launched the Labor Ukraine and Strong Ukraine parties; and (3) Lazarenko and Tymoshenko led the *Hromada* and *Batkivshchina* parties, respectively. Rivalry between Kolomoyskyy and Pinchuk made its way to a London courtroom. In the 1990s, the Donetsk elites were also divided into competing groups—Liberal Party, Party of Labor, and Party of Regional Revival—but after Yanukovych became the governor, he successfully united them in 2000 into a political machine, the Party of Regions; the Liberals—who did not join—became a marginalized political force. Donetsk has been the home of two political parties that have received pluralities in five out of seven parliamentary elections in Ukraine, the KPU in 1994

and 1998 and the Party of Regions in 2006, 2007, and 2012. Zhuk's prediction that "[m]odern post-Soviet Ukrainian politics now depends on the politicians and businesspeople that came from this 'closed city' " (Dnipropetrovsk) turned out to be wrong.[9] In a later analysis, Zhuk explained why the Soviet era Dnipropetrovsk clan did not take power in post-Soviet Ukraine:

> Since the Brezhnev era the "Dnipropetrovsk mafia" had always sought promotion in business and political careers in Moscow or Kyiv leaving their home base unattended. In Ukraine, they continued to ignore their home base and their electorate and regional elites such as Tymoshenko and Tihipko did nothing for their home city and the region. In contrast, the Donetsk clan had always invested into local, Donetsk regional projects because they had adopted a different more inward-looking strategy as well as being more decisive and aggressive in achieving their objectives. A final factor was the inability of Dnipropetrovsk political and business elites to unite around one party and leader and as a result, the better organised Donetsk clan replaced Dnipropetrovsk as the dominant clan in Ukraine.[10]

Launch of the pro-presidential For a United Ukraine (ZYU) bloc in the March 2002 parliamentary elections. From left to right, head of Lviv state administration and Agrarian Party leader Mykhaylo Hladiy, Minister of Transport and People's Democratic Party (NDP) leader Valeriy Pustovoytenko, head of the presidential administration and leader of ZYU Volodymyr Lytvyn, Prime Minister and leader of the Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs Anatoliy Kinakh, leader of the Party of Regions Volodymyr Semynozhenko, and Chairperson of the National Bank of Ukraine and leader of the Labour Ukraine party Serhiy Tihipko. (UNIAN)

As a working-class region, locals in the Donbas were less mobile (as they generally are everywhere) than middle-class people, and this could be another factor why Donbas regional patriotism was so deeply ingrained. The coming to power of the Donetsk clan entrenched oligarchs in the Ukrainian state. Presidents Kuchma and Yeltsin adopted divide and rule strategies toward Ukrainian and Russian oligarchs without favoring one group (as seen in the quota of parliamentary deputy chairperson for Kharkiv representatives), and this similarity in approach between both leaders contributed to their failure to establish presidential parties of power. In the post-Kuchma and post-Yeltsin eras, Russia and Ukraine approached the oligarch question in diametrically different ways. President Putin cowed the oligarchs quickly after coming to power when he laid out new rules of the game. Following the July 2000 meeting between President Putin and Russian oligarchs, Mikhail Khodorkovsky told the BBC, "Political uncertainty has left businesspersons feeling at risk until this meeting. We didn't know what they wanted from us," adding, "Now, we know the rules of the game." Putin warned Russian oligarchs to no longer intervene in politics and told them, "If you chose business, please stick to business."[11] Most Russian oligarchs accepted the new terms, and most of those who did not fled abroad. The result has been that "[t]he Kremlin has established control over Russia's oligarchs, reducing once-mighty Rottweiler's to shivering Chihuahuas and transforming supposedly private companies into organs of the state. The persecution and imprisonment of Mr Khodorkovsky helped to instil obedience, and periodically the state waves a bloody stick at the oligarchs to keep them in their place."[12] Yushchenko did not forcibly demand Ukrainian oligarchs stay out of politics, thereby losing a major opportunity to fashion a new relationship between the state and big business. Several months after the Orange Revolution, Karatnycky met Tihipko at the headquarters of TAS bank, which he owned, and he told him a Ukrainian businessperson had said the following: "Yushchenko's biggest mistake is that he has not arrested an oligarch. One Khodorkovskiy and the entire business elite would have fallen into line and would not be seeking to dictate policy."[13] Yanukovych understood this, and it provided one of the motivations behind him imprisoning Tymoshenko in order to send a signal to the Ukrainian elites that there are new rules of the game, making them more amenable to selling their businesses and ending their financial support for the opposition. In Ukraine, the Orange Revolution brought Yushchenko to power on a wave of anti-elite populism, and Ukrainian oligarchs feared there would be mass arrests and re-privatizations. However, no arrests of senior officials that led to criminal convictions took place and only one reprivatization was undertaken. Poroshenko will face a stronger public demand for an end to the cosy relationship between oligarchs and politicians.

In this chapter, Ukraine's oligarchs are divided into five groups and classifications: (1) dissident oligarchs Lazarenko and Tymoshenko, (2) liberal oligarchs Pinchuk and Tihipko, (3) patriotic oligarch Kolomoyskyy, (4) the gas lobby, and (5) the Donetsk clan and the Party of Regions. The SDPUo, although from that city are wrongly dubbed as the Kyiv clan because they never had support in that city, are covered in Chapter 5. The brief influence of the Kyiv clan came in two periods; firstly, during the Kuchmagate crisis when Marchuk, who ran Melnychenko, was allied to them and second, in 2002-2004 when Medvdchuk was President Kuchma's chief of staff.

Dissident Oligarchs Lazarenko and Tymoshenko

Lazarenko had been a member of the "Group of 239" left-wing deputies in parliament in 1990–1994, but resigned from his seat in June 1992, when Kuchma appointed him governor of Dnipropetrovsk *oblast*. At that time Lazarenko's left-wing views on issues such as private property and land reform were little different to those of other center-left politicians. In September 1995, Lazarenko became the first deputy prime minister in the Marchuk government and in 2006–2007, became the prime minister. Presidential administration head Kushnaryov, echoing later fears about Medvedchuk and the Kyiv clan, welcomed Lazarenko's removal warning that if he had remained in office, "we could have lost all ideas of honesty, of state honour. A few people would have become fantastically rich, to the detriment of everyone else."[14] In saying this, Kushnaryov was ignoring numerous other oligarchs who were becoming superwealthy at the same time. What Kushnaryov was, in fact, alluding to was the perceived threat of Lazarenko's desire to monopolize politics and business. Kushnaryov, who died in a suspicious hunting accident, launched a short-lived New Democratic Party that merged with the Party of Regions, which became a far more successful monopolizer of power than Lazarenko or Medvedchuk ever could.

Lazarenko was one of five political leaders who were potential obstacles to the reelection of Kuchma for a second term in 1999. Former chairperson of the National Bank and head of the Inter-Currency Exchange *Hetman* had offered to finance National Bank Chairperson Yushchenko's election campaign, but he remained reluctant to enter Ukrainian politics. The assassination may have not been for political reasons and, instead, may have been linked to a business dispute or *Hetman's* unwillingness to agree to undertake corrupt activities. *Rukh* leader Vyacheslav Chornovil died in an automobile accident in March 1999, barely a month after the Kuchma administration had engineered a split in his political force. Yevhen Shcherban planned to sponsor Marchuk, who ran on an anti-Kuchma platform in the 1999 elections.

Lazarenko was viewed by Kuchma as the most dangerous threat to his reelection for a second term as he would have been a fifth center-left member of the "Kaniv Four"[15] providing the group with financial resources. Lazarenko viewed *Hromada's* 1998 entry into parliament as a springboard to challenge Kuchma in the following year's presidential elections, a factor that was more important in turning Kuchma against him than his involvement in corruption.[16] Kuchma preempted Lazarenko's strategy by passing *kompromat* files on him to the prosecutor-general's office and pressuring parliament into voting to strip Lazarenko of his immunity. Lazarenko fled to Switzerland using a Panamanian passport, where he was detained at a border check, leading him to receive the nickname *Panamanian Pavlo;* then he sought political asylum in the United States. If Lazarenko had instead moved to *Londongrad*, as have hundreds of thousands of oligarchs and businesspersons from Ukraine and the former USSR, or elsewhere in Western Europe, he may have not needed to ask for political asylum.[17] Compared to today's officials, Lazarenko resembles an "unsuccessful pupil" because "[t]he sums which dripped into his offshore accounts over the course of a year are now stolen in one transaction."[18] Lazarenko was a small fish compared to Bakay and especially Firtash and Akhmetov in terms of corruption.

Tymoshenko and Tihipko were both born in 1960 and rose to power in Soviet Dnipropetrovsk in the 1980s. Tihipko was the first secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk *Komsomol* in 1989, and the organization supported the emergence of small private business ventures; by 1991, the Soviet Union's final year, there were 100 *Komsomol*-backed businesses in Dnipropetrovsk. "As a consequence, the new, post-Soviet Ukrainian politicians, who had grown up in the region, brought their ideological and cultural confusion and resulting cynicism to the new post-Soviet politics of Ukraine," Zhuk writes.[19]

In the 1980s, Tymoshenko was a rising star in Dnipropetrovsk, but as a woman, she was unusual in the city's *Komsomol* leadership and among new business leaders. Her maiden name is Grigorian, from her Armenian father, while her Russian mother's surname is Telegina, and she received her Ukrainian name from her husband, Oleksandr, whom she married in 1978. Although the absence of ethnic Ukrainian roots made her suspect in the eyes of Western Ukrainian nationalists and nationalists in the Ukrainian diaspora, Tymoshenko was typical of the city's Russian-speaking, liberal *Komsomol* youth.

In 1988, Tymoshenko began her business career as a small businessperson running the video salon Terminal Loop renting and showing pirate videos of Western films. She became commercial director of the Dnipropetrovsk Youth Centre Terminal in 1989–1991 and director general of the *Korporatsiya Ukrayinskyy Benzyn (Ukrainian Petrol Company [KUB])* in 1991–1995. The capital that Tymoshenko earned from her early business

ventures "will be used as a foundation for her future business and political career during the new, post-Soviet capitalist era."[20] By the mid-1990s under the patronage of Lazarenko, she became chairperson of gas trader YESU.[21] In 1996, Tymoshenko first entered politics in a landslide 94 percent vote to parliament in a Kirovohrad single-mandate district seat, where she replaced Durdynets, who had been appointed the first deputy prime minister. Tymoshenko joined the pro-presidential Constitutional Centre faction rather than the opposition Unity and Social-Market Choice factions associated with Lazarenko and Yevhen Shcherban, respectively. In July 2009, Tymoshenko launched the *Batkivshchina* political party she has led except during her imprisonment when it was led by Yatsenyuk. *Batkivshchina* was initially a pro-presidential political force that permitted her business assets to be unfrozen by the authorities. These four years (1996–1999) showed to what degree Tymoshenko was still politically undecided, changing her stance from (1) pro-presidential (1996–1998) to (2) antipresidential (1998–1999) and (3) again to pro-presidential (1999–2000), and (4) since winter 2000, anti-establishment and in opposition to Presidents Kuchma and Yanukovych.

Tymoshenko adopted two strategies that were different from that of Yanukovych and the Donetsk clan. First, BYuT, although a bloc of political parties, decided from the 2002 elections to run as a personalized political force tied to the highly charismatic but also divisive Tymoshenko; the Party of Regions adopted a different strategy that never tied a single person to the political force. Second, oligarchic supporters were never pressured to join *Batkivshchina* and BYuT when she was the prime minister, unlike in the case of the Party of Regions. A small minority of oligarchs did run in BYuT for parliament, such as Tariel Vasadze (owner of UkrAvto Corporation) and Kostyantyn Zhevago (Finance and Credit), whereas other oligarch supporters, such as Taruta and Hayduk (ISD), did not seek parliamentary seats or party membership. This was similar to Our Ukraine and UDAR, where Kolomoyskyy (*Privat* Group) also stayed in the background, financially supporting them but not personally seeking a parliamentary seat. Oligarch support for Tymoshenko was not unusual in Ukraine's opaque political system, but it made a mockery of her anti-oligarch rhetoric.

Liberal Oligarchs Pinchuk and Tihipko

Pinchuk and Tihipko emerged as regional oligarchs in the 1990s in the pipe construction and banking fields.[22] They both entered politics in single-mandate districts in the 1998 elections when they established the Labor Ukraine party as the budding party of power for the Dnipropetrovsk clan, which put it into competition for the allegiance of the city's oligarch groups with the NDP, whose two main bases of support were

Kharkiv and Dnipropetrovsk. Pinchuk and Tihipko never invested as much energy in the Labor Ukraine party as did Yanukovych and Akhmetov in the Party of Regions, and it was never successful in uniting local elites. The Labor Ukraine party split in 2000 only three years after it was founded. Pinchuk received political protection from his father-in-law, President Kuchma, and therefore prospered as a businessperson with insider connections with no need for protection from a political *krysha*. Pinchuk, owner of Interpipe, has business interests in metallurgy and the media. His East One Group and Starlight Media Group own ICTV, STB, and *Novyy Kanal* television channels; M1, M2, and QTV cable; as well as the mass circulation Russian-language *Fakty i Kommentarii* newspaper, *Invest-Gazeta* magazine, www.delo.ua, and the publishing house *Ekonomika*.

Pinchuk has always been one of the most enlightened of Ukrainian oligarchs and the first to raise the issue of not seeking a parliamentary seat claiming it was because he supported the separation of business and politics. In a December 2004 interview, Pinchuk said that businesspersons should deal only with business affairs while politicians should oversee politics. Pinchuk prided himself on his stance: "I said that business should be separated from politics. I have been consistent on this question. I said that I would not attempt to enter the next parliament except on one condition if the new authorities launch repressive measures against big business." Pinchuk's withdrawal from politics was one of the factors that dealt a deathblow to the Labor Ukraine party and it obtained less than one percent of the votes in the 2006 elections, ending up at the 32nd position out of 45 parties and blocs. Tihipko, his partner in Labor Ukraine, also withdrew from politics after resigning from Yanukovych's 2004 election campaign following the fraudulent second round. In an irony of history, Pinchuk and Tihipko withdrew from Ukrainian politics at the same time as Akhmetov first entered parliament in the Party of Regions.

In 2005, Pinchuk's business interests came under threat from the re-privatization of the Nikopol Ferro Alloy plant, which he had purchased in 2003 for $80 million when its real estimated price had been a lot higher. *Privat* obtained a 26 percent stake at the time and had attempted to take it over with the assistance of Prime Minister Tymoshenko. The privatization of *Kryvorizhstal* in July 2004 by Pinchuk and Akhmetov for $800 million was authorized by President Kuchma, and it was held in a closed tender that blocked foreign investors. The Tymoshenko government also believed the privatization of the Nikopol Ferro Alloy plant took place illegally and the plant should be therefore re-privatized, but here she found opposition from President Yushchenko, who had supported the re-privatization of *Kryvorizhstal* but opposed the re-privatization of the Nikopol Ferro Alloy plant.[23] Although Yushchenko made a sharp distinction between *Kryvorizhstal* and the Nikopol Ferro Alloy plant, in fact, both were privatized through rigged tenders; leaked documents from the

May 2005 interrogation of Mykhaylo Chechetov, state property fund chairperson at the time of the privatization of the Nikopol Ferro Alloy plant, confirmed that Kuchma had ordered the fund to rig the tender so that Pinchuk would win. Although paying only $80 million, he estimated to the U.S. embassy in Kyiv that it was worth between $200 and $300 million in 2003 and by 2005 around half a billion dollars.[24] Kolomoyskyy's alliance with Tymoshenko was short lived and tactical and, following his failure to take control of the Nikopol Ferro Alloy plant, he realigned with Yushchenko and Our Ukraine/NUNS and UDAR.

Although Pinchuk did not stand for election in 2006 (or since), he continued to intervene in Ukrainian politics, financing the *Viche* (former Constitutional Democrats) political party headed by Bohoslovska. Four years earlier, Pinchuk had financed the KOP party as a liberal alternative to Our Ukraine modeled on the Russian SPS (Union of Right Forces).[25] KOP and *Viche* both failed to enter parliament receiving 2 and 1.7 percent, respectively, in the 2002 and 2006 elections. Khoroshkovskyy and Bohoslovska, both poor examples of democratic politicians and yet Pinchuk's protégés, co-led KOP and *Viche*. After their failure, Bohoslovska entered parliament in 2007 in the Party of Regions, where she became an anti-Tymoshenko rabble-rouser and was appointed head of the 2009–2012 Temporary Investigative Commission into the 2009 gas contract.

Pinchuk's support for the separation of business and politics never sunk deep roots in his two protégés; Khoroshkovskyy's 2011 tax declaration listed three Mercedes 500-600 series, Porche, Bentley, and Maybach cars.[26] In 2005–2006, Khoroshkovskyy was president of the world's largest steel-manufacturing plant, the Russian Evraz Group, and he remained involved in business affairs. In January 2013, he was pressured to sell *Inter* channel to Firtash and Serhiy Lyovochkin (i.e., the gas lobby), who planned to use this as *prinosheniye* to ingratiate themselves with Yanukovych in the 2015 elections. The Ukrainian Media Project, which was in turn 100 percent owned by *Inter* Media Group, had owned 61 percent of the Inter television channel whose president was Olena Khoroshkovskyy, Valery Khoroshkovskyy's spouse. Russia's State Channel One (29 percent) and the widow of Inter President Ihor Pluzhnikov (10 percent) controlled the remaining shares. The new ownership of Inter is divided between Firtash (80 percent) and Serhiy Lyovochkin (20 percent) after Russian State Channel One and Pluzhnikov sold (or were forced to cede control?) of their combined 39 percent share. The Inter Media Group owned another eight television channels, including NTN, K1, K2, Enter-film, Mega, Piksel, MTV-Ukraine, and Inter+, as well as the *Ukrayinski Novyny* news agency. Inter has been strategically important in mobilizing Eastern Ukrainian voters during election campaigns, and therefore it was imperative for Yanukovych to ensure the television channel came under his team's control ahead of the next presidential elections.[27]

Khoroshkovskyy began to have increasingly poor relations with the Yanukovych administration in 2011–2012, when he was moved from SBU chairperson to finance minister and then the first deputy prime minister. He flew from Ukraine into "exile" on December 29, 2012, in Firtash's private aircraft to live in Monaco and the UK.[28] The gas lobby and "The Family" had both sought to take control of *Inter* channel, but in the end it was the former that succeeded, and with Firtash to be deported to the United States to stand trial, the future of the channel remains uncertain. Khoroshkovskyy was the second oligarch who went into "exile," preceded by Kolomoyskyy, who is analyzed in the next section.

Patriotic Oligarch Kolomoyskyy

Kolomoyskyy and his business partner Hennadiy Boholyubov were until Russia's new imperialism in 2014 the least public of Ukraine's oligarchs, with Kolomoyskyy spending most of his time living in Switzerland until the Euromaidan. The home base of the *Privat* group is Dnipropetrovsk, and the company has grown into one of Ukraine's largest oligarch business groups. Kolomoyskyy has always had poor relations with Pinchuk (as seen in their competition over the Nikopol Ferro Alloy plant), and this tension was one of the factors preventing Dnipropetrovsk from uniting oligarchic groups within one clan and political party. Kolomoyskyy has business interests in banking, the media, metallurgy, oil, chemicals, and air transportation.[29] The state oil refining company *UkrNafta* has been long controlled by the *Privat* group, whose 42 percent share is boosted to a majority shareholding through control of five of the nine members of the *UkrNafta* supervisory board.

Kolomoyskyy does not seek to replicate Pinchuk or even Akhmetov as a philanthropist, and he has a poor business reputation in Ukraine and abroad, making him the unlikely candidate for governor of Dnipropetrovsk, where he became popular as a patriotic defender of Ukrainian territorial integrity even donning a tee shirt with the slogan *Zhido-Bandera* (Jewish-Banderite). Kolomoyskyy invested heavily in Jewish-Ukrainian institutions and media, rather than more broad civil society activities.[30] Kolomoyskyy has put his money where his mouth is, supporting volunteer units fighting in the Donbas. Akhmetov has not financed volunteer battalions unlike Kolomoyskyy, who spends $10 million each month on supporting Ukraine's military and National Guard and has launched a production facility for aerial drones emblazoned with Dnipro-1, a battalion that he finances.

Yushchenko and Our Ukraine had warm ties to oil baron Kolomoyskyy and in the 2007 elections, *Privat* and *UkrTransNafta* officials received eight places within NUNS whose election campaign Kolomoyskyy admitted to funding.[31] In the 2012 elections, Kolomoyskyy included Western

Ukrainian candidates from another state company *UkrNafta* in UDAR, the de facto successor to Our Ukraine.[32] The *Privat* group control *UkrNafta* and two oil refineries in Nadvirna, Ivano-Frankivsk, and Drohobych, Lviv, *oblasts*. Another Western Ukrainian political group with ties to oligarchs included *Svoboda* to which Kolomoyskyy became the first to provide resources because of his oil interests in Galicia (see Chapters 4, 5, and 8). During Yanukovych's presidency the Jewish Menorah Centre in Dnipropetrovsk, funded by Kolomoyskyy and his Jewish-Ukrainian allies, was the only location in the city where Ukrainian NGOs and opposition group could hold their meetings. The Menorah Centre's Museum of Jewish Memory and Holocaust has explanations in the Ukrainian language.

Kolomoyskyy has been publicly accused of corporate raiding, for example, toward the Kremenchuk steel plant in 2006. The *BOG (Lord)* security company headed by discredited former interior minister Yuriy Smirnov has been utilized by *Privat* in these corporate raiding practices.[33] Kolomoyskyy's reputation for corporate raiding was brought out by a London court case when the judge said, "Mr Kolomoisky had the reputation of being a 'corporate raider', someone who attacked companies by destabilising management, driving down the share price and grabbing control 'without paying what the other shareholders would regard as a proper premium for their shares.' " Mr. Kolomoyskyy had, the judge noted, a reputation of having sought to take control of a company "at gunpoint" in Ukraine. Even his main witness in the trial admitted that was his boss's image. The judge said that JKX's board had understandably concluded that merely having Mr. Kolomoyskyy as a shareholder had been scaring banks away from providing the company with loans: "Some banks openly expressed that view; others said it off the record; others did not express it, but the directors (with good reason) perceived that the Kolomoisky association was a bar to raising significant finance."[34] Kolomoyskyy is to face another London court challenge from Pinchuk, who claimed Kolomoyskyy and his business partner attempted to swindle him of $2 billion by not transferring a company he paid them to buy for him during a Ukrainian privatization. Pinchuk alleges he gave them $143 million in 2004 to buy an iron ore mining business, KZhRK, from the state, but after taking the money they did not deliver. Instead, according to Pinchuk the claimant, "they sent around a bunch of men who 'forcibly entered' the premises and took control of the plant. Furthermore, he claims, they then sold half of it to Rinat Akhmetov."[35] The case is similar to Roman Abramovych versus Berezovsky in a London courtroom that had a history in the former paying the latter to provide him with protection and access to the Kremlin. Kolomoyskyy alleged he had been paying Pinchuk for access to *UkrNafta* the funds for which were to be used to finance Kuchma's election campaign for a third term in office.

From late 2005, after the failure to take over the Nikopol Ferro Alloy plant with the assistance of Prime Minister Tymoshenko, Kolomoyskyy realigned with Yushchenko and Our Ukraine. Hennadiy Korban, a business partner of Kolomoyskyy, explained, "You know, it just so happens that today we are together on one road and tomorrow we are not."[36] Interviewed in 2008, Kolomoyskyy said he would emigrate if Tymoshenko won the 2010 elections showing the degree to which their relations had by then deteriorated. Although Tymoshenko was defeated, Kolomoyskyy's fear of Yanukovych led to self-imposed exile, and by 2012–2013, some of his businesses, such as the *Aerosvit* airline, were being corporate raided by "The Family." Kolomoyskyy established a media alliance with Tretyakov, Yushchenko's senior adviser in 2005, and they consolidated their media resources (*Glavred* magazine, UNIAN news agency, *Izvestia v Ukraine* and *Hazeta po-Kievski* newspapers, and *Telekritika* website) into a media group. Kolomoyskyy owns 1+1 TV channel, Ukraine's second most popular television channel; 1+1 International; 2+2; TET; Plus Plus; and UNIAN TV, and the 24-hour Jewish news JNi channel until it was closed for financial reasons (see Chapter 7).

The Gas Lobby

A Temptation Too Great for Ukrainian Presidents

In Ukraine, energy, domestic politics, and corruption are closely integrated because four Ukrainian presidents and the majority of governments have never sought to introduce transparency and reduce corruption in the energy sector. Sherr writes that no Ukrainian government has sought to break the pattern of dependency, opacity, rent seeking, and preferential pricing because it would have broken the close ties between big business and power. A U.S. embassy cable from Ukraine reported a lack of political will, short-term and poorly crafted policies, a shortage of capital, and distrust of foreign investment have prevented Ukraine from reducing its dependence on Russian energy.[37] Chow believes Ukrainians successfully established one of the most efficient schemes in the world for extracting corrupt rents from the energy sector:[38]

> If you set out to design a gas sector that is optimized for corruption, it might look very much like Ukraine's. You would have at its center a wholly state-owned company that is not accountable to anyone other than the head of the country who appoints its management. It would operate non-transparently without discipline by either shareholders (who might demand legal rights as owners) or capital markets (since there is an implicit sovereign guarantee behind the company's borrowings). Domestic production would be priced artificially low, ostensibly for social reasons, leading to a large grey market on domestic gas supply that is allocated by privileged access rather than by price.

Chow continues:

> As a result, consumers who have access to a cheap supply of gas use it in a wasteful manner and those who do not suffer shortages. Low gas prices suppress domestic gas production and energy efficiency, thereby necessitating the import of large volumes of gas, controlled "coincidently" by the same state monopoly. Even though the state company buys gas from another state monopoly from a neighboring country, more frequently than not it utilizes an intermediary who has no discernible capabilities to import gas. The opaque intermediary is paid handsomely in-kind, rather than with money, and in turn resells the gas to a higher-value market beyond the country's borders.

Chow concludes: "Foreign investment in the gas sector is discouraged since this would highlight the failings of the state company and force market-clearing domestic pricing, which would spoil the whole corruption optimization scheme that you have set up. The game itself is ultimately unsustainable and highly costly to the country, but it is also high rewarding to insiders in the game."[39]

A minority of Ukrainian governments led by Prime Ministers Yushchenko and Tymoshenko have introduced policies to reduce corruption in the energy sector. The Yushchenko government cancelled 250 government resolutions that provided subsidies to companies for energy, many of whom operated in Ukraine's shadow economy.[40] Anti-corruption crusader Prime Minister Yushchenko proved to be very different to President Yushchenko, who became a defender of opaque gas intermediaries throughout his presidency.[41] In April 2008, the Tymoshenko government abruptly canceled a major foreign investment contract with the Texas-based Vanco company that Yushchenko supported. In October 2007, in the middle of preterm elections, the contract had been signed by Vanco International (registered in the Bermuda Islands) with the outgoing Yanukovych government to explore the 13,000 square kilometre Prykerchenska region of Ukraine's Black Sea shelf that reportedly holds large reserves of oil and gas.[42] One of the first suspicious signals was how Vanco had managed to defeat a joint bid by energy giants Shell and Exxon Mobil, suggesting there had been no due diligence and the contract was not transparent. Vanco International assigned all rights and obligations to Vanco Prykerchenska, established suspiciously only a day before the signing of the PSA and registered in the British Virgin Islands. The four owners in Vanco Prykerchenska included DTEK (Donbas Fuel-Energy holding[43] owned by oligarch Akhmetov),[44] Austrian company Integrum Technologies linked to Party of Regions parliamentary deputy Vasyl Khmelnytskyy, and Shadowlight Investments owned by Russian oligarch Yevgeniy Novitsky, who is leader of the Russian *Solntsevo* organized crime gang who provided the "muscle" for *Gazprom*'s *Itera* in the 1990s.[45] Novitsky is the former chairperson and board member of the Russian

company *Sistema*, the owner of MTS, Russia's largest mobile phone company that is one of two big mobile phone operators in Ukraine (the other being Kyiv Star).[46] The Arbitration Institute of the Stockholm Chamber of Commerce ruled in 2012 in favor of the original contract between Ukraine and Vanco Prykerchenska (that had been overturned by the Tymoshenko government), but its implementation will be impossible as long as Western sanctions are in place banning foreign investors from operating in Russia-occupied Crimea.[47]

High-level corruption and a lack of transparency in Ukraine's energy sector have remained in place under Ukraine's first four presidents. Margarita Balmaceda writes that contracts "were most often with offshore companies of dubious provenance and involved the transfer of highly profitable areas of activity to them at the expense of state income and state decision-making power."[48] Meanwhile, "control over important areas of energy policy was actually given to economic actors with clear interest in the maintaining of Ukraine's energy dependent status quo."[49] Ukraine has never used its gas pipeline and storage system during negotiations with Russia to its strategic advantage, at least until after the Euromaidan. Although Ukraine is the largest transit country for natural gas, it charged according to the 2004 gas contract negotiated by Yuriy Boyko only $1.70 per thousand cubic metres in transit fees while the EU average transit rate in 2007 was $7.04, or four times higher. Ukraine received only $2.25 per thousand cubic metres for gas storage, while Hungary earned $25. This underpayment was either a product of incompetence or, far more likely, because Ukrainians who negotiated the contracts received personal benefits for agreeing to low fees with less income therefore being received by the state budget.[50]

Presidents Kuchma, Yushchenko, and Yanukovych never viewed gas intermediaries as unusual.[51] Yushchenko was willing to intervene on RUE's behalf—as in late 2008 during negotiations for the 2009 contract—and cooperated with the gas lobby.[52] Firtash told U.S. Ambassador Taylor he had met the president three times in November–December 2008 at Yushchenko's request and described himself as his close friend and ally and that the president trusted him.[53] Taruta said that Yushchenko never raised gas intermediaries as a problem and was comfortable with RUE.[54] Then *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* Chairperson Oleh Dubyna testified during the 2011 trial of Tymoshenko that he had met RUE executives in the office of the president, three times in Yushchenko's and twice in Baloha's office. He believed that the gas price of $235 per thousand cubic metres agreed with *Gazprom* for 2009 (a price offered to Firtash's *OstChem* from 2012) was squashed by Yushchenko, who ordered him not to sign it and undermined the contract, and RUE trumped it with the higher price of $285.[55]

Yanukovych dismissed concerns about RUE and was never interested in transparent government deals, according to Taruta.[56] Yanukovych

was uncomfortable discussing the RUE and claimed Ukraine was dealing with *Gazprom*, not RUE, and its presence was not an issue. Yanukovych denied he had regularly met Firtash and claimed little knowledge of RUE.[57] Yushchenko and Yanukovych both feigned ignorance about RUE even after U.S. Ambassador Taylor offered to advise President Yushchenko, who was behind the gas intermediary. Yushchenko was disinterested, and after ordering the SBU to investigate RUE's owners, asked President Putin for this information. In response, the Russian authorities leaked details of the two Ukrainian owners to the Russian government newspaper.[58] It is difficult to believe the SBU's intelligence was of such low quality that it (unlike the Russians and Americans) did not know who RUE's owners were. *Izvestia* revealed that RUE was registered in the Canton of Zug, Switzerland, and that its documents were not confidential. The July 2004–December 2005 auditor's report listed Firtash and Ivan Fursin as owning 90:10 percent shares in Centragas, which was the owner of 50 percent of RUE. Two days after the leak, Firtash gave exclusive interviews to the *Wall Street Journal* and *Financial Times*[59] where he admitted that RUE is half owned by *Gazprom* and half by Centragas. Fursin's 5 percent share of RUE is a front for other beneficiaries, including Kuchma and his former senior adviser, Serhiy Lyovochkin. Fursin and Serhiy Lyovochkin were school friends who had worked together in *Bankivskyy Dim* (Banking House) in the 1990s, and Fursin is the owner of the Odesa *Misto* (City) *Bank* where Yuliya Lyovochkin was deputy head of investment banking in 2003–2007. The Party of Regions elected Yuliya Lyovochkin and Fursin to parliament in 2012.[60] In 2014, the Opposition Bloc elected Serhiy and Yuliya Lyovochkin while Fursin, who was elected in a single mandate district, joined the Power to the People faction.

Organized Crime and Gas

Both Mogilevich and Fisherman were born in Soviet Ukraine, and Mogilevich studied in Lviv University.[61] The FBI had placed Mogilevich and his associate, Fisherman, on their 10 most wanted list in the 1990s,[62] and in December 1999, U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Pifer presented a 31-page dossier to the Ukrainian authorities on the FBI's charges against Mogilevich. Military Intelligence Chairperson Smeshko, who was angry at Kuchma's (and Russia's) willingness to cooperate with Mogilevich, told President Kuchma that the "FBI considers Mogilevich's organisation to be under the complete protection of the SBU." Although this was true, more importantly, Mogilevich and Putin had close working relations since the latter worked in Leningrad in the 1990s, as revealed in a February 2000 conversation recorded on the Melnychenko tapes. SBU Chairperson Leonid Derkach did not believe cooperating with criminals a problem, telling Kuchma, "He (Mogilevich) is ours. He is an informer."[63] After he

challenged Kuchma, Smeshko was demoted to the position of military attaché in the Ukrainian embassies in Switzerland and the United States. It was therefore surprising that the SBU feigned ignorance about Mogilevich's links to Ukrainian and Russian political and business elites.

Firtash acknowledged to the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine he had attended a meeting in 2002 with Mogilevich and he needed and received permission from Mogilevich when he established various businesses—while denying he had a close relationship with him. As Mogilevich was involved at the highest levels in the gas trade until early 2008, it is improbable that Firtash did not have a working relationship with him; indeed, a December 2005 confidential Austrian police report lists Fursin and Firtash as senior members of organized crime.[64] While not denying links to organized crime, Firtash claimed he was forced into dealing with them or he would never have been able to build his business empire.[65] Firtash was arguing that the chaos and lawlessness widely prevalent in the 1990s meant that business leaders inevitably rubbed shoulders with criminal figures during this period of time. Although true, what was more important was Mogilevich worked for Putin and through the mobster Firtash acted as Russia's agent of influence in Ukraine.

After the U.S. cable was leaked, Firtash denied he had admitted to having ties to Mogilevich and to RUE, claiming, which is unlikely, he had been misquoted. In reality he had never expected the U.S. cables to be leaked.[66] Four years after he had threatened to take Jane's Information Group and RFERL (Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty) to court for libel when they had published articles on Eural-Trans Gas (ETG), the precursor to RUE that had linked him with Mogilevich. Firtash has always acted as a Russian agent of influence in Ukraine, and when detained in Vienna in March 2014, his huge bail of $155 million, the largest in Austrian history, was paid by Russian oligarch Vasily Anisimov, who not coincidentally is a member of the governing body in Russia of Putin's beloved sport of judo.[67] A *Reuters* investigation provided the answers to my question by proving Firtash was Russia's agent of influence in Ukraine through whom it planned to buy up strategic areas of Ukraine's economy (such as chemicals and fertilizers) by providing him with cash from the sale of discounted gas.[68] Viktor Chumak, the head of parliament's anticorruption committee, described Firtash as always having been an "intermediary," adding, "He is a political person representing Russia's interests in Ukraine."[69] Firtash, without whom Yanukovych would not have come to power in 2010, is an example of how Putin used Russian assets "to create stream of cash for political allies."[70]

In Spring 2013 my article about Firtash's new *OstChem* gas intermediary pondered why he was receiving a heavily discounted gas price of $230 at a time when Russia was refusing to reduce the 2009 gas contract price for Ukraine.[71] Reselling the gas to Ukrainian industrial users for

$430 netted Firtash $3.7 billion profits in two years. *OstChem* imported 12 billion cubic metres of gas in 2013, up from six in 2012, when it paid $280 per thousand cubic metres, far less than the $426 paid by *Naftohaz Ukrayiny*, and in 2013, *OstChem* supplied nearly a third of the gas used by Ukrainian industries. In October 2012, the Azarov government canceled the 2008 Tymoshenko government resolution that had given a monopoly on domestic gas trade to *Naftohaz Ukrayiny*, opening the door to the domestic market for *Gazprom*, and some of the regional gas companies purchased by Firtash were resold to *Gazprom*. Firtash purchased additional big chemical plants and increased his control of mineral fertilizer plants from owning only one in 2010 (*RivneAzot*) to most of them by 2011. Capitalizing on his support for Yanukovych's election, his business empire doubled in size while his capital assets "grew at a fantastic rate" by 540 percent.[72] In 2012, the Azarov government permitted *Gaztek* (a company owned by Firtash) to purchase at reduced prices 13 out of 17 privatized regional gas companies that market gas to the public (DTEK, part of Akhmetov's SCM, was also awarded five out of eight privatizations of regional energy companies). In addition to energy, Firtash also has titanium business interests, including the Crimean Titan (which is still in his hands after Russia's occupation of the peninsula) and *Titan Ukrayina* plants, chemicals plants, and Nadra Bank. Firtash and Akhmetov (together with "The Family") became the greatest beneficiaries of Yanukvoych's kleptocracy.

With intelligence available from the United States and other sources, it was disingenuous for SBU Chairperson Nalyvaychenko to order the SBU to "investigate" who in the government had ties to RUE and Mogilevich; after all, the incompetent SBU surely has access to Western media reports and could have requested a meeting with U.S. diplomatic staff. Nalyvaychenko reported that in September 2005, on the eve of the removal of the Tymoshenko government, SBU Deputy Chairperson Andriy Kozhemyakin allegedly destroyed the SBU's file on Mogilevich because it had showed he had closely worked with Lazarenko, Tymoshenko, and YESU in the mid-1990s.[73] Interior Minister Lutsenko told U.S. Ambassador Taylor that Prosecutor-General Medvedko ordered him to arrest SBU Chairperson Turchynov because of this, but he refused to implement the order because he believed it was a politically inspired instruction given by RNBO Secretary Poroshenko.[74] In turn, in summer 2005, senior Presidential Adviser Tretyakov intervened to block the SBU's arrest of Yuriy Boyko for his involvement in RUE.[75] A leak to *Izvestia* had reported Firtash and Yuriy Boyko were "on friendly terms" with Yushchenko, Tretyakov, and Martynenko.[76]

The SBU's investigations under Nalyvaychenko only reported ties between Tymoshenko, YESU, and Mogilevich while ignoring Firtash's links to the mafia boss. At the same time, Nalyvaychenko replied in the affirmative that proof of Firtash's links to Mogilevich would have

constituted a threat to Ukraine's national security.[77] It is difficult to believe the SBU had less intelligence than the U.S. embassy in Kyiv on energy corruption in Ukrainian politics, which, if true, would be a sign of gross incompetence—or more likely politically motivated disinterest. European leaders also closed their eyes to massive corruption in the Russian and Ukrainian energy sectors even though a high 7.5 percent of Ukraine's GDP had been going to energy subsidies that were passed on to insiders such as the gas lobby. European leaders and law enforcement—in contrast to the United States—have never been interested in how Eurasian energy corruption has penetrated their countries.

Political Corruption

Firtash has never financed his own political party and has instead preferred to work through friendly presidents and political parties that are in power. When he was still living in Chernivtsi, he ran in the 2002 elections as a candidate for the pro-presidential political project Women for the Future, but they failed to enter parliament.[78] Fursin, his partner in RUE, participated in the 2006 elections in the Lytvyn bloc, but it also failed to enter parliament. Firtash and the gas lobby aligned with Kuchma in his second term, and cooperated with Yushchenko throughout his presidency when at the same time the gas lobby became a new center of gravity and influence in the Party of Regions. Firtash and the gas lobby invested in opposition alternatives to Tymoshenko that have included Yatsenyuk in the 2010 elections, Klitschko/UDAR in 2012, and Poroshenko and Lyashko in the 2014 elections.

Nalyvaychenko reported the SBU possessed no evidence of Firtash financing pro-Russian political forces, such as the Party of Regions that again revealed the SBU possessed less intelligence on covert financing of Ukrainian political parties than the U.S. government. Although the U.S. embassy in Kyiv lacked Ukrainian-language CIA officers during Ambassador Taylor's tenure, it nevertheless successfully collected intelligence on the gas lobby's infiltration of the Party of Regions.[79] RUE accumulated huge profits that directly assisted Yanukovych and the Party of Regions and "strengthened the position of those wanting a closer relationship with Russia."[80] In 2006–2009, the gas lobby established a strong influence over party leader Yanukovych and established a base within the Party of Regions that assisted its rise to power (see Chapter 5).[81] Again, the SBU proved it undertook only those "investigations" that were politically directed, which suggests the reason why former SBU chairperson Nalyvaychenko was elected to parliament in 2012 within UDAR, a political force that has been supported by the gas lobby.

Intelligence on the evolution and development of Ukraine's gas intermediaries, as shown by the previous discussion, was more available to

Western experts and diplomats than to Ukraine's elites and intelligence services. *Itera*, established with the agreement of *Gazprom*, and YESU imported and distributed gas to Ukraine in the 1990s with *Respublika* and *Interhaz* (headed by Bakay) playing a smaller intermediary role. *Itera* was launched as a vehicle for *Gazprom* executives to shave off profits that would have gone to the Russian state. Firtash worked with *Itera* Chairperson Igor Makarov and *Respublika* and *Interhaz* President Bakay[82] in the 1990s, becoming a shareholder in Highrock Holdings owned by *Itera*.[83] This confirmed long-standing ties between *Gazprom*, Mogilevich, Highrock Properties (renamed Kemnasta Investments), Ukrainian businesspersons, and gas intermediaries.[84] By the late 1990s, with YESU destroyed, only *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* and *Itera* were importing gas into Ukraine, but problems between *Itera* and *Gazprom* began to emerge in 2001–2002. Firtash explained how he became a rival to Makarov and took over the lucrative gas trade:

> Itera gas trading company was set up in 1992, which provided Turkmen gas to former Soviet republics. Firtash claimed that Makarov hired a former KGB head as his security chief to direct Makarov's gas trading empire in Central Asia. Firtash recounted that he gave *Itera* food commodities through High Rock Holdings, which *Itera* used to buy gas in-kind from Turkmenistan. Makarov then paid Firtash in cash with the proceeds of his gas sales. According to Firtash, Makarov refused to pay Firtash $50 million in 2001, which drove Firtash to explore his own gas trading business, ousting Makarov at the same time.

Firtash added that he "hired Hungarian-born businessman Andras Knopp to negotiate new gas trading deals with Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Since these Central Asian countries trusted Firtash as a reputable businessman, they agreed to sign with Firtash's ETG company, leaving Makarov's business in ruins."[85]

YESU and *Itera* were replaced by ETG in 2002, launching Firtash's career as Ukraine's gas mogul. Kupchinsky explains these developments:[86]

> The history of RUE began in December 2002 when Firtash registered a company in Hungary named Eural Trans Gas (ETG), which signed a contract with *Gazprom* on 5 December 2002, becoming the middleman in the Turkmen-Ukrainian gas trade. Strange circumstances surrounded ETG's creation: unemployed Romanians became principals of the company; an Israeli lawyer with ties to Mogilevich became a nominal director of the company; and Andras Knopp, a former Hungarian communist cultural functionary with no knowledge of the gas business became the director of the company. Even stranger was Firtash's refusal to reveal that he was the ultimate beneficiary of ETG.

Kupchinsky added that ETG, which had been compromised by bad publicity, was then replaced by RUE:

RUE came into being during a meeting between Russian President Vladimir Putin and then-Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma in Yalta. At that time both leaders stressed that RUE would be a fully transparent company, tacitly acknowledging media reports that ETG was opaque. One of the two co-directors of RUE was Konstantin Chuychenko, a former KGB officer, the head of *Gazprom's* legal department, and a classmate of Dmitry Medvedev. The other co-director was Oleg Palchykov, the former director of the ETG office in Moscow who represented Centragas, a company silently controlled by Firtash. His (Palchykov's) candidacy was submitted by Raiffeisen Investment (the nominal owners of Centragas) ... the Moscow ETG office Palchykov headed was located in a building on Novy Arbat 14 that was also used by an alleged mobster, Igor Fisherman, who was wanted together with Mogilevich by the FBI. Fisherman was Firtash's partner in the purchase of 75 percent of a Russian company Zangas.

Balmaceda and Kupchinsky wrote that President Putin proposed the replacement of ETG with RUE in July 2004 because he wanted to utilize the gas intermediary for geopolitical purposes to export greater volumes of gas to the EU. Putin and then *Gazprom* Chairperson Dmitry Medvedev became major beneficiaries of the new RUE gas intermediary. On the Ukrainian side, President Kuchma, Prime Minister Yanukovych, and state gas company *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* Chairperson Yuriy Boyko were involved in the establishment of RUE, and Yuriy Boyko is listed as a member of the RUE senior management committee.[87] Yuriy Boyko's involvement in RUE was a conflict of interest with his position of chairperson of *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* and explains why two Ukrainian individuals, not *Naftohaz Ukrayiny,* owned half of RUE. RUE's job was to deliver gas to Ukraine at less than $100 per 1,000 cubic metres, Yuriy Boyko explained, stressing that he did care how they accomplished this task.[88] Yuriy Boyko's past role in RUE inevitably raised concerns about the commitment of the Party of Regions and other Ukrainian political forces to transparency and the rule of law in the energy sector.[89] In 2014, the Opposition Bloc elected him to parliament.

The Ukrainian side was interested in extracting greater energy rents for itself and its political *kryshy* not in RUE filling the state budget. President Kuchma did not accept the Russian proposal that RUE become a joint venture of two state-owned gas companies *Gazprom* and *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* and instead opted to name two individuals—Firtash and Fursin—as half owners of RUE with *Gazprom* owning the remaining half. Ukrainian Prime Ministers Yekhanurov (2005–2006) and Yanukovych (2006–2007) supported the structure of RUE and ruled out *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* buying out Firtash and Fursin.[90] *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* could have potentially earned billions of dollars for the Ukrainian state, which would have prevented it from being perennially close to bankruptcy.

Global Witness commented: "*Naftohaz Ukrayiny,* as the state gas company of Ukraine, has a clear role to play in the Ukrainian gas market.

Gazprom, as a supplier of gas, has a commercial interest in this market too. But what is the commercial rationale for involving *RosUkrEnergo*, a company with no track record in the gas industry? What service does *RosUkrEnergo* provide to the gas trade that cannot be provided by *Naftohaz Ukrayiny*?"

Global Witness continued: "*RosUkrEnergo* made profits of over US $700 million in 2005. Meanwhile, *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* has accrued debts of over US$500 million, mostly to RosUkrEnergo. Is it in Ukraine's benefit for *Naftohaz* to be so indebted to this private company, or for Ukraine to cede half of its domestic market to *RosUkrEnergo* via the new joint venture *UkrGazEnergo*?"[91]

Balmaceda argues that "neither democrat nor oligarch, nationalist or friend of Russia seemed to be able to resist the temptation of its embrace nor, perhaps, the fear of violent retribution reserved by the ultimate organisers of energy corruption for those who might seek to dismantle their profitable schemes."[92] The two structures through which billions of dollars have been siphoned are gas intermediaries and *Naftohaz Ukrayiny*, Ukraine's largest company with 175,000 employees. "*Naftohaz* captures Ukraine's political and economic corruption like a raindrop," said head of energy research at the Razumkov Centre Volodymyr Omelchenko. "It's no secret that the energy industry is the biggest feeding trough for Ukraine's political and business elite," Olga Shumylo-Tapiola, a visiting scholar at the Carnegie Europe in Brussels, added.[93] *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* received more than $6 billion of subsidies in domestic bonds from 2009 to 2012 to cover regulated household utility prices and pay for expensive Russian energy imports.

Western Ukrainians and the Gas Lobby

Although pro-Russian in their political outlook, Western Ukrainians have been at the forefront of Ukraine's gas lobby because the region has high levels of expertise in oil and gas since the Soviet era. In 1967, the National Technical University of Oil and Gas was established in Ivano-Frankivsk, and it continues to remain a prestigious higher education institution on energy throughout the former USSR.[94] In the early 1970s, after Ukraine's gas sector declined, tens of thousands of Western Ukrainians with expertise in oil and gas migrated to Tyumen *oblast* in western Siberia. Ivan Matyeshin, a businessperson with roots in Western Ukraine who made his fortune in the energy sector in western Siberia, is typical of such Ukrainians. In May 2010, Matyeshin launched the People's First Foundation in Kyiv.[95]

Western Ukrainians have therefore not surprisingly played prominent roles in Ukraine's corrupt energy sector that has propelled them into big

business. Both Western Ukraine's billionaire oligarchs, Firtash and Oleh Bakhmatyuk, born in Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk *oblasts*, respectively, began their careers in, or in collusion with, *Naftohaz Ukrayiny*. Bakhmatyuk is the founder and head of egg producer Avangardco Investments Public that floated a 20 percent stake in the company in June 2011 that increased its stock price by a third. Bakhmatyuk, who heads the fastest growing and the most profitable agricultural corporation in Ukraine,[96] is listed in the ninth place and worth $1.36 billion in the 2013 list of 100 wealthiest Ukrainians.[97] In 2006 Bakhmatyuk was a parliamentary candidate from the Lytvyn bloc but failed to enter parliament and in the same year he was appointed deputy head of *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* after being the "main adviser" to head of *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* and KUN leader Ivchenko.[98] Deputy head of *UkrHazProm* Ivan Diyak, in the same manner as Firtash, financially supported national democratic NGOs such as the *Prosvita* Ukrainian Language Society and national democratic political projects.[99] Ihor Didenko (and future BYuT oligarch Zhevago) provided financial assistance to the Reforms and Order political party in the late 1990s and in the post-Kuchma era aligned with BYuT. Bakay provided financial assistance to the 2000–2001 parliamentary coalition that supported the Yushchenko government.

In 1999, state tax administration head Azarov informed Kuchma that Didenko had stolen $184 million and transferred it to fictional companies controlled by Bakay and himself. Kuchma's only concern was that they were being greedy and not transferring a proportion up the hierarchy to him as tribute; Kuchma never viewed such examples of corruption as problematic.[100] The Melnychenko tapes show how Kuchma protected Bakay while seeking criminal charges against Lazarenko and Tymoshenko. Kuchma told Bakay, in a clear reference to how he controlled the judiciary, "I trust you understand the situation correctly, ha ha. They would have taken action against you long ago if I did not hold this position."[101] Bakay responded to Kuchma, "We clearly understand that for us the only immunity from prosecution is you."[102] A "Bakay Group" funded by *Interhaz* existed within the pro-presidential NDP, but in November 1998 it moved to other new factions created purposefully for defectors, such as Poroshenko's Solidarity[103] and the Revival of Ukraine faction headed by Volkov. The Melnychenko tapes revealed how Kuchma also protected Volkov. Koshiw calculated that Bakay was responsible for greater corruption than Lazarenko in the 1990s, pocketing $1.3 billion compared to $300–$400 million by the latter.[104] In 2011, Tymoshenko was criminally charged with allegedly bringing damages to the state of under $200 million. Gas debts incurred by gas intermediaries such as *Respublika* were paid by the Ukrainian state, while few taxes were paid on profits because they were registered as joint ventures with foreign partners. In the late 1990s, Bakay hounded YESU out of the energy market when he

was appointed the first chairperson of *Naftohaz Ukrayiny*, a position he occupied from 1998 to 2001. Deputy Prime Minister Tymoshenko investigated Bakay in 2000 as part of her campaign to root out corruption in the energy sector, a campaign that Kuchma saw as indirectly directed against him and with the strings pulled by Lazarenko, who was then abroad.

In the second half of the 1990s, Vitaliy and Volodymyr Klitschko developed a relationship with Viktor Rybalko (who had the underworld nickname "Rybka") and Andriy Borovyk (with the underworld nickname "Borovyk"), two organized criminal leaders who worked with Bakay.[105] Rybka and Borovyk were assassinated in August 2000 and May 2005, respectively, in Kyiv. Bakay, Rybalko, and Borovyk headed gas intermediary *Respublika* (together with Ivchenko and Firtash), *Politekh*, and *Pulsar* companies; Ukrainian Financial Group (UFH); and *Skorbota*, Ukraine's first private security company that employed sportsmen and boxers (such as the Klitschko brothers). In the 2002 elections, the two Klitschko brothers traveled to Rivne in Western Ukraine to support Bakay's election campaign, and billboards showed the three of them in close embrace with the slogan, "We and Bakay are one team."[106] Over a decade later, Volodymyr Klitschko attended Kuchma's 74th birthday party in the exclusive holiday island of Sardinia.[107] The gas lobby invested in UDAR in the 2012 elections as an opposition alternative to *Batkivshchina* and in Poroshenko in the 2014 elections.[108] UDAR deputy Kunitsyn was president of the Tavria football club (Crimea) owned by Firtash. The head of UDAR's election campaign in the 2014 elections was Pavlo Ryabkin, a business partner of Bakay and others in *Interhaz* in the 1990s.

In July 2001, Didenko was arrested in Germany in connection with the disappearance of $38 million provided by Germany to compensate former *Ostarbeiter* slave laborers in Nazi Germany. Didenko's arrest was connected to the detention of Ukrainian parliamentary deputy and former president of *Hradobank* Viktor Zherdytskyy[109] in October 2000 after he bankrupted the bank and also stole funds earmarked for Ukrainian *Ostarbeiter*. In June 2004, a German court sentenced Zherdytskyy to 5 years and 10 months in prison, finding him guilty of embezzling $2.5 million from the German government's compensation fund for Ukrainian slave laborers. The court also sentenced Didenko, his accomplice, to four years and three months in prison, but because he had already spent two-thirds of his term in pretrial detention, he walked free from the court. In 2010, Didenko was arrested on charges related to when he was first deputy chairperson of *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* in the Tymoshenko government and the following year received a three-year suspended sentence.

Ties between Western Ukrainian nationalists and the energy sector go back to the first half of the 1990s. Ivchenko, leader of KUN (humorously renamed as *Комітет управління Нафтогазом* [Committee to Manage *Naftohaz*] rather than the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists), was based

in Turkmenistan in the 1990s, where he worked with Bakay, and together they introduced Firtash to the gas business. Bakay launched *Respublika* and *Interhaz* gas intermediaries in 1994 and 1996, respectively, and Ivchenko, who was Lazarenko's and then Yushchenko's political ally, became vice president of the latter. Tsvil, who smuggled Melnychenko from Ukraine, was a candidate from the National Front (a bloc that included KUN) in the 1998 elections when he had business ties to *Naftohaz Ukrayiny.*[110] Western Ukrainian Our Ukraine deputies Ihor Vasyunyk (brother of former deputy prime minister Ivan Vasyunyk) and KUN leaders Ivchenko and Andriy Lopushanskyy headed *Naftohaz Ukrayiny. Naftohaz Ukrayiny* first deputy chairperson and KUN candidate Lopushanskyy unveiled a monument to Bandera in his election district during the 2012 elections and in 2014 was elected by the Poroshenko bloc, a sign of the continued close ties between the president and the gas lobby.[111] In Ukraine's virtual political world, it is not incompatible *both* to be a follower of the anti-Russian OUN leader Bandera and at the same time pursue energy policies that closely bind Ukraine to Russia. Kaskiv's government office, which was heavily involved in the energy sector, had two portraits on its walls: one of President Yanukovych *and* another of Bandera.[112] After the Euromaidan, Kaskiv continued working for the gas lobby when he headed Lyashko's Radical Party election campaign, a virtual "nationalist" political force funded by the gas lobby that used the same Russian political technologist (Shuvalov) as the Opposition Bloc and who has a long working relationship with Serhiy Lyovochkin.[113] The gas lobby assisted Lyashko's popularity by providing extensive coverage on *Inter* channel. Including the Radical Party in the parliamentary coalition gives it a constitutional majority and is Serhiy Lyovochkin's and Yuriy Boyko's "get out of jail cards" (assuming they will need it). Serhiy Lyovochkin was Yanukovych's chief of staff from February 2010 until January 17, 2014, that is, for all but 36 days of his presidency. To suggest that the only crimes committed under Yanukovych took place in those 36 days when his chief of staff was Andriy Klutev would be a selective use of justice and has nothing in common with the rule of law. In 2005–2006, Ivchenko headed *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* and KUN, which was a member of Yushchenko's Our Ukraine bloc in the 2002 and 2006 elections. As his 2012 income declarations showed, Ivchenko and his family are wealthy by Western Ukrainian standards.[114]

Ties between the Western Ukrainian gas lobby, President Yushchenko, and RUE were confirmed by the 2006 gas contract that "hints of a personal interest in the agreements" because Yushchenko "not only knew of the real owners behind *RosUkrEnergo* but may have received important benefits from them."[115] The Ukrainian delegation did not follow instructions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the government but took them directly from Firtash and *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* Deputy Chairperson Oleh

Voronin. The 2006 gas contract was signed by Our Ukraine leader and Prime Minister Yekhanurov and Besmertnyy, campaign manager for Our Ukraine in the 2006 elections who defended and supported the gas contract[116] as did Chief of Staff Ryabchuk who hailed the contract "as a great victory for Ukraine."[117]

Petrohaz, a company registered in the United Arab Emirates and owned by Petro Yushchenko, the president's elder brother and an Our Ukraine parliamentary deputy, mediated the 2006 gas contract. Allegations surfaced in the Ukrainian parliament that on the day the contract was signed, $53 million was wired by Raiffeisen Bank to two foreign private bank accounts held by Petro Yushchenko.[118] One analysis concluded: "In general, there can be no doubt that Petro Yushchenko's business structures ended 2005 with a much better result than in the previous five years."[119] "Petro was the cashier" working alongside Firtash and *Ukrayina Moloda* editor Mykhaylo Doroshenko.[120] The cozy relationship between President Yushchenko and Firtash continued through to January 2009, when the latter was awarded a state medal in gratitude for his donations to rebuild Cossack historical monuments.

The de facto leader of the Ukrainian gas lobby Firtash was born in Ternopil *oblast*, and KMIL was his first food and commodities business that transformed into High Rock Holdings in Chernivtsi.[121] He entered the gas business in the late 1990s with a "food for gas" barter scheme between Ukraine and Turkmenistan, and his growing business empire has not only been beholden to Mogilevich (see later) but also because he has acted as Russia's agent of influence inside Ukraine. The barter business established Firtash as a gas trader that was assisted by his ties with Mogilevich through offshore joint holdings. Firtash owned 33 percent, and another 34 percent of High Rock was owned by Agatheas Trading Ltd. Mogilevich's ex-wife, Galina Telesh, was the director of Agatheas Trading from 2001 to 2003, after which Firtash became the director. The real president of High Rock Holdings was Mogilevich.[122] In addition, Firtash and Mogilevich shared the same lawyer, Zeev Gordon (known also as Vladimir Averbukh), who represented their business and personal interests. Former Hungarian minister of culture Knopp, managing director of ETG, became Firtash's business partner during the 1990s.[123]

Group DF is but one of a large number of companies in which Firtash has business interests that include Mabofi Holding, Benam Holdings, Anzola Holdings, Zangas, Glengary Overseas Ltd, Elmstad Trading, Omega Holding, Hill International, Centragas Holding and RUE (see later in text), and the Hungary-based Emfesz. Many of these companies are registered offshore in tax havens such as the British Virgin Islands.[124] Scythian Ltd, with offices in Mayfair, London, and headed by Robert Shetler-Jones, deals with PR work on behalf of Firtash. "Group DF is a client of Scythian Ltd. Our staff provide strategic, financial and management support for the Group and for

Dmitry Firtash," Shetler-Jones said.[125] Scythian Ltd includes Anthony Fisher, director of DF Foundation, which has provided funding for the Ukrainian studies program at Cambridge University and donations to Conservative MPs and the British-Ukrainian Society.[126]

Firtash's Western Ukrainian roots influenced his decision to provide large financial donations to Ukrainian studies, $4.5 million for Lviv's Ukrainian Catholic University (UKU) and a $6.7 million endowment to launch a program on Ukrainian studies at Cambridge University in Britain.[127] In September 2012, at the opening of a large greenhouse complex in the village of Bohdanovka, his home village in Ternopil *oblast*, Firtash was accompanied not only by Prime Minister Azarov, which might be expected, but also by 20 members of the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, including dean of UKU, Bishop Borys Gudzyak. The attendance of such a large church delegation was highly unusual and testified to the close relationship that had developed between Firtash and Bishop Gudzyak, now Apostolic Exarch of France, Benelux, and Switzerland. Firtash's donation to UKU raised more eyebrows than the donation awarded to Cambridge because the Ukrainian diaspora had been a major supporter of independent scholarly institutions UKU and the Kyiv Mohyla Academy. More importantly, Firtash has never shown any indication he is interested in supporting democratic values and the rule of law in Ukraine that these two scholarly institutions support and—although a Western Ukrainian—he has headed the wing of Ukrainian big business least interested in European integration.[128] In October 2013, Firtash made a donation of $2.5 million toward the construction of the new Ukrainian *Holodomor* Memorial in Washington, DC, that until the Euromaidan was supported by some Ukrainian-Americans.[129]

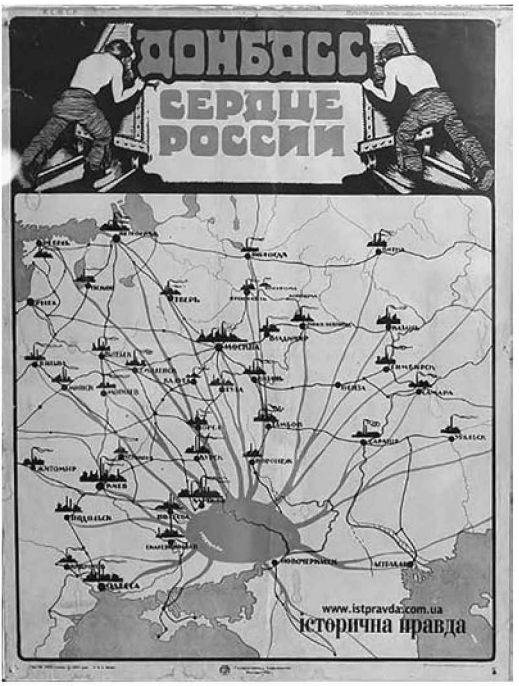
Corruption continued unabated in Ukraine's energy sector. In 2011, Highway Investment Processing LLP, registered in Cardiff, Wales, and Falcona Systems Ltd., offered bids in an open tender for a floating drilling rig. The latter offered the rig at $410 million and lost the tender. An investigation by the *Dzerkalo Tyzhnya* newspaper found that the same people owned both shell companies. In April 2011, Ukraine's state-owned *ChornomorNaftoHaz* oil company paid $400 million to buy the oil-drilling rig from Highway Investment Processing LLP. The oil rig, named West Juno and produced by Keppel of Singapore, was earlier sold to an undisclosed UK company for $248.5 million, according to official company records. Usually countries lease, rather than buy, oil drilling rigs for exploration purposes for reasons of cost and operational efficiency. Registered only two weeks before the fictitious tender, Highway Investment was a shell intermediary company with the aim of increasing the price. As a result of the scam, Ukrainian officials such as Yuriy Boyko pocketed $150 million of government money in the fictitious tender.[130] In late 2012, the Latvian bank accounts used in these corrupt schemes were frozen.[131]

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE DONETSK CLAN

The Emergence of Homo Sovieticus

To understand the political and business culture and successful coming to power of the Donetsk clan, there needs to be a sojourn into the past. During the Russian Revolution and civil war, the Donetsk region was not keen to join *either* independent Ukraine under the *Central Rada* or Soviet Ukraine, and instead established an independent Donetsk-Kryvyy Rih republic led by F. Artem (pseudonym for Fedir Sergyeyev), after whom many streets continue to remain named in Donetsk. Soviet leader Lenin insisted the Donbas be included in Soviet Ukraine first for economic reasons because it was heavily industrialized and second to increase the number of Communist Party members because the Bolshevik party had weak support outside the Donbas in Ukraine. In the Russian Revolution, two-thirds of Communist Party members in Ukraine resided in the Donbas, and among them, there were four times more ethnic Russians than ethnic Ukrainians. In 1917, the Bolsheviks had won only 10 percent of votes in Ukrainian constituencies in the election to the Russian Constituent Assembly, and these votes came primarily from Donetsk, Kryvyy Rih, and "New Russia" (the name given to the Odesa region in the Tsarist Empire and used by Putin to describe Eastern-Southern Ukraine). Soviet leader Lenin believed the inclusion of the Donbas in Ukraine would strengthen Soviet power in Ukraine and counterbalance Ukrainian nationalism; a century later his argument had great foresight. In Soviet Ukraine, Donetsk provided the largest proportion from any region of members for the Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party. After the Soviet Ukrainian parliament banned the party in August 1991, hard-line members revived it as the KPU in Donetsk three years later.

The imbedding of Soviet political culture in the region is a legacy of demographic engineering resulting from Soviet and Nazi genocides and nationality policies. Until World War II, the Donetsk region was not loyal to Soviet power and the Soviet regime distrusted the Donbas population, believing it would not support Soviet power in the event of war with Nazi Germany. Hiroaki Kuromiya writes in one of the few scholarly books on the Donbas that the region welcomed the Nazi invaders in 1941, as did many other regions in Soviet Ukraine because they were initially viewed as "liberators" from Stalinism. In Stalino (Donetsk) the Soviet underground was not extensive and composed of low-level Communist Party members, some of who fled from the Nazis and were infested with traitors who collaborated with them.[132] Ukrainian-American Yevhen Stakhiv led a successful OUN nationalist *Moloda Hvardiya* underground in the Donbas during World War II; a 1953 Soviet movie falsely claimed it had been an underground pro-Soviet partisan movement.[133]



A 1921 poster "The Donbas Is at the Heart of Russia" stressed the importance of the Donbas (Donetsk and Luhansk *oblasts*) industry to Russia (i.e., the Russian Empire incorporating Russia, Ukraine, and other nations before the USSR was established a year later). (Pavlo Solodko, "Ekskursiya Donetskym Krayeznavchym Muzeyem," *Istorychna Pravda*, October 29, 2010, http:/www.istpravda .com.ua/articles/2012/10/29/98813/)

The Donbas's reputation as a free steppe and base for counterrevolution, and during the 1933 *holodomor*, there were instances in the region of armed resistance to forced grain requisitioning. Ukraine was one of the Soviet republics hardest hit by the Stalinist Great Terror. The Donbas suffered greatly from the *holodomor*, and the region experienced one of the greatest numbers of arrests and executions in Ukraine. The terror decimated the local political elite,[134] and Communist Party members in the Donbas halved while the local *Komsomol* was practically annihilated. Of the 268,000 people arrested in Ukraine during the Great Terror, 50,000 were from the Donbas, of whom 30,000 were executed. A far higher proportion of residents of Donetsk died in the 1930s from political repression than the proportion of the region in Soviet Ukraine's population (16 percent). This should be placed within the context of Governor Yanukovych praising Lenin's and Stalin's secret police[135] and the DNR

established an "NKVD" as its security service, which is reportedly used to execute opponents and criminals.[136]

The *holodomor* and Great Terror followed by Nazi occupation in World War II reduced the number of nationally conscious Ukrainians in the Donbas and irrevocably changed the region's national composition. After World War II the number of Russians in Donetsk increased by 624,000 (three times more than the number of Ukrainians). More importantly for the contemporary era, Donetsk "officials work in an environment where the nationality problem is virtually non-existent."[137] By 1991, the ethnic Russian and ethnic Ukrainian populations of the Donbas were similar in size, but the majority of Ukrainians were Russian speakers. Taken together, these factors made the Donetsk region an opponent of liberalization and Ukrainianization during the third and fifth historic cycles and an ally of the Eurasianist hard-line wing of the Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party. Since World War II, the Donetsk region became loyal to Soviet power and the birthplace of Homo Sovieticus in Soviet Ukraine.

Prison Culture

Soviet citizens, even compared to those of Eastern Europe, had fewer opportunities to undertake foreign travel.[138] In the Soviet Union, one in six citizens had served some time in prisons and prison camps[139] when millions of Soviet people were arrested.[140] The 20 prisons in Donetsk and 16 in Luhansk were the highest proportion of correction facilities in any Ukrainian region and every third resident of the Donbas was in prison, had been in prison, or would likely end up there. Zissels recalled how in his Gulag camp every third inmate was from the Donbas where "someone was imprisoned from every family and it was never viewed as a negative stigma."[141] The Donbas was a mirror of the Soviet prison because it had always been a haven for fugitives who were attracted to move there because of labor shortages in industry and coal mining. In 1945–1955, 3.5 million people, some of whom were prisoners released early, who were sent to the Donbas from other regions of the USSR to work in coal mines and factories. Those who completed their prison terms and work contracts often stayed in the Donbas with some becoming recruits for late-night unofficial entertainment, gambling, robberies, and trafficking. Shelley writes, "The prison subculture is crucial to an understanding of the political-criminal nexus" in Russia and Ukraine that emerged after 1991.[142] An urban culture of norms, nicknames, and slang backed by prison tattoos integrated with the Homo Sovieticus identity, creating a regional culture of social anomie, private disdain, obedience, and might-trumps-right was all too evident during Yanukovych's kleptocracy and violent separatism in the Donbas.[143]

In the late 1980s, in an attempt at humanizing the Soviet penal system, many prisons and camps were closed, releasing 700,000 inmates at a time when the economy was entering recession, there was no unemployment benefit, and the Soviet welfare system was collapsing. Many of these former prisoners joined organized crime, the shadow economy, and new business structures.[144] Donetsk and Crimean prison culture enabled the mobilization of vigilantes, the disintegration of the Soviet state provided opportunity, while disrespect for life ensured large-scale violence and a high number of murders.

Postwar reconstruction of the Donbas took place with the assistance of labor transferred from other regions of the USSR, and some of these included "criminals and adventurers," Kuromiya writes, adding,[145] "Crime shot up. For the reconstruction of Donbas industry, many criminals were brought in and left unsupervised,"[146] while "[t]he presence of large numbers of street waifs added to the crime."[147] In postwar Donetsk, 1 in 10 residents were imprisoned in prisons and colonies and the region held three times the number of inmates as these institutions had been constructed to hold. The largest numbers of criminal prosecutions in Soviet Ukraine were in Stalino (Donetsk) and Luhansk (Voroshilovohrad) *oblasts* accounting for a third of all criminal prosecutions in Soviet Ukraine. In the Donbas, "[e]veryone was said to participate in robbery" and "every night people were terrorized by the sound of incessant shots from automatic rifles."[148] It is not surprising therefore that Donetsk voters view Yanukovych's two imprisonments as a *neschastya (misfortune)* rather than something making him morally unfit to be the Ukrainian president.

The Soviet criminal world had a reputation for "coarseness of manner," and it was therefore "hard for them to find a common language with educated people." In prison, Yanukovych's nickname had been a *kham ([uncouth] boor)*, and his boorishness and language mistakes became a source of mockery in the 2004 elections and ever since.[149] Yanukovych's cooperation with the Soviet authorities in prison facilitated his career progress after he was released from captivity (see Box 9.2).

The Donbas and the Eurasianist Wing of the Communist Party

The Donetsk Basin always held a strong position in the Soviet Ukrainian Communist Party and in government ministries such as coal and metallurgy—but less so in the central organs of the party. In the 1970s, 6 out of 16 Ukrainian *Politburo* members began their careers in the Donetsk Basin, with another three from Kharkiv and two from Dnipropetrovsk. Most of the industries controlled by all-Union ministries (accounting for half of Ukraine's economy) were to be found in the Donbas. Lewytzkyj, writing on the Soviet Donbas, points out that "[t]heir experiences and mentality have been moulded by their subordination to all-Union authority and by

the priority of all-union interests."[150] Armstrong writes that party-state management in the Donbas was a "partially distinct unit before 1953."[151] The Donbas was a cadre school for Communist Party officials, "who as individuals and functionaries personify the 'integrative' aspects of CPSU domestic policy." The Donetsk clan, who come from a heavily Russified region and are accustomed to thinking in centralist and all-Union terms, were the ultimate Moscow loyalists from World War II to the late 1980s and again in the first two decades of the twenty-first century. This political culture had transformed into a Party of Regions that was neo-Soviet and ready—unlike liberal centrists—to cooperate with the Communists, Crimean Russian nationalists, and Russian leaders.

Under Shcherbytskyy, the Donbas was a politically passive region that supported the hard-line Eurasianist wing of the KPU. There were few instances of strikes in the Donbas, and with some notable exceptions such as Stus, Rudenko, and Dzyuba, the region produced few dissidents and cultural activists. An embryonic workers movement emerged under tough conditions led by Klebanov and Nikitin (see Chapter 4) that the KGB harshly repressed. Most coal miners were pacified through their treatment as members of the working class elite who were paid relatively high wages. In 1962, Donetsk had witnessed rioting and strikes, but over the next quarter of a century, Ukrainian coal miners had become increasingly passive. Mass strikes by coal miners broke out on two occasions in the Donetsk region in 1988 and 1993, and on both occasions, the local authorities instigated them to pressure the central authorities in Moscow and Kyiv, respectively. The Donetsk region was suspicious of *Rukh* in the late 1980s, and few bridges were built between national democrats and coal miners in independent Ukraine. In 1991–2014, Donetsk voted for the KPU and the Party of Regions.

The Emergence and Expansion of the Donetsk Clan

In the Donbas in the late 1980s, a bare majority of the local population supported Ukrainian independence but for economic, rather than national, reasons, and this had remained with only 30 percent supporting independence in the region a quarter of a century later, a similar figure to local support for separatism.[152] The Donbas desired to see an end to what they believed to be Moscow's exploitation, a harbinger of the Party of Regions economic nationalism, while others supported regional autonomy. A coal miner and independent trade union leader predicted that "the Donbas will support sovereignty and independence for Ukraine if it makes economic sense."[153] A Russian miner in Donetsk said, "We will feed ourselves not Russia. Ukraine has been bled of its wealth and had nothing back in return."[154] An important element of Donetsk regional identity is pride in the growth of its industry, its power, and exaggerated

the vital role its economy played in Soviet Ukraine and in the USSR. This pride, which wrongly claimed the Donbas "fed" Ukraine, ignored the fact the Donetsk region's coal mining industry was completely subsidized.

Donetsk regional identity developed alongside a Soviet Ukrainian identity and territorial patriotism. The Donbas lived between Ukraine and Russia "without a commitment to either,"[155] making it as suspicious of Moscow as it was of Kyiv. In the late 1980s, the Donbas had not mobilized against Soviet power, but the region had also not defended the Soviet Union. Pro-Soviet Internationalist Movements, which were active in Moldova and the three Baltic states, were unpopular in the Donbas, as Dmytro Kornilov, the former head of the *Intermovement (Internationalist Movement)*, told this author during a visit to London in 1998. The passivity of the Donbas changed only after the Orange Revolution and Yushchenko's election when the Party of Regions provided it with a political voice and political machine. In 2014, the 30 percent who supported Ukrainian independence remained passive in the face of an equal number (30 percent) who were very aggressive and well-trained separatists.

A combination of long-standing anti-Moscow (which should not be confused with anti-Russian) views of the exploitation of the region's economy and resources, coupled with weariness in Soviet leader Gorbachev, gave qualified support for Ukrainian independence in the December 1991 referendum, although the figure was one of the lowest in Ukraine. Support for Ukrainian independence was less than two thirds in the Donbas (Donetsk, Luhansk), Kharkiv, and Odesa, four *oblasts* that hold a quarter of Ukraine's population and which included two where separatists took control (Donbas) and two that were swing regions (Kharkiv, Odesa). where pro-Ukrainians forces triumphed. In the Crimea, 36 percent of the population supported independence (or 54 percent of those who participated in the referendum). The highest number of *no* votes was in the Crimea and Sevastopol (40 to 42 percent) followed by the Donbas (12 to 14 percent), higher than the Ukrainian average of 8 percent. The lowest turnout in the referendum was in the Crimea and Sevastopol, where it averaged between 64 and 67 percent followed by Donetsk, Odesa, and Kharkiv, where turnout was between 75 and 77 percent. A senior Western diplomat warned in 1991, "Our impression is that the vote among the Russians was apathetic, and that they may be open to a swing in their views."[156]

As discussed earlier, criminality in the Donbas had been high since World War II, and this emerged into the open during the Gorbachev era as small business ventures were permitted and Soviet power collapsed (see Chapter 9). In terms of the number of murders, Donetsk came second to the Crimea in the 1990s, but what is more striking is the degree to which the *oblast* was so different from neighboring Kharkiv and Dnipropetrovsk, where violence was on a far more limited scale. Zhuk, who

Box 10.1 Viktor Yanukovych and the *Vorovskoy Mir* (Criminal World)

Louise I. Shelley writes that the absorption of criminal subcultures into the Soviet state began as early as the 1930s when criminal elements and homeless people were integrated into the security forces. Criminal *pakhany* enforcers in the labor camps maintained order and controlled political prisoners, the most dangerous group of prisoners for the Soviet authorities. In the Gulag, convicted criminals were more respected than political prisoners and the camp guards turned a blind eye to their abuses and the bullying of political prisoners. The attitude of criminals to political prisoners "is one of contempt and mockery," and criminals were given lighter work and better rations in return for maintaining discipline. In the 1953–1954 uprisings in the Gulag, Ukrainian nationalist prisoners targeted criminal *pakhany* (those like Yanukovych, who were used by the prison authorities to maintain control over prisoners) for death sentences or wounding before attacking the camp guards. *Pakhany* ruled prisons with a monopoly of informal power after dark when they exercised total dominance over their territory and subordinates. This could be an important reason why former criminal prisoners such as Yanukovych have never respected dissidents convicted for political crimes, adding to negative opinions against "Ukrainian nationalists" found in regions such as the Donbas.

Yanukovych's official biography on the Ukrainian presidential website ignored his two prison terms. His biography claimed he was an "academic at the Academy of Economic Sciences of Ukraine, a Doctor of Economic Sciences, professor." Yanukovych received a three-year sentence in 1967 for theft and was incarcerated in a juvenile detention center, and in 1970 he was sentenced to two years for "infliction of bodily injuries of medium seriousness." Yanukovych is tall and the first conviction may be related to his theft of mink and fur hats from men; in winter 2012–2013, posters in Kyiv's metro stations proclaimed "Steal a Hat and Become a President!" In 1978, the Donetsk *oblast* court annulled both convictions, and the original documents pertaining to Yanukovych's convictions have disappeared. Oleksandr Kondratyev, chairperson of the Donetsk appeals court, attempted to clear up Yanukovych's criminal background at a 2004 news conference during which he explained what the convictions were for and why former cosmonaut and USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy Hryhoriy Berehovyy interceded on Yanukovych's behalf to help overturn both convictions. Donetsk mass media have publicized the 1978 overturning of the two convictions as "evidence" that Yanukovych had been charged on "false testimony" and claimed that proof of this was permission granted to Yanukovych to join the Communist Party in 1970.

Kupchinsky cited ICTV (November 18, 2003) reporting additional information about an alleged third criminal conviction. Discussing Yanukovych's possible third conviction, Fournier writes about "murder, rape, or a combination of these" and his "supposed rape conviction." Jessica Allina-Pisano

(*continued*)

described Yanukovych as "an ex two-time felon whose involvement in a case of sexual assault was widely discussed in Ukraine." Kurkov also discussed rape and assault charges. According to a former inmate who served time with Yanukovych during his first conviction in Donetsk *oblast*, he had a "disgusting" reputation and collaborated with the prison guards. After losing at cards, Yanukovych was unable to pay and was raped by another prisoner; the prisoner was later "taken care of" according to the former inmate.

Fournier found in her study of students in Ukrainian classrooms that student bullies and leaders, some of whom followed gang culture often glorified in rap music, nevertheless believed it was dangerous to elect ex-cons as presidents because "the law of the country, in their hands, became a tool for intimidation, or a weapon of sorts." A Ukrainian-British journalist was told by a self-confessed crook from Ivano-Frankivsk delivering supplies for protestors in the Orange Revolution: "Yes, I might be a criminal, but that does not mean I want my country to be run by criminals and certainly not by Russian criminals." Kuchma cited a poll in his own memoirs where two thirds of Ukrainians believed a president should not be somebody who holds past criminal convictions. Opinion polls in the 2004 elections indicated that 69 percent of Ukrainians would not vote for a candidate with a criminal record and 62 percent would support a law prohibiting convicted criminals from standing for president. Nevertheless, 44 and 48 percent of Ukrainians voted for Yanukovych in December 2004 and February 2010, respectively. Fournier's students' fears during the 2004 elections foresaw the actions of Yanukovych's kleptocracy.

The bigger question is why the views of Fournier's students are different to those found in Eastern Ukraine who voted in large numbers for Yanukovych and the Party of Regions. Donetsk residents could be more likely to not believe that one set of politcians are better than another and believed that although Yanukovych "was a bandit, but he was our bandit." Ironically, the genre of *Blatnyak* (prison songs), which have been around since the beginning of Gulag life in the 1930s, became popular and were broadcast on some FM radio stations, and in July 2013, during a public concert in Kyiv, the youth wing of the Party of Regions sang them.

Vory v zakone—in Ukrainian *zlodiy u zakoni* (thieves in law or thieves professing the code)—are criminal leaders at the top of organized crime hierarchies who command great respect from their peers and refer to themselves as *vory v zakone*, who are also described as criminal *avtoritety* (authoritative criminal figures). Lower-level criminals are "apprentices" who are organized as a *brigada* (team) with strong leaders who are highly disciplined and look up to the *vory v zakone*.

In 1972, Volodymyr Lyovochkin, Serhiy Lyovochkin's father, began working in the State Penitentiary Service of Ukraine as a prison inspector and because of this "[i]t is claimed that Lyovochkin-senior is one of the few who knew details of the main prison terms served by Yanukovych." In 2001–2005, Volodymyr Lyovochkin headed the State Penitentiary Service of Ukraine. This episode, in the same manner as that of the Medvedchuk case, is an additional example of how Soviet Ukraine continued to influence post-Soviet Ukraine.

A number of individuals who would go on to become post-Soviet Donetsk elites had early connections to key Soviet institutions and the criminal world. Yanukovych was never a *vory v zakone* as he collaborated with the prison authorities, earning the contempt of hardened convicts. He often lets slip prison jargon, such as describing his opponents as *kozly* (the word for goats but prison slang for bitches *or informers*)and *shleper* (major criminals).

He was recruited to be a KGB informer on organized crime groups in the Donetsk region. The KGB had millions of informers in the USSR, and Yanukovych was therefore not unique. But there is no such thing as a "former" spy, and after prison, he rose up the social ladder and served the Soviet system joining the Communist Party, reportedly travelling abroad, and his mentor was a well-known cosmonaut.

Operating in the Soviet black market was impossible without KGB connections and protection, and new businesses opened in the late Soviet and post-Soviet era "had either KGB or *Komsomol* cover or *krysha*," Karen Dawisha points out. Brahin and Akhmetov were involved in petty crimes and the shadow economy that grew during the Brezhnev era, putting them under the surveillance of the KGB and Ministry of Interior. These finances and activities gave them the start-up capital, muscle, and patronage networks to take advantage of the liberalization of the Soviet and post-Soviet economy in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Zhuk recalled the Donetsk "Tatar mafia" shaking down his hometown.

During the Soviet period, the KGB was on top of criminal activity, and the Ministry of Interior were often involved with criminals. After the disintegration of the USSR, these relationships were reversed, and in the 1990s when the Ukrainian state was weak and criminal groups had accumulated huge financial fortunes, they succeeded in taking control of the SBU, Prosecutor's Office, and Ministry of Interior in regions such as Donetsk. Former Georgian president Saakashvili recalled President Yanukovych bragging to him about how he enjoyed corrupting the judiciary and said Yanukovych was obsessed with playing with the courts, a sign the Georgian president believed of somebody who had past problems with the law. Politicians joined this nexus of crime and security forces in the late 1990s during Yanukovych's governorship of Donetsk when he oversaw the unification of the warring business and criminal groups into the political face of the Donetsk clan, the Party of Regions. Dawisha, writing about Russia, but her observations are also applicable to Donetsk, found that "[t]he oligarchs depend on both the ex-KGB and organized crime to use targeted violence to control market entry, market share, and border control." The Donetsk clan's total control over regional security forces from the 1990s facilitated massive election fraud for the Party of Regions and corporate raiding and in spring 2014 ensured their complete disintegration and defection to the separatists.

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grew up in neighboring Dnipropetrovsk, writes about Donetsk racketeers who he describes as the "Tatar mafia" coming to his city in the 1980s to shake down discotheques and emerging small businesses. Donbas organized crime boss Brahin controlled a large number of discotheques that were a major source of cash in the region.[157] The *durdom* only ameliorated

after Yanukovych, sent by Kuchma to become both a peacemaker and a deal maker, became regional governor who oversaw the integration of "Red Directors," new younger oligarchs, trade unionists, former criminal authoritative figures, and pan-Slavists into a united Donetsk clan and the Party of Regions. This process was no different from that which took place in other countries, such as Italy: "No matter how he had begun his career, the leader of a mafia group was no longer a bandit, an outlaw. Indeed, he portrayed himself as a man of law and order and paid formal respect to state authority."[158] Zon writes, "Yanukovych, Akhmetov and Kolesnikov (Akhmetov's associate and close friend) put an end to uncontrolled criminal activities and restored order. Restoring order, however, did not mean restoring rule of law; in Donetsk the law of the strongest reigned."[159] Yanukovych, according to Taras Chornovil, remained insecure throughout this period and kept an armored personnel carrier behind his office in which he could quickly escape by his bodyguard driving him the 60 kilometers to the Russian border.[160]

Rinat Akhmetov: From Coal Miner's Son to Wealthy Tycoon

It is routine when applying for government positions in Western democracies to undergo background investigations and polygraph examinations, and those going into politics will have their entire biography micro-scrutinized by the media. In Ukraine, there is little transparency in politics and business, and the early biographies of the majority of tycoons are therefore opaque.[161] Akhmetov and his American lawyers have at the same time as not providing an alternative biography covering the missing decade from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s repeatedly denied allegations of his ties to criminal groups. One has to assume Akhmetov has something to hide as he is the only Ukrainian oligarch to have a Western law firm on a retainer to squash any criticism in Western media and academic books; publications and publishers (such as the University of Toronto Press) threatened with libel cases have taken down publications and torn up book contracts. Ukraine's elites do not wish to have spotlights on their biographies, and therefore typically for Ukrainian oligarchs, the early biography of Akhmetov the future kingmaker of the Donbas is missing. The Party of Regions maintained ties to organized crime through to the ouster of Yanukovych and were the source of vigilantes and separatists.

Akhmetov is the son of a coal miner who moved to Donetsk during the Soviet period from the Russian autonomous republic of Tatarstan. In 1984–1986 (when he would have been 18–20 years old), Akhmetov did not undertake his military conscription service in the Soviet armed forces and may have bought his way out, which was common practice at the time because young Soviet people had no wish to serve with their country's occupation forces in Afghanistan, where casualties were high. From

the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s, the information that is available on Akhmetov is sparse and unverified and some allegations have surfaced that he was allegedly involved in petty criminal activities in the Donetsk region that Zon and others have written about, but these have been refuted by SCM.[162] Allegations about Akhmetov's membership of a criminal group are to be found in a 1999 Interior Ministry document on organized crime groups in the Donetsk region that former interior minister Lutsenko told this author is authentic.[163]

In the first half of the 1990s in Donetsk and in some other regions of Ukraine, as well as many regions of the former USSR, the business–politics–crime nexus was commonplace. On the Melnychenko tapes there is a discussion that alludes to Medvedchuk's ties to criminal groups,[164] and Lazarenko's adviser was Mogilevich associate Fisherman. The Donetsk clan and its political face, the Party of Regions, emerged from a symbiosis of new business groups and organized crime elements.[165] For those involved in big business activities in the 1990s, whether Firtash, Lazarenko, or Yevhen Shcherban, not cooperating with organized crime authorities would have been near impossible.

Zon writes that in the first half of the 1990s, Brahin, who was a well-known Donetsk businessperson and a criminal "authority," became Akhmetov's "mentor."[166] Photographic and video footage were leaked by the Interior Ministry showing Akhmetov and Brahin at the funeral of Janosz Krantz,[167] a major Donetsk organized crime boss who was murdered in 1992.[168] One has to ask the question, if Akhmetov had no ties to crime at that time, why did he attend the funeral? Akhmetov has a residence in the former Donetsk Botanical Gardens, which he inherited after the death of Brahin, who, in turn, had taken it over from Krantz.[169] Slawomir Matuszak writes, "No proven information is available on the beginnings of his activity. In the first half of the 1990s, he was probably linked to Brahin, a leader of the criminal underworld in the Donetsk *Oblast*, who was the President of Shakhtar Donetsk Football Club."[170] Ukrainian media has been full of speculation as to whether Akhmetov was involved in Brahin's assassination, and the truth is we are never likely to ever know. But this suspicion is raised by the fact he inherited most of his assets, giving him the start-up capital to become Ukraine's wealthiest person.

The Donbas was a Soviet melting pot (see Chapters 6 and 7), and therefore it is not surprising that Jews, Georgians, Greeks, Central Asians, and Tatars came together to form business alliances. Ethnic ties between Brahin, Akhmetov, and Yevhen Shcherban were a factor in bringing them together as in the first two cases their families had migrated to the Donbas from Tatar regions of the Soviet Union. In 1993 Brahin had assisted in the founding of the Ibn Fadlan Donetsk Spiritual Centre of Muslims in Donetsk, the first to be built in the Donbas region since 1991. After his murder the mosque was renamed Akhat Jami and opened in

September 1999 when it was named in honor of "Akhat Brahin."[171] Initially the project called for the construction of one minaret, but financing from Akhmetov made it possible to build two, and the second was named in his honor. On its first floor is a Ukrainian Islamic university, the first Muslim higher education institution to be opened in Ukraine. Ten other mosques were built in the Donbas in 2000–2007. In 1997, the Ministry of Justice registered the Party of Muslims of Ukraine led by Rashid Brahin, brother of the murdered Brahin, and it supported ZYU and Yanukovych in the 2002 and 2004 presidential elections, respectively. In the following year the Party of Muslims of Ukraine merged with the Party of Regions. The pro-Russian Party of Muslims, therefore, had a different ideological stance to anti-Soviet and anti-Russian Crimean Tatars who aligned with national democratic political forces. Rashid Brahin was elected to the Donetsk city council in 2002, 2006, and 2010.

Akhmetov's biography from 1996 to 1997 following the murder of Brahin becomes more accessible.[172]Akhmetov lobbied for the appointment of Yanukovych as governor and established a close working relationship with him through to his ouster. On the eve of the 2008 global financial crisis, Ukraine's *Korrespondent* magazine estimated Akhmetov's wealth to be $31 billion, a sum greater than the $30 billion the magazine estimated for Russia's wealthiest oligarch Oleg Deripaska.[173] In *Korrespondent*'s 2010 rankings of Ukraine's 50 wealthiest citizens, Akhmetov is valued at $23.6 billion or the equivalent of an incredible quarter of Ukraine's GDP ($113.5 billion). The 2011 *Forbes* magazine list of the world's wealthiest individuals includes Donetsk oligarch Akhmetov in the 39th place with an estimated $16 billion in wealth, greater than the combined wealth of seven other Ukrainian oligarchs on the *Forbes* list. In Bloomberg's list of 200 wealthiest people in 2012, Akhmetov is ranked 38th ($18.9 billion), which is greater than either of Russia's two wealthiest oligarchs Abramovich and Deripaska, who were given 51st ($14.7 billion) and 90th ($10.5 billion) places, respectively.[174] In 2013, *Korrespondent* ranked him as usual in the first place with $18.3 billion in wealth; in the second place came *Privat* co-owner Boholyubov with $3.9 billion, or less than a quarter of Akhmetov's worth. Russia has far great resources of oil, gas, gold, diamonds, and other resources that Ukraine does not possess or has limited quantities of and it is therefore unclear how Akhmetov could have become the wealthiest individual in Europe and Eurasia, and far ahead of anybody else in Ukraine's elites. More importantly, such large wealth did not halt his rapacious greed, and he benefitted handsomely from Yanukovych's kleptocracy, for example, privatizing *UkrTelekom* in a roundabout way through an Austrian company.

SCM comprises 100 businesses in metallurgy and mining, power generation, banking and insurance, telecommunications, transportation, media, and real estate. Akhmetov also controls the dominant local Donetsk

television channels *TRK Ukrayina*, Football, and Football+; the www.tochka.net website; and the mass circulation Russian-language *Segodnya* newspaper, whose editor Oles Buzin, perhaps in a sop to the separatists, is a Ukrainophobe. In 2007, Akhmetov launched the Foundation for Effective Governance (FEG),[175] which has focused primarily on the development of economic projects and economic issues that mirror the Party of Regions election programs (the FEG was closed during the Euromaidan).

Akhmetov remained reclusive during Kuchma's presidency and entered parliament for the first time in 2006 in the Party of Regions. "I decided that now is the right occasion to take part in political life," Akhmetov said.[176] In reality, Akhmetov felt threatened by Tymoshenko and Lutsenko and sought parliamentary immunity; in 2012, with Yanukovych now president, he did not run for parliament. A desire for involvement in parliamentary work was not the reason he was elected a parliamentary deputy in 2006–2007 and 2007–2012 judging from the fact he attended two parliamentary sessions only to take the oath of loyalty when the new parliaments opened.[177]

Akhmetov made a major miscalculation in spring 2014 in not accepting the offer of the position of Donetsk governor unlike Taruta, who proved his patriotic credentials as Donetsk governor during the separatist conflict. His condemnations of violence came late and they were muted. Investigative journalist Leshchenko highlights three criticisms. First, Akhmetov and the quarter of Party of Regions deputies he controlled never condemned police violence during the Euromaidan, and they therefore together cannot evade responsibility for the Yanukovych regime's bloodshed. Second, none of them voted for the December 3, 2013, no-confidence motion in the Azarov government, which "proves that Akhmetov through his deputies as on previous occasions supports the policies of Yanukovych by including remaining silent when the security forces spill blood against demonstrators." Third, Akhmetov's solidarity is understandable, Leshchenko, writes because he financially gained from Yanukovych's kleptocracy by "taking control over whole sectors (of the economy) and also by obtaining shares (in companies) during dubious tenders." For anybody who understands how business is undertaken in Ukraine, Leshchenko points out "it is obvious that to be able to receive such bonuses Akhmetov could only do so by being Yanukovych's partner not only in politics but also in business."[178] SCM doubled the number of its employees from 160,000 to 300,000 during Yanukovych's presidency. In addition, Akhmetov's deputies in the Party of Regions voted for the "Black Thursday" (January 16, 2014) antidemocratic laws and he supported Yanukovych to his ouster. SCM statements during the Euromaidan that it is "built on fundamental European values" and that "the rule of law, respect for the rights to private

property" are "our top priorities" should be therefore treated as nothing more than hogwash.[179]

President Yanukovych continued the 50 percent rule he had developed with Donetsk businessmen in the second half of the 1990s that had facilitated them becoming wealthy oligarchs with him providing a *krysha* for them. It would be indeed unusual for Yanukovych to not expect tribute in return for facilitating the growth of the wealth of Akhmetov and other Donetsk tycoons. Assets that are routinely declared for oligarchs such as Akhmetov are not likely to all belong to him. Big business in Ukraine is so closely tied to politics that oligarchs bank the assets of politicians because state officials cannot be legally involved in business affairs. Leshchenko believes that more than 50 percent of Akhmetov's assets belong to Yanukovych.

Documents found in Yanukovych's ostentatious *Mezhihirya* palace and evidence provided by businessmen who had been corporate raided pointed to the continuation of his long-established rule of demanding a 50 percent tribute in return for providing a *krysha*.[180] Deputy head of the executive council of the Federation of Employers of Ukraine Dmytro Oliynyk spoke about the 50 percent rule having become the norm "in recent years" as the bribe that businesses were forced to pay. "We understand that businesses are often subject to extortion by officials, but when businesses refuse to satisfy the unlawful demands of the authorities to join with them in a corrupt conspiracy then corruption as a social evil in business affairs and in the country as a whole will be defeated," Oliynyk said. Leshchenko writes that "Akhmetov played a central role in establishing Viktor Yanukovych as a politician. He became an oligarch under President Leonid Kuchma" and "from the moment of Yanukovych becoming Prime Minister, a 'golden era' begins for Akhmetov," which massively expanded when he became president.[181] "Akhmetov's businesses flourished exponentially" under Yanukovych,[182] increasing his wealth by a whopping $3 billion in his first six months in power, followed by the huge Maryupol Illich metallurgical plant and *UkrTelekom*.[183] Yanukovych permitted others to become fabulously wealthy under his protection only after they agreed to give him 50 percent of their shares, a fact Firtash confided was the case with his relationship with the former president, and in return Yanukovych demanded complete political loyalty.[184] BYuT oligarch Zhevago said in response to the question if there was pressure to not support the opposition, "Yes, of course there was all the time."[185]

Denis Pushilin and the DNR were "allegedly Akhmetov's puppet project," and separatist leader Pavel Gubarov, a member of the neo-Nazi Russian National Unity party, publicly revealed Akhmetov at the beginning of the conflict paid two thirds of the separatist costs.[186] Akhmetov

not surprisingly denied this to be the case, but in summer 2014, the Ukrainian prosecutor's office launched a criminal investigation into whether there was evidence of him supporting separatism. Interestingly, separatists seized none of his businesses including the offices of SCM and *Metinvest* in the center of Donetsk unlike pro-Ukrainian Donetsk Governor Taruta's offices, which were ransacked. The pro-separatist *Oplot* vigilante group has provided security for Akhmetov, who it has been alleged controls the commander of the *Vostok* battalion separatist group led by a former head of the SBU *Alpha* unit in Donetsk.[187] From the beginning of the conflict, the financing of *Oplot* "has been undertaken by people in Rinat Akmetov's circle"[188] and *Oplot* and *Vostok* are "both thought to be closer to Akhmetov."[189] DNR Prime Minister Zakharchenko, an *Oplot* member, "has been part of the Donetsk clan for some time,"[190] and Akhmetov lobbied Moscow for him to "win" the fraudulent November 2014 election.

Kyiv Mohyla Academy political scientist Olexiy Haran asked of Akhmetov, "Where was he on the *Maydan*? Where was he when the separatists (fed by him and the Party of Regions) took over Donetsk and Luhansk? And where is the defender of the Donbas now? He has fled to Kyiv, and our guys are dying there just so as he can return and his companies resume work." Haran—similar to Lutsenko—called on Akhmetov to convince the terrorists to lay down their arms and "to revive looted and destroyed cities and use his enormous wealth earned from the blood, sweat, and tears of coalminers to re-build a new Donbas, without criminals and his own corrupt schemes."[191]

By turning down the offer to be Donetsk governor, Akhmetov missed the opportunity to refashion himself as a patriotic oligarch in the manner of Kolomoyskyy in Dnipropetrovsk. Akhmetov's inaction in the Donbas was a product of his complicity with separatists to reach a deal with either Kyiv *or* Moscow; Donetsk had, after all, twice before undertaken similar rebellions against Kyiv, the first in the 1993 coal miners strike leading to a referendum and pre-term election a year later and to the appointment of a Donetsk tycoon as prime minister and the Syeverodonetsk separatist congress during the Orange Revolution. In 2004, Putin's intervention had been at the low level of sending indirect support through Moscow Mayor Luzhkov's attendance at the separatist congress where he delivered greetings from Putin, but a decade later this was trumped by massive Russian covert military and intelligence intervention. In its early stages Akhmetov had the power to end the separatist rebellion, but in April–May 2014 it had spiraled out of control, and his intervention through statements and putting workers on public patrols came too late to have any real influence. Akhmetov could not as in 2005 flee abroad to his many foreign palaces because of his fear that he too, similar to Firtash, would be detained in Europe.

A Soviet-era poster exhorting the "Donbas—to Victory!" was one of many used by Soviet ideological campaigns to fulfil production quotas and five-year plans. (Dr. Harry Bakwin and Dr. Ruth Morris Bakwin, Soviet Posters Collection Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago Library, http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/about/press/sovietposters.html)

Taruta, Haydyuk, and Industrial Union of Donbas

Founded in 1995, the ISD in the 1990s pushed competition aside "with unfair and often criminal methods,"[192] tactics that were commonplace during the transition in the 1990s in Ukraine and Eurasia. Of the six directors of ISD three were assassinated (Brahin, Yevhen Shcherban, and Oleksandr Momot) while three survived the tumultuous 1990s (Akhmetov, Volodymyr Shcherban, and Taruta). Since 2000, the ISD is owned by three people (Taruta, Haydyuk, and Oleh Mkrtchian[193]) and has business interests in metallurgy. Haydyuk was the owner of Evolution Media that included the *Komentarii* magazine *Kyiv Weekly*, websites www.comments.ua and www.ugmk.info, and the photo information agency PHL. Unlike SCM, which invested heavily in the Party of Regions, the ISD has remained firmly in the democratic camp and supported

Ukraine's European integration under Kuchma and Yushchenko in 2004–2005[194] and Tymoshenko from 2005 to 2010. Local oligarchs were not challenged by the ISD because it did not support political alternatives to the Party of Regions in its home base of Donetsk.

At the same time, the ISD has been less economically nationalist than Akhmetov. Prime Minister Tymoshenko agreed to permit the sale of 50 percent plus 2 shares in ISD to Russia's *VneshEkonomNank*, whose supervisory board is headed by President Putin, through the Swiss company Carbofer. The deal included two steelyards in Ukraine and steel plants in Poland and Hungary. Nationalists who were negatively disposed toward her believed this was an additional concession she made during the 2009 negotiations for a poorly negotiated gas contract,[195] and the sale of ISD belied the paradigm there are "pro-Western" and "pro-Russian" oligarchs in Ukraine. In contrast, Akhmetov had defended Ukrainian big business interests from hostile Russian takeovers of *Zaporizhstal* and the Ilyich metallurgical plant in Maryupol, showing him to be more of an economic nationalist than his former "pro-Western" ISD business partners.[196] Of course, Akhmetov defends them in order to be able to exert control over them in the interests of rapacious greed, rather than defending Ukraine's national security, in the same manner as he had sought control over *Kryvorizhstal*.

"The Family"

"The Family" emerged as a new group during Yanukovych's presidency (see Chapter 5) when the term referred to a group of individuals with close connections to Yanukovych's hometown of Yenakiyevo in Donetsk *oblast*.[197] The leadership of Yanukovych's team was divided between Chief of Staff Serhiy Lyovochkin, who represented the interests of the gas lobby and Deputy Head Stanislav Skubashevskyy, who represented the interests of "The Family."[198] The capital assets of "The Family" were estimated to be $130 million and it ranked 64th among Ukraine's 100 wealthiest people and business groups.[199] In 2011, after purchasing the All-Ukrainian Bank for Development, Oleksandr Yanukovych, a dentist by profession, entered the top 100 wealthiest Ukrainians. In 2012, he doubled his wealth from $99 to $187 million (his company's shares increased from 505.5 million to 970 million *hryvnya*), and he became the 59th wealthiest Ukrainian among the top 100.[200] This growth in wealth had nothing to do with a sudden rush by Ukrainians to improve their dental hygiene.

The strategy aimed to ensure by the completion of two terms in office that Yanukovych and "The Family" would become the wealthiest clan in Ukraine.[201] Such a strategy emerged from the Eurasianist and semi-criminal subculture where the *hospodar* should be unassailable, should

hold a monopoly of power, and he should be the wealthiest person in the land. Harding reports that Putin had similarly amassed a massive fortune of $40 billion, which was greater than the wealth of Deripaska, Russia's richest oligarch. According to U.S. intelligence, Putin is one of the wealthiest people in the world.[202]

"The Family's" Grey Cardinals were Oleksandr Yanukovych and Party of Regions deputy Ivanyushchenko,[203] who "had a dodgy and even criminal past" that "link[s] him to an organized crime group in the 1990s."[204] Ivanyushchenko has provided financial and other resources to separatists in the Donbas, making it surprising why the Euromaidan authorities have not closed down his lucrative cash cows. Ivanyushchenko and Minister of Agricultural Policy and Foodstuffs Mykola Prysyazhnyuk controlled *Khlib Investbud*, "a controversial grain trader with an unclear ownership structure"[205] that was given a monopoly on grain exports.[206] "The Family," "possess reputations for ruthlessness and are expected to do what the President wants."[207] Prime Minister of the Crimean government Mohilyov, who replaced another member of the Donetsk clan Vasyliy Dzhartyy after he had passed away, was from Yanukovych's home town where Dzhartyy had been mayor when Mohilyov had been head of the city's Interior Ministry. "The Family" privatized law enforcement and the budget: Yakymenko[208] was transferred from the position of head of the SBU in Donetsk to SBU chairperson, Zakharchenko replaced Mohilyov as interior minister, Oleksandr Klymenko became the head of State Tax Administration, Serhiy Arbuzov was the first deputy prime minister, and Hennadiy Reznikov was the head of the State Service for Special Communications, a body that controls government communications that had been separated from the SBU.

The gas lobby was pressured to open up its monopoly to "The Family" and 27-year-old Serhiy Kurchenko, who represented the interests of Oleksandr Yanukovych. Kurchenko, Akhmetov, and *OstChem* imported discounted gas into Ukraine, and Kurchenko's company *Vetek*, established in 2013 on the basis of *Haz Ukrayina*, competed with *OstChem* in the importing of gas for industrial producers. An investigation by the *Dzerkalo Tyzhnya* newspaper alleged Kurchenko was involved in oil smuggling, depriving the state of some 3 billion *hryvnya* in tax revenues.[209] Kurchenko, who was relatively unknown until 2011, only two years later was ranked seventh in Ukraine's 100 wealthiest people and valued at $2.4 billion, pushing Firtash, who had been in the energy business since the 1990s, into the eighth place with $2.3 billion.[210] In 2011, Poroshenko and Lozhkin (who became Poroshenko's chief of staff) bought KP Media as part of a deal to hide the real future owner, Kurchenko. His Ukrainian Media Holding eventually included *Korrespondent* and *Forbes Ukraina* magazines and *Komsomolskaya Pravda v Ukraine*, *Argumenty i Fakty v Ukraine*, and *Telenedelya* newspapers. Ukrainian Media

Holding also owned five radio networks, a cooking television channel, and a retail chain for print media. Poroshenko's and Lozhkin's intermediary roles in facilitating the transfer of media assets to "The Family" would not have been undertaken free of charge.

Kurchenko had earlier corporate raided the Kharkiv *Metalist* football club from oligarch Oleksandr Yaroslavskyy. *Metalist* was Yaroslavskyy's pride and joy and he had financed the construction of Kharkiv's Euro 2012 stadium that the club was to use and therefore the sale was undoubtedly made under pressure.[211] This could be a reason why *Metalist* fans were very anti-Yanukovych. First Deputy Prime Minister Arbuzov, another member of "The Family," owned the Ukrainian Business Group with a portfolio that included Business, Ukrainian Fashion, A-One, and *Dobro-TV* channels with controlling shares in *Tonis* and VTV channels. He also owned *Kapital* business and *Vzglyad* tabloid newspapers.[212]

Ukraine's oligarchs emerged from two main sources, the *Komsomol* Democratic Platform of the Soviet Communist Party, which was dominant in cities such as Kharkiv and Dnipropetrovsk, the two cities that had provided the bulk of Soviet Ukrainian *nomenklatura* elites, and the business–politics–crime nexus in Donetsk, Crimea, and Odesa. Of the two groups, the latter became the dominant political force in Eastern Ukraine until the Euromaidan. Although both "Western" and "Eastern" Ukraine are often included as individual units of research in fact as Chapter 7 illustrates, Transcarpathia is as different from Galicia as the cities of Dnipropetrovsk and Kharkiv are from Donetsk. The reasons for this are threefold. First, Donetsk adopted tougher tactics than its competitors that stemmed from the region's working-class and frontier identity as well as higher levels of criminality that led to the emergence of a business–politics–crime nexus in the late 1980s and first half of the 1990s. Second, they adopted a successful strategy of unification of regional elites into the Donetsk clan and political machine, the Party of Regions. The ISD, which never created a competing political force and remained outside the political machine, did not have similarly bitter relations with Akhmetov's SCM as those that existed in Dnipropetrovsk between three warring subclans. Third, the Donetsk clan was highly successful through its political machine and use of state-administrative resources in mobilizing votes for Kuchma in two elections (1999 and 2002) and for itself in 2004–2012. Liberal centrist parties established in the 1990s that had emerged from the *Komsomol* and were aimed at attracting the still small middle class, had far less success in mobilizing voters. The Party of Regions drew on leftist-populist voters who previously supported the KPU coupled with strong regional identities in the Donbas and Crimea.

The rapid collapse of the Yanukovych regime came about because of a variety of factors, but one of the most important was similar to what transpired in Indonesia, where the *bagi-bagi* system of "obligatory sharing of

oligarch's spoils."[213] They, as with Yanukovych's "Family" in Ukraine, were just as rapacious and eyed possible future political power. The demands of Suharto's and Yanukovych's children and close family violated the *bagi-bagi* system and oligarch pluralism that had earlier been in place in Indonesia and Ukraine. Overnight children became fabulously wealthy as in both countries the previous demands for bribes of 10–20 percent increased to 50 percent.[214] Jeffrey A. Winters writes, "The family phase of Indonesia's oligarch evolution fundamentally disrupted what had been a reliable and stable system of wealth defense."[215] A similar process happened in Ukraine during Yanukovych's presidency except that the process of rapacious and personalized corruption was more condensed in time. Aslund wrote, "Like most former Soviet states, Ukraine is subject to predatory rule. Its masters have two predominant objectives: to maintain power and enrich themselves."[216] Chalidze lucidly points out that for the Soviet criminal world, "there is no such thing as patriotism in their moral vocabulary"[217] as *vory v zakone* refused to cooperate with the Soviet regime. James Sherr compared officials in the Kuchma and Yanukovych presidencies: "This is a new situation for Ukraine. Although many of Kuchma's people were not exactly democrats, there were impressive advocates of a strong state, amongst them. A number of them were also national patriots. They understood institutions, and they built them, in some cases from scratch." Sherr continues: "But today for the first time the country is run by people who are neither democrats nor state builders. Some of them are not even competent."[218]

The negative consequences of the coming to power in Ukraine of the Donetsk clan for Ukraine's democratization, rule of law, and national integration have been discussed in Chapters 7, 8, and 9. The gas lobby with its roots in Western Ukraine, and the Donetsk clan, with many similarities to an organized crime group, pursued high-level rapacious corruption throughout the first two decades of Ukraine's independence. The gas lobby's days are numbered, as it could only survive with patronage from the Ukrainian and Russian presidencies with the former heavily reliant on the latter. Although Poroshenko's ties to the gas lobby lead us to be cautious about its complete demise at the same time Russia's new imperialism towards Ukraine largely precludes the ability of the gas lobby to continue to receive Moscow's patronage. Yanukovych's kleptocracy, the Euromaidan, and his fleeing from power, followed by violent separatism in the Donbas, have destroyed the unity of the Donetsk clan and its political machine and thereby its monopoly of power in Russophone Ukraine. Yanukovych and "The Family" are exiled in Russia and their assets have been frozen, and Firtash could be deported to the United States to stand trial. Meanwhile, Akhmetov's future is highly uncertain with both pro-Russian *and* pro-Ukrainian sides displeased with him, and with no political *krysha* for the first time in his life, Akhmetov is no longer the king of

Donbas volunteer battalion involved in heavy fighting against separatists and largely composed of Russian speakers from the region collecting public donations in central Kyiv in autumn 2014. Civil society groups and Ukraine's middle class have played a central role in collecting foodstuffs, medicines, and uniforms and purchasing military equipment for volunteer battalions. (Taras Kuzio)

the Donbas.[219] Since Yanukovych fled from Ukraine, Akhmetov no longer has political protection and is worried about his future in Euromaidan-ruled Ukraine. Some of his business allies and those who knew a lot about his shady past have committed highly suspicious "suicides" while others have been murdered.[220] Ukraine's oligarchs from outside "The Family" and Donetsk (with the exception of Firtash) withdrew their support during Yanukovych's presidency and remained passive during the Euromaidan; this was especially the case with oligarchs from Kharkiv and Dnipropetrovsk. The 2014 elections provided them with the opportunity through the election of Poroshenko to return Ukraine to the *bagi-bagi* system that had been in place under Ukraine's first three presidents. Alternatively, Ukraine's Euromaidan leadership could turn the page and begin to play by the rules rather than with the rules. The next chapter analyzes the emergence of Ukrainian foreign and security policy, the incompatibility of nondemocratic domestic with European foreign policies, and how these differed in the sixth historical cycle from those undertaken by Ukraine's first three presidents.

CHAPTER 11

Foreign Policy

We have common traditions, common mentality, common history, common culture. We . . . are one people.

Russian President Vladimir Putin

The Ukrainian crisis became one of the most difficult crises in the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian zones since the beginning of the cold war.

Chairman of the OSCE and President of Switzerland Didier Burkhalter

Since 1991, there has been a wide gulf between the declared foreign policy objective of Euro-Atlantic (under Ukraine's first three presidents) and European integration (under President Yanukovych) and actual domestic policies incompatible with these goals. Ukrainian presidents have not understood the strategic necessity of integrating domestic policies toward desired foreign policy goals. Ukrainian presidents and parliaments have undertaken undemocratic policies commonly found within post-Soviet Eurasia while espousing a virtual commitment to European integration. Ukrainian political party platforms and election rhetoric on foreign policy are populist and vague, especially when dealing with difficult questions such as NATO membership. Parliamentary and presidential election programs have largely ignored foreign policy questions. The U.S. Embassy in Kyiv reported that in the 2010 election campaign questions, national and regional security, defense, and regional stability received little attention and generated low-level public debate.[1]

Presidents Kuchma and Yanukovych sought to balance between the East and the West in multi-vector foreign policies that, although possible in the 1990s, became untenable after Poroshenko was elected president. Western policymakers have stated that integration into Europe and maintaining good relations with Russia are not incompatible policies although this ignores Russia's zero-sum approach to international relations and its opposition to Ukraine joining NATO *and* the EU. Ukraine under Kuchma

was orientated politically and in strategic terms to the West while the country's Eastern orientation was more economic and cultural in nature. Under Ukraine's first three presidents a significant proportion of Ukraine's elites continued to harbor a mistrust of Russia's intentions toward Ukraine; indeed, what Yushchenko expressed publicly was little different to what Kuchma and Kravchuk said privately. Until 2010, Ukraine therefore regarded NATO and the United States in particular as the guarantors of its independence and territorial integrity. At the same time, with broad cultural and historical links and family ties with Russia, Ukraine preferred to deal with the CIS economically because this permitted quick and opaque gains for oligarchs using nontransparent economic, trade, and financial practices. Through multi-vectorism the Ukrainian elites could reap the benefits of political and strategic ties with the West while maintaining economic and cultural links with the East.

Presidents Kuchma and Yanukovych have attempted to be members of free trade regimes in *both* the CIS and the EU, which was impossible, and were unwilling to choose in favor of integration into either the CIS *or* Europe. The multiple identities of Eastern Ukrainian voters made it difficult for centrist politicians to turn their backs on the East; meanwhile, heavy-handed Russian demands make integration into the East unpalatable for Ukrainian elites. President Yushchenko's voters held mutually exclusive identities and had no difficulties in looking toward the West while turning their backs on Russia. Putin's hostility to Ukrainian sovereignty and undermining its territorial integrity have increased backing for a pro-European vector and dramatically increased support for NATO membership, with three quarters of Ukrainians supporting the former and over half the latter.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND FOREIGN POLICY

Neither East Nor West: Multi-Vectorism

Vacillating multi-vector foreign policies were typical under Kuchma, elected president in 1994 on a moderate pro-Russian platform, but only a year into his presidency, he shifted to a pro-American and pro-NATO foreign policy. Two factors accounted for this shift. First, centrist political parties had not yet emerged as a political force and Kuchma could not therefore ignore the pro-Western national democratic constituency as an important support base for his presidency. Second, there was no breakthrough in Ukraine's relations with Russia until Yeltsin visited Ukraine in May 1997 and both countries signed an interstate treaty. The Russian parliament did not ratify the treaty until the end of Kuchma's first term in office. In addition to the delay in recognizing Ukraine's border, Russia launched territorial claims against Crimea and Sevastopol and threatened

Ukraine's integrity over the Tuzla Island lying to the east of Crimea. Powerful domestic threats from the KPU, which had the largest factions in two parliaments in 1994–2002, coupled with an external threat from Russia, influenced the 180-degree turn in Kuchma's foreign policy from pro-Russian to pro-Western. Kuchma and his national security adviser Horbulin—unlike Yanukovych—recognized Russia was a potential threat to Ukraine's national security.

In the 1999 elections, Kuchma campaigned on a pro-European integration platform, but within a year, following the replacement of Tarasyuk as foreign minister and the unfolding of the Kuchmagate crisis, it again changed, this time to a more pro-Russian orientation. At the same time, Kuchma never broke off relations with the West, and during this period of cooler relations he twice sought NATO MAPs in 2002 and 2004 and sent the third largest military contingent to join the U.S.-led coalition in Iraq.

Populist Foreign Policies

Centrists have been populists and chameleons to the same degree as national democrats in the formulation of their foreign policy programs, and these are a product of multiple identities and a lack of knowledge about the West and its institutions. In Kuchma's 1999 election program, he called for a "pro-Ukrainian" foreign policy and Ukraine's non-bloc status. In the March 2002 elections, the pro-presidential ZYU, which the Party of Regions was a member of, did not mention NATO or EU membership, merely emphasizing Ukraine as a "European country by its geopolitical location and cultural traditions."

Yanukovych's 2004 election platform briefly covered foreign policy in only three lines, supporting Ukraine's participation in world and regional integration processes and "progress in Euro-Atlantic integration." The Party of Regions's 2006 election program devoted little space to foreign policy issues, emphasizing the need for "defense of national interests" and completing the creation of the CIS Single Economic Space. The Party of Regions's 2007 election program returned to the concept of Ukraine's non-bloc status and demanded a referendum before Ukraine could join NATO, supported membership in the WTO, EU, *and* CIS Single Economic Space. This populist program ignored the impossibility of joining both the DCFTA and the CIS Single Economic Space because countries cannot belong to more than one customs union.

Yanukovych has always adopted a hardline stance against entering a NATO MAP and joining NATO and anti-Americanism was a central component of his 2004 election campaign. The U.S. Embassy in Ukraine reported that Yanukovych remained deeply suspicious of the West and especially the United States. The Party of Regions anti-Americanism has its origins in traditional Soviet inferiority complexes vis-à-vis the West.

U.S. Party of Regions consultant Jackson explained the psychology of the relationship of President Yanukovych and the Party of Regions toward the West:[2]

> What Yanukovych, personally, and the Party of Regions, want is legitimacy and the recognition of equality, particularly, because they are from Ukraine's East. They feel like everybody treats them like European Negroes. That they are second-class citizens, that Europeans count them as less, that their culture is less worthy, their institutions and the word of Ukraine in international politics is less worthy than everybody else's.

Jackson continued:

> He (Yanukovych) said that even compared to Slovakia or Slovenia, prejudice and racial discrimination, similar to what the Poles and Russians did in the past, leads to the denial of rights for Ukrainians. It is hugely important for him. Symbolic things are very important. He wants symbols that show Ukraine is a normal state that people in the East of the country are not of lesser importance than people in Western Ukraine's region are. This is very important to him. It is a question of self-image and self-respect. It is all about respect.

In private conversations with Western audiences, Party of Regions foreign policy spokespersons Hryshchenko and Leonid Kozhara, who became Yanukovych's two foreign ministers, downplayed anti-Americanism and opposition to NATO within the Party of Regions.[3] At a dinner sponsored by the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, Kozhara disingenuously said the Party of Regions was not opposed to NATO membership although its preference was to cooperate with NATO on security questions.[4] Yanukovych's foreign policy advisers Anatoliy Orel and Kozhara's coolness toward the EU was already evident when they expressed a disinterest in the Eastern partnership because it irritated Russia and they said Ukraine would defer to Russian red lines and respect Russian interests. They believed Ukraine should not seek EU membership and, showing their ignorance of European integration, argued that Ukraine should not make unilateral concessions.[5] Integration into either the EU *or* the CIS Customs Union would lead to a reduction of sovereignty, and either integration would not be on the basis of a free lunch. Yanukovych's election campaigns reflected how more pro-Russian he was compared to Kuchma-era centrists[6] and the Party of Regions has been the only centrist political force to support Ukraine's membership of the CIS Customs Union during election campaigns.

Center-right national democrats, although the most supportive of Ukraine's NATO membership, have never mentioned the goal of seeking NATO membership in their election campaign programs and the goal of

NATO membership was conspicuously absent from Yushchenko's 2004 and 2010 election campaign programs. Yushchenko's 2004 "Ten Steps" program vaguely stated he would "Conduct Foreign Policy That Benefits the Ukrainian People," while the 11th of 14 draft decrees that Yushchenko planned to issue after being elected president was even more banal, stating he would "Ensure the Basis for Good Relations with Russia and Belarus." Yushchenko's 2010 program indirectly referred to NATO in the section titled "Ukraine will be free," where point seven states, "Together with our European neighbours we will build a Euro-Atlantic system of collective security."[7]

In 2005–2006, Yushchenko supported strengthened ties with the United States and his rhetoric sought NATO membership, but personal vendettas trumped his foreign policy goals, and when the opportunity came in 2006 to enter a MAP, the only realistic chance Ukraine has ever received to join the antechamber to NATO, Yushchenko prioritized his personal dislike for Tymoshenko over Ukrainian national interests. This derailed the visit to Kyiv of President George W. Bush, whose administration was a strong supporter of NATO enlargement to Ukraine and Georgia, and Vice President Dick Cheney was willing to pull out all the stops to bring Ukraine into NATO—irrespective of Russian objections. Yushchenko again prioritized a personal vendetta when he testified against Tymoshenko at her trial, thus assisting in the process of the freezing of the Association Agreement and thereby curtailing Ukraine's European integration. A U.S. Embassy cable from Ukraine lamented how Yushchenko's repeated declarations in support of NATO and EU membership failed to be translated into concrete reforms toward these goals.[8] Poroshenko opposed NATO membership in Ukraine's two elections in 2014, but with public support rising to its highest levels of over 50 percent, he changed his stance and gave his backing to other pro-NATO parliamentary forces.

Energy corruption also undermined Kuchma and Yushchenko's integration into Euro-Atlantic structures, and while espousing pro-Western rhetoric, both presidents pursued pro-Russian energy policies through their collusion with gas intermediaries. As Balmaceda points out, energy became both a "bottleneck in the country's economic development and Ukraine's *Achilles Heel* in its relations with Russia." Ukraine's dependency has led to "increased pressure for closer economic and political integration with Russia" and thereby deepened Ukraine's vulnerability and reduced its ability to negotiate from a strong position.[9] The Razumkov Centre wrote that the "[f]urther spread of political corruption in Ukraine endangers its national security, since it impairs the effectiveness of the authorities, undermines their public legitimacy, promotes legal nihilism in society, disappointment in democratic values and the rule of law."[10] Russian intelligence agencies that have a close relationship with

Gazprom "have compiled dossiers on chief Ukrainian leaders in the event that blackmail is required."[11]

Rukh never mentioned NATO in its election programs, and the first time Our Ukraine mentioned NATO membership as a goal was in the 2012 elections—after Yushchenko had left office. Yatsenyuk's evolution from a supporter of NATO membership when he was parliamentary chairperson in 2008 to disinterest in NATO membership three years later as a presidential candidate is one of the best examples of a chameleon in Ukrainian politics. Yatsenyuk's alternative to Ukraine seeking NATO and EU membership was the bizarre idea to establish a new "Kyiv Rus" on the Eastern borders of these two organizations, a proposal that reflected his political immaturity and the influence of Russian political technologists working on his election campaign.[12] The first time UDAR fought an election in 2012, it completely ignored foreign policy in its election program.[13]

Although *Batkivshchina* is an observer member of the center-right EPP political group in the European parliament, BYuT's foreign policy platform has been as similarly vague as that of other Ukrainian political parties with no mention of NATO coupled with vague references to Europe. BYuT's 2002 election platform outlined a foreign policy "undertaken in the name of one's nation" that sounded similar to empty phrases found in Yushchenko's and Yanukovych's election campaign programs. BYuT used this phrase in the 2006 and 2007 elections proving it had given little thought to elaborating Ukraine's foreign policy priorities. *Batkivshchina's* 2012 election program ignored NATO and merely promised to unfreeze relations with the EU and pursue the signing of the Association Agreement. Tymoshenko's 2010 election campaign should have—but did not—place Europe at the center of her campaign.

COPING WITH RUSSIA

Ukraine's first three presidents restricted the country's participation in the CIS to that of a participant (rather than that of an active member) and to mainly economic and cultural questions, preferring bilateral to multilateral ties. Ukraine refused to ratify the CIS Charter that would have meant joining CIS supranational institutions. During Kuchma's second term, Ukraine gradually increased its cooperation with the CIS through membership in the CIS Air Defense Agreement, CIS Inter-Parliamentary Assembly, and CIS Anti-Terrorist Centre. In 2002, Ukraine became an observer in the Russian-dominated Eurasian Economic Community (EURASEC), and in January 2003, Kuchma was elected head of the CIS Council of Heads of State, the first time a non-Russian held the position. Kuchma remained opposed to Ukraine joining the CIS Single Economic Space (precursor to the CIS Customs Union) and CIS Collective

Security Treaty. Presidents Kuchma and Yanukovych were frustrated by Russia's unwillingness to support a CIS free trade zone unless Ukraine agreed to become a full member of CIS integration projects. In September 2003, Kuchma, together with the leaders of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia, announced the formation of the CIS Single Economic Space, but Ukraine never intended to be a full member.

In 1997, Kyiv initiated the creation of the GUAM (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova) regional grouping within the CIS as a pro--NATO and pro-U.S. security framework that would act as a counterweight to Russian-backed CIS reintegration and to seek alternative sources of energy from Azerbaijan. Three of the four founding members had frozen conflicts on their territories, and Ukraine was threatened at the time by pro-Russian separatism in the Crimea (by 2014, Ukraine was in a worse position with an occupation and ongoing conflict). Under Kuchma, the GUAM regional group supported the territorial integrity of all four states and opposed Russian-backed separatism. Kuchma supported President Shevardnadze's attempts at regaining Georgian territorial integrity, and together with Yushchenko, they both gave the go-ahead to the export of weapons to Georgia.[14] Kuchma predicted three years ahead of the Russian invasion of Georgia that "[n]ow for Mikhail (Saakashvili) Ossetia lies ahead," and he supported negotiations with Russia toward the restoration of Georgia's territorial integrity.[15]

At the 1999 NATO summit, Uzbekistan acceded to the GUAM organization (which became GUUAM), but withdrew in 2005 in protest against the alleged U.S. backing for the Kyrgyz democratic revolution and following the attempted uprising in the Uzbek region of Andijon. In 2001, a meeting of GUUAM outlined plans to transform the organization into a regional body with a permanent office in Yalta and place it on a more sound legal footing with a Charter. In November 2002, the Ukrainian parliament ratified an agreement on the creation of a GUUAM free trade area. GUAM was its most effective under Kuchma, declined in importance under Yushchenko when Ukraine was unable to become an active regional leader, and under Yanukovych became irrelevant to those who were in power and therefore defunct.[16]

Following the Russian invasion of Georgia in August 2008, the Party of Regions, KPU, and Crimean Russian nationalists supported Russia in recognizing the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. They additionally supported Russia's accusations about so-called illegal Ukrainian weapons deliveries to Georgia and voted to establish a temporary parliamentary commission to investigate the trade. Georgia was not on an arms black list, and any weapons sales were therefore legal in international law. In September 2008, this author asked the U.S.–Ukraine Business Council keynote speaker Bohatyryova in Washington whether she supported President Yushchenko's condemnation of Russia's *de facto* annexation of

Box 11.1. Open Letter from Russia's President Dmitry Medvedev to Ukraine's President Viktor Yushchenko

August 11, 2009

The open letter lays out in a single document all of the areas that Russia is concerned about over Ukraine's policies in the domestic and foreign spheres. In international relations the open letter would be unusual and lead to a diplomatic scandal because of its aggressive tone, high number of demands and blatant interference in a sovereign country's domestic affairs. Russia's concerns point to Orange (national democratic) leaders being viewed as illegitimate in Moscow, and therefore when they are in power, there would be a crisis in relations between both countries (as was the case in 2014). What follows is a translation of the open letter (emphasis by the author).

Problems in bilateral relations, of course, existed before. This was inevitable following the collapse of the Soviet Union when it was necessary to develop a new relationship between two sovereign states. However, what we are seeing in your (Yushchenko's) presidency can be interpreted as the Ukrainian side moving away from the principles of friendship and partnership with Russia that were enshrined in the 1997 treaty. I already wrote to you about it in November of last year, but the situation has not improved and has instead continued to deteriorate.

Here are a few examples that characterize the state of affairs that came about as a result of the purposeful actions of your administration.

Negative propaganda has led to Ukraine's anti-Russian stance in connection with the barbaric attack of the (Mikhail) Saakashvili regime against South Ossetia. A year after the tragic events, we are once again witnessing a sharp rise in questions surrounding the killing of civilians and Russian peacekeepers in Tskhinvali by Ukrainian weaponry. Those in Kyiv who supplied weapons to the Georgian army, and incidentally they are not going to halt this policy even now, cannot be completely separated from Tbilisi in their (joint responsibility) for the crimes that have been committed.

The political leadership of Ukraine, ignoring the opinions of the citizens of their country—not to mention the well-known position of Russia—stubbornly continue the policy of seeking to join NATO. **The "argument" they use alludes to a "Russian threat" to the security of Ukraine, which as you well know does not and cannot exist.** Unfortunately, the logical continuation of this destructive policy are ongoing attempts to complicate the practical activities of the Russian Black Sea Fleet, which run in violation of the fundamental agreements between our countries relating to its basing in Ukraine.

Along with this is the impression that Kyiv has consistently sought to widen the gap in existing economic ties with Russia, especially in the field of energy. As a result, what is under threat is the sustainable use by our countries of a single transportation system ensuring the energy security of Russia, Ukraine, and many European countries.

Despite our repeated appeals at various levels, virtually nothing has been undertaken to halt the violation of property rights of Russian investors in

Ukraine. All of this greatly undermines the once-solid economic foundation of our bilateral cooperation.

Russian-Ukrainian relations are tested by your administration's review of our general historical framework, glorification of Nazi collaborators, the exaltation of the role of radical nationalists, and attempts to press the international community in supporting nationalist interpretations of the 1932–1933 famine in the USSR as a "genocide against the Ukrainian people." There is continued repression of the Russian language in public life, science, education, culture, media, and judicial proceedings.

In this context, I would like to draw your attention to the harmful practice of governmental interference into the affairs of Ukraine's Orthodox church. Artificial conditions that were created before and during Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Kirill's recent pastoral visit to Ukraine cannot be called conducive (to good relations). Against this background, it is particularly gratifying to witness the sincere and widespread support for the unity of Orthodoxy that was manifested by Ukrainians who welcomed the Patriarch. Among the hurdles that were introduced by the Security Service of Ukraine that are intended to discourage a positive development in Russian-Ukrainian relations was the **unprecedented provocation in the entire post-Soviet era of the expulsion without any reason from Ukraine of two of our diplomatic representatives.** Of course, we have not ignored this unfriendly step and have given an adequate response.

I would like to inform you that because of anti-Russian, Ukrainian government policies we have decided to postpone the appointment of our new ambassador. The specific date (of his appointment) will be determined later when there are genuine improvements in Russian-Ukrainian relations.

For centuries Russians and Ukrainians have been and remain not just neighbours but brotherly peoples who will always hold the best feelings; who share a common history, culture, and religion; and who are united by close economic cooperation, strong kinship, and human relations.

I am convinced that the leadership of Russia and Ukraine must cherish these neighborly relations and this wealth in our relationship that is also a common competitive advantage in a globalizing world. The task of senior government officials is (for the sake of our people) to resist the temptation to quarrel over geopolitical projects and political careers, in every possible way to preserve the friendship of Ukrainians and Russians and to strengthen the foundations of cooperation for the mutual benefit and prosperity of our countries. **It is unacceptable to expose our centuries-old relationship to a serious test for the sake of short-term market advantages, and inflaming mutual hostilities by playing on nationalist complexes within the younger generation.**

Russia hopes that the new political leadership of Ukraine will be ready to build a relationship between our countries that will actually meet the genuine aspirations of our peoples and that this will be in the interests of strengthening European security.

Source:

http://www.kremlin.ru/news/515

Georgian territory or the Party of Regions's support for separatism in Georgia. She gave her support for what she called Yushchenko's "patriotic stance" and said Yanukovych's "unilateral stance" did not reflect the views of other senior Party of Regions leaders. Bohatyryova mocked the opportunism of Yanukovych for flip-flopping on foreign policy issues depending on whether he was in government or in opposition. Her candid answer led to Bohatyryova's expulsion from the Party of Regions three days later when she flew back to Kyiv.[17]

The policies of opposition leader Yanukovych and the Party of Regions were out of step with Ukraine's traditional support for the territorial integrity of states that had been upheld by the country's first three presidents. They were additionally out of step with every other CIS member, except Russia, and traditionally pro-Russian Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Armenia did not follow them. In the international community only the Palestinian terrorist group Hamas, Venezuela, Nicaragua, and the Pacific island of Nauru supported the recognition of the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. President Kuchma and Crimean centrist political parties, such as the PEVK and the NDP (Crimean parties of power from 1994 to 1998 and 1998 to 2006, respectively) never supported separatism in Ukraine or neighboring countries.

Yanukovych's and the Party of Regions's pro-Russian position on Georgia grew out of the Russian-brokered pact they had negotiated three years earlier with Crimean Russian nationalists with whom they had established the For Yanukovych bloc. The Crimean parliament therefore adopted a resolution supporting the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, where the For Yanukovych bloc controlled a majority. A similar resolution in the Ukrainian parliament received insufficient votes from the Party of Regions and KPU. Yanukovych explained his support for the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia with the spurious argument that there was a need to overcome the West's alleged "double standards" in its recognition of Kosovo's independence from Serbia. This pro-Russian position ignored the fact that South Ossetia and Kosovo are completely different conflicts where Georgians were expelled from the former and Kosovar Albanians ethnically cleansed from the latter.

Coping with Russia has challenged all four Ukrainian presidents. Nevertheless, Kuchma was most adept at maintaining a balanced relationship with Russia while Russian-Ukrainian relations have been their lowest under Yushchenko. Poroshenko inherited the annexation of Crimea and externally backed proxy war in the Donbas, and relations have been inevitably poor. Five factors accounted for Ukraine's perennially poor relations with Russia.

First, Russia continues to view Ukrainian independence as a temporary aberration within artificial borders and a majority of Russians viewed Crimea as Russian.[18] A cable by the U.S. delegation to NATO reported

that at the NATO-Russia Council, Putin challenged the territorial integrity of Ukraine saying it was an artificial creation stitched together from Polish, Czechoslovak, Romanian, and especially Russian lands. He particularly condemned the 1954 decision by the Soviet Politburo to transfer Crimea to Ukraine.[19]

In 2009, Ukraine's Ambassador to Moscow (and foreign minister in 2010–2012) Hryshchenko complained to U.S. Ambassador Taylor that Russia seeks a satrap in Ukraine who is totally subservient to Moscow's wishes. Prime Minister Putin, according to Hryshchenko, dislikes Yushchenko and has a low esteem for Yanukovych, but sees Tymoshenko as someone he can strike a deal with.[20] Putin's contempt for Yanukovych was a product of his elitist KGB background that made him believe he was a member of the senior Soviet *nomenklatura* and the equivalent of a member of the upper class looking in disdain at somebody from the *lumpenproletariat*. In contrast, Putin viewed Kuchma with a degree of equality because as a former director of a large Soviet military-industrial plant, he belonged to the *nomenklatura*. Yanukovych not only had a twice prison record but also was not a member of the Soviet *nomenklatura*, and at aged 41, when the USSR disintegrated, he had been too old to emerge from the *Komsomol*.[21]

Yanukovych's willingness to quickly cede all of the demands outlined in Medvedev's 2009 letter to Yushchenko was a product of pro-Russian sentiment in his team, a desire for revenge against "Orange nationalists" as well as stupefying naivety about Russia. Russian-Ukrainian relations failed to improve following the signing of the April 2010 "Kharkiv Accords," and Moscow continued to press Ukraine to make further concessions. The Russia television channel, which is under the control of the Kremlin, parodied Yanukovych.[22] A senior official in the Ukrainian government commented on the state of Russian–Ukrainian relations: "We had the illusion that everything would work out if we removed from our relations with the Russian Federation key irritants like recognition of the *holodomor* as genocide, plans to join NATO and the reluctance to extend the stationing of the Black Sea Fleet. But this has not happened." The Yanukovych administration followed previous administrations in becoming exasperated by the inability of Russia to treat Ukraine on an equal footing. The same senior Ukrainian official explained: "It is not we who are moving away from Russia, but the latter that pushes us off."[23] Russia's actions toward Kuchma in 1994–1997 were similar, and these long-term policies are therefore a product of deep-seated conflicts between Ukrainian and Russian national identities.

Secondly, Ukraine's refusal to extend the 20-year lease for the Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol became a contentious issue owing to concern that Russia would not withdraw its fleet in 2017. This issue was resolved in Russia's favor by the "Kharkiv Accords" extending the Sevastopol base

(Here and facing page) Two of a large exhibition of billboards on the site of the Euromaidan in central Kyiv in October 2014 reading "Proof of the Russian Federation's Participation in the Supply of Weapons and Insurgent Terrorists to Eastern Ukraine." (Taras Kuzio)

that was promoted by the Azarov government as favorable because it gave Ukraine an ephemeral gas "discount" calculated using the high gas price in the January 2009 gas contract. The "Kharkiv Accords" would have led to Russia's *de facto* indefinite sovereignty over Sevastopol; if it had been difficult to imagine the Black Sea Fleet leaving in 2017, it would have been even more impossible to imagine Russia leaving in 2042–2047 (of course, following the Crimea's occupation, this is a moot point).

Third, Russia's adamant opposition to the possibility of Ukraine (and Georgia) eventually joining NATO led Russia to threaten to abrogate the 1997 interstate treaty. Russia's *de facto* annexation of South Ossetia and

Abkhazia, with the objective being to prevent Georgia joining NATO, was a potential dress rehearsal for the Crimea following the Euromaidan that Putin saw as opening Ukraine's path to NATO.[24] A cable from the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine warned that Russian military action against Ukraine was no longer unthinkable.[25] Russia's primary objective in invading Georgia was not to defend "compatriots" (Russian-speakers) but, as in the case of the Crimea, to block their integration into the West.

Fourth, Russia continued to oppose Western-backed democratic revolutions that Moscow, Yanukovych, and the Party of Regions believe brought Yushchenko to power through U.S.-backed attempts to remove Russia from its sphere of influence. Moscow will always find it difficult to accept national democrats in power in Ukraine and Georgia because of their association with "anti-Russian" domestic *and* foreign policies. This ignores the fact that the national identity and pro-NATO policies pursued

by Yushchenko and Saakashvili were not that different to those undertaken by Kuchma and Shevardnadze. Yanukovych, Putin, and Russian leaders and public really do bizarrely believe the Euromaidan was a Nazi coup financed by the West.

Fifth, presidents elected by Western Ukrainian voters are not interested in maintaining similar levels of cooperation with Russia and CIS structures. Executive Secretary of the CIS Sergei Lebedev complained that Ukraine had reduced its activity within the CIS during Yushchenko's presidency, but under Yanukovych, "Ukraine is now increasing its cooperation with the countries of the CIS."[26] Both Kuchma and Yanukovych were more willing to participate in the numerous virtual projects in the CIS but, at the same time, neither president was willing to pursue full economic and security integration into the CIS. This may, of course, have changed if the Euromaidan had not prevented Yanukovych from seeking to win a second term in office.

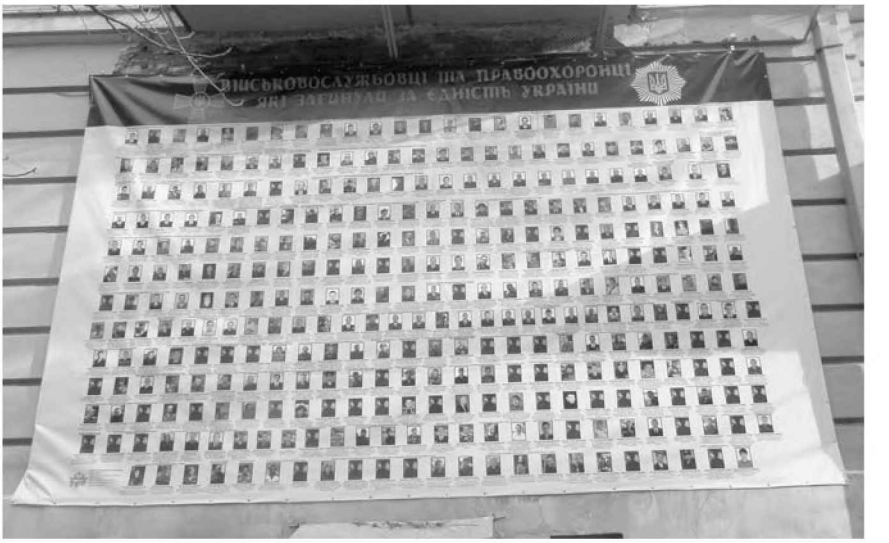
Poroshenko would have pursued similar centrist foreign policies to Kuchma, and during the May 2014 elections he, unlike Tymoshenko, did not support NATO membership. Nevertheless, because of Russia's actions and public opinion, he has had little choice but to pursue a pro-Western foreign and security policy. Two factors accounted for this. First, elections held in 2014 produced large pro-European majorities for presidential candidates and political parties (see Chapter 3). Second, 80 percent of Ukrainians believe their country is at war with Russia, and only 10 percent believe relations between both countries are friendly. A very high 85 percent meanwhile believe relations with Russia are difficult and hostile.[27] President Putin, who is widely blamed by Ukrainians for Russia's stab-in-the-back annexation of Crimea and inflaming of the Donbas conflict, is the most negatively rated foreign leader in Ukraine. As little as five percent of Ukrainians approved of President Putin, including as low as even 12 percent in Ukraine's Eastern and Southern regions.

In spring 2014, Putin acted on statements he began making in 2008 and since about Ukraine's "artificiality" and launched the third military campaign of his presidencies in Crimea (following Chechnya and Georgia), and the proxy war in the Donbas became a Russian undeclared invasion of Eastern Ukraine.[28] Because of Russia's new imperialism, over 1 million Ukrainians have been displaced internally or have become refugees in Russia and over 12–15,000 have died, 6,000 of whom are civilians—according to the United Nations—and an equally similar number of combatants (Ukrainian security forces, separatists, and Russian soldiers). The OSCE and the United Nations have condemned separatist forces for repeatedly using residential buildings to fire at Ukrainian forces inviting retaliatory attacks, a sign they had learnt nothing from international condemnation of the shooting down of the Malaysian airliner and of their disrespect

for human life.[29] The sensitivity of the Russian authorities to their casualties in a war that they continue to claim they are not involved in could be seen in the imprisonment of the activists of the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers who have given figures of between 1,600 and 4,300 Russian deaths.[30] Other sources give higher casualty figures of 5,533 dead, 2,514 wounded, and 2,823 missing in action[31]—figures that reflect a far higher pace of growth of casualties over less than a year than that of 15,000 Soviet deaths in the decade-long Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. Russian war dead in Ukraine, transported in "Cargo-200" vehicles, are secretly buried at night in Russia in a practice that brings back haunting memories of how Soviet war dead from Afghanistan were disposed of. DNR Commander Aleksandr Zakharchenko admitted there were up to 3,000 Russian troops in Eastern Ukraine (which Russia has always denied), while NATO estimated them as closer to 12,000, in addition to thousands of nationalist volunteers (who are equal in size if not higher in number than local separatists) eager to export Russia's new imperialism to Ukraine (see Chapter 12).

Russian personnel manned the BUK surface to air missile that downed the Malaysian civilian airliner.[32] "Drunken guerrillas cannot manage this system," Yatsenyuk said, adding, "They need to work in cooperation with another radar system that we don't have in Ukrainian territory."[33] The BUK was transported from Kursk to Ukraine in late June 2014, and after the Malaysian airliner was shot down it was witnessed, photographed, and tracked by satellite returning to Russia without one missile. Training to operate a BUK takes up to a year and U.S. Rear Admiral John Kirby described it "as a sophisticated piece of technology" and therefore "it strains credulity to think that it could be used by the separatists without at least some measure of Russian support and technical assistance."[34] An investigation by the *BBC Panorama* program pointed to Russian troops operating the BUK.[35] Putin's sociopathic nature and that of separatist leaders, one of whom was caught rolling his eyes on camera, when asked a question by CNN about the 300 passengers (including 80 children) on the Malaysian airliner, was described by a BBC report from the crash site as "the obscenity of war at its most graphic."[36] This contempt for human life was not unusual; after all, President G. W. Bush had correctly described Putin as "one cold dude."[37]

Russia's new imperialism has irreversibly destroyed centuries of Tsarist and Soviet propaganda and history writing that made some Ukrainians and most Russians believe they were forever bonded in "brotherly love." This "brotherhood" was shattered by Russia's stab in the back in Crimea and the huge bloodshed and destruction brought to the Donbas. Russian television, a major purveyor of Russian state propaganda, is perceived as circulating untruths by 86–63 percent of Western and Central Ukrainians and 43–63 percent of Eastern and Southern Ukrainians.[38] Russia's actions increased patriotism among Ukraine's Russian speakers that



Poster in honor of Ukrainian soldiers killed fighting pro-Russian separatists outside a museum of the history of Ukrainian armed forces in Kyiv, Fall 2014. (Taras Kuzio)

played a decisive role in defeating pro-Russian separatists in Kharkiv and Odesa. Battalion commander Andriy Biletskyy, who is himself from Kharkiv, said, "Half of Azov (battalion) speaks the Russian language. But they die and kill for Ukraine."[39]

TRANS-ATLANTIC AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

NATO–Ukraine Relations: Action and Disinterest

Ukraine's first three presidents were frustrated in their attempts to integrate into NATO and the EU, and among the few successes in the 1990s were membership of the Council of Europe in 1995, the Central European Initiative in 1996, and PCA (Partnership and Cooperation Agreement) with the EU signed in 1994. Ukraine's relationship with NATO was more accommodating than with the EU, and from 1994 to 2009, Ukraine was a leading and active participant in NATO's PfP program. This was coupled with growing bilateral security ties with important Western countries, such as the Poland, United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States. Close cooperation with NATO benefitted Ukraine, Kuchma believed, and there was no need to raise the question of seeking membership.[40]

Wary of harming relations with Russia, Ukraine did not initially pursue NATO membership in the 1990s, signing a Charter on Distinctive Partnership in 1997 and adopting an all-embracing three-year government

program of cooperation a year later that was extended until 2004. Ukraine supported the enlargement of NATO and did not consider it a threat to its national security. Ukraine first raised the objective of NATO membership in May 2002, and a year later the new law on national security laid out the twin goals of NATO and EU membership. National democratic and centrist political forces, including the Party of Regions, adopted the 2003 law on national security when Ukraine had troops in Iraq. A program initiated by the Yanukovych government outlined the goal of entry into a MAP in 2006 and NATO membership in 2008, without the necessity to hold a referendum, goals that were in keeping with Kuchma seeking MAPs in Prague and Istanbul.[41] Yanukovych and the Party of Regions only became virulently anti-NATO following the Orange Revolution and election of Yushchenko, after which they signed cooperation agreements with the United Russia party and Crimean Russian nationalists.

In 1994–2009, Ukraine's armed forces received extensive experience not only through cooperation with NATO's PfP but also in international peacekeeping operations under UN and NATO command. Many of these experienced soldiers are today dubbed "Cyborgs" by the Ukrainian media for their Spartan-style heroic defense of Donetsk Airport. In the first two decades of Ukrainian independence, over 30,000 Ukrainian troops participated in international peacekeeping operations. Ukraine has been a net contributor to European security and participated in every NATO operation, including in Afghanistan. Tarasyuk, head of the 2007–2012 Parliamentary Committee for European Integration, said, "Among European countries Ukraine remains the greatest contributor of forces and resources to UN peacekeeping operations and Ukraine is the only country to participate in every peacekeeping operation under NATO command." Tarasyuk continued, "*De facto* Ukraine undertakes a lot more work in this sphere than certain Alliance members. This provides us with experience and increases the international authority of our state." Ukrainian units have operated in NATO and UN operations in Croatia (UNPROFOR and UNTAES), Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo (KFor), Serbia, joint Polish–Ukrainian battalion (UKRPOLBAT), Afghanistan, Liberia, Lebanon, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Georgia.[42] Ukraine is the tenth leading contributor of personnel and the third largest provider of strategic air transportation for UN operations.

Ukraine fulfilled yearly Action Plans with NATO in 2003–2009 that did not radically differ in scope from MAPs. Former defense minister Marchuk said, "In effect, the Action Plan is *de facto* a Membership Action Plan. Because nearly all of the types of activities outlined in MAP are in the Action Plan."[43] Pifer believes MAPs are "ninety-five percent of what constitutes a MAP." President Yushchenko argued, "We have in effect been functioning under a MAP for quite a long time. Ukraine completely

fulfills annual target cooperation plans."[44] Ukraine has sought to enter the MAP process on four occasions in 2002 and 2004 under Kuchma, and in 2006 and 2008 under Yushchenko, but NATO turned down all four requests. Of U.S. Presidents, Clinton and George W. Bush provided the greatest degree of cooperation and support for Ukraine's objective of membership of NATO.

A breakthrough in Ukraine's foreign policy under Yushchenko came with the United States and NATO rather than with the EU. In February and April 2005, Yushchenko met U.S. President George W. Bush in NATO headquarters in Brussels and Washington, respectively. Following these two meetings, Ukraine's relations with NATO were upgraded in May 2005 to an Intensified Dialogue on Membership, the stage before being invited into the MAP process. Yushchenko's ineptitude in not quickly supporting an Orange coalition following the March 2006 elections, coupled with his opposition to Tymoshenko returning to the position of prime minister, led to drawn-out coalition negotiations extending into June 2006, derailing President George W. Bush's planned visit to Ukraine. He had intended to use the visit to give U.S. support to Ukraine's bid for a MAP at the November 2006 NATO summit in Riga, Latvia. In May 2005, President George W. Bush paid a similar visit to Tbilisi to show his support for Saakashvili's NATO bid. After Yanukovych was unexpectedly appointed prime minister, he told NATO during a September 2006 visit to Brussels that Ukraine was not interested in receiving a MAP. In late May to early June of that year, the Party of Regions, Russia bloc, Russian Community of Crimea, Vitrenko's People's Opposition bloc, and Crimean Cossack Union forced the cancelation of the Sea Breeze NATO exercise that had been held each year during Kuchma's presidency without any obstacles. The protesters carried inflammatory banners with slogans such as "NATO is worse than the Gestapo!"[45]

In January 2008, President Yushchenko, Prime Minister Tymoshenko, and Parliamentary Chairperson Yatsenyuk signed a joint letter requesting NATO offer Ukraine a MAP at the NATO summit in Bucharest, but by then there was widespread Ukraine fatigue in Western Europe. Tymoshenko's alleged softness on NATO was an accusation made by Yushchenko as part of his package of "treason" accusations but it was not believed by the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, which "was impressed by her ability to make the case for a MAP."[46] U.S. Secretary of State Rice remembered: "The Ukrainian president almost cried. It will be a disaster, a tragedy, if we don't get the MAP."[47] President George W. Bush eventually visited Kyiv ahead of the Bucharest summit, but this failed to change the atmosphere within NATO, and Ukraine and Georgia were not invited into the MAP process. A compromise between those in favor of giving Ukraine a MAP (which included Eastern Europeans, Americans, and the British) and those who opposed (Germans, French, Belgians, Italians, and others)

led to NATO issuing a statement that Ukraine and Georgia would become future members without mentioning a MAP or date of accession. The Bucharest offer "was the diplomatic equivalent of proposing marriage without setting the wedding day."[48] President Poroshenko could use the 2008 resolution to reopen the question of Ukraine's NATO membership at a time of growing popularity to join the organization. He has promised to hold a referendum on joining NATO at the end of his five-year presidential term.

Five factors adversely affected Ukraine's application to receive a MAP in Bucharest. First, political instability in Ukraine gave grounds for Western European sceptics inside NATO to point to the lack of unity among pro-reform political forces. Former secretary of state Rice reported that Germany put forward a case against providing MAPs because "the Ukrainian governing coalition was a mess." Yushchenko failed to understand that his persistent attempts to undermine the Tymoshenko government and the lack of support given by the NUNS parliamentary faction to the Orange coalition provided ammunition to NATO opponents of Ukraine being invited into a MAP. President George W. Bush repeatedly raised the importance during his phone calls with Yushchenko for "the need to keep domestic stability," but these pleas fell on deaf ears.[49] RNBO Secretary Ivan Plyushch, for example, an ally of Yushchenko, refused to support Tymoshenko's government. The replacement of Hrytsenko by Yekhanurov as defense minister increased friction within the government and the Orange parliamentary coalition because Yekhanurov was a visceral opponent of Tymoshenko.[50] In 2011, Yekhanurov (like Yushchenko) ingloriously testified against Tymoshenko at her trial, and in March 2012, Ivan Plyushch voted to adopt the report by the Temporary Investigative Commission into the 2009 gas contract.

Second, there was low domestic support of 20–25 percent nationwide for NATO membership, with support particularly low in the Party of Regions–dominated Eastern and Southern Ukraine. Support for NATO membership had nearly halved from the third it enjoyed in the 1990s and opponents dramatically increased. The Ukrainian information campaign to increase support for NATO membership was boring and poorly organized, the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine reported, with a low budget spent in a typical nontransparent manner.[51] In other words, corruption within national-democratic political forces also negatively impacted on their ability to promote an information campaign about NATO.

Third, by 2008 President George W. Bush was less influential within NATO because he was in his final year in office and Western Europeans were therefore less inclined to listen to his lobbying. Fourth, Russian influence was significant within major EU members, such as Germany and Italy through political, energy, and economic ties. Long-time Italian political leader and oligarch Berlusconi has long worked with Putin, and a

cable from the U.S. Embassy in Rome reported he was benefitting personally and greatly from the relationship.[52]

Fifth, German foreign policy did not support NATO and EU enlargement into what Berlin implicitly recognized as Russia's sphere of influence in Eurasia. Western European skeptics of NATO and EU enlargement to Ukraine are led by Germany, and the rollback of democracy in Ukraine gave Germany the ammunition to block Ukraine's European integration. The German leadership was skeptical of Ukraine's Orange leaders. "Western consultants working with Tymoshenko were frustrated by their inability to penetrate Chancellor Angela Merkel's veil. She had always been highly skeptical of Tymoshenko and Merkel gave her no time at all, although she did manage a meeting or two on the margins of conferences. One of the great frustrations was our inability to manage more traction with the German Chancellery."[53] Ignoring his own inability to place Ukraine's national interests above petty squabbles, Yushchenko blamed Berlin for opposing NATO membership. Meanwhile, former RNBO secretary Horbulin told U.S. Ambassador Taylor that there are two Russian embassies in Kyiv but only one spoke German.[54] Rice also criticized the German position of not inviting Georgia into the MAP process because it had two frozen conflicts quoting an Eastern European NATO member who said to the German delegation in Bucharest, "[Y]ou were one big frozen conflict until 1990" when one half of your country (GDR) was within the Soviet Empire.[55] Germany's Russia-first policy was evident through the Nord Stream gas pipeline headed by former German chancellor Gerhard Schröder that went on stream in 2012, reducing the volume of Russian gas exported through Ukraine to 55 percent of the total gas exports.[56] Ukrainians have every right to complain as Germany's Russophile position opposed tough sanctions against Russia until the summer of 2014, after which Chancellor Merkel became a cheerleader for them. During the Russian annexation of Crimea and invasion of Ukraine, other Russophile countries have been not surprisingly Bulgaria, Italy, Hungary, and Greece with, more excruciatingly, Austria.

During Yanukovych's presidency, Ukraine's cooperation with NATO was influenced by disinterest in membership and democratic regression. Yanukovych, unlike his democratic opponents, pursued his election program by changing Ukrainian foreign policy in July 2010 to a non-bloc status that no longer supported NATO membership and served to reduce Ukraine's interest in cooperation with the PfP program. Another factor was the deterioration of relations between Ukraine and the West as seen by the May 2012 declaration issued at the Chicago NATO Summit that had noted the key importance of "an independent, sovereign and stable Ukraine, firmly committed to democracy and the rule of law for the Euro-Atlantic security."[57]

At the top the billboard in Kyiv in November 2013, on the eve of the Euromaidan, the pro-Russian Ukrainian Choice NGO led by Viktor Medvedchuk equated the EU with single-sex marriage, a reflection of homophobia common to pro-Russian forces in Ukraine and Russian nationalists. At the bottom, a picket in summer 2006 by Communist protesters holding an anti-NATO banner reads "We are not Yankees, we are Slavs and our brothers are Russians!" (Cutty Sark Co. and Taras Kuzio)

The Razumkov Centre, in a special issue of its *National Security and Defense* magazine devoted to NATO and Ukraine, wrote:

> Since the ruling Party of Regions has traditionally demonstrated an openly anti-NATO stance and, following the hasty change of Ukraine's foreign policy direction, the declarations on the need to continue a constructive partnership with NATO proclaimed at the highest level do not always receive proper support at the executive level. Given these circumstances and a number of other reasons related to domestic political processes in Ukraine, Western partners find it hard to believe in the sincerity of the ruling political forces to "continue a constructive partnership with NATO" and to assess the real importance of such a partnership for the Ukrainian authorities. However, it would be a mistake to view it all as a result of the policy conducted in the last two years only—inconsistent domestic reforms and a multi-vector foreign policy have existed during the entire modern history of Ukraine.[58]

The creation of a pro-European parliamentary majority following the October 2014 elections enabled parliament to return to the foreign policy pursued by Ukraine's first three presidents. On December 23, 2014, parliament voted by a constitutional majority of 303 to drop the non-bloc status, opening the way to Ukraine seeking NATO and EU membership. The only faction to not vote for the change was the Opposition Bloc.

EU-Ukraine Relations: Passivity, Action, the Big Freeze, and Launch

The PCA signed with the EU in May 1994 did not enter into force until March 1998 after it was ratified by EU member states. President Kuchma introduced wide-embracing programs on integration with the EU in June 1998 and July 2000, but these remained virtual statements similar to Soviet five-year plans and did not influence the pace of Ukraine's domestic reforms and move the country from the crossroads. Following the accession of Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia to the EU in 2004, Ukraine's Western border became the new Eastern frontier of "Europe." In 2005, the Eastern Neighbourhood Policy covering all of the EU's neighbors from Morocco to Belarus replaced the PCA. However, a breakthrough came about only in 2007–2009, after Ukraine joined the WTO, when Tymoshenko replaced Yanukovych as prime minister and the EU launched an Eastern Partnership. None of these earlier EU initiatives had offered Ukraine a membership perspective, and this has continued to be the case. In May 2009, the Eastern Partnership launched by Poland and Sweden brought together six former Soviet republics of whom Ukraine was by far the largest and most geopolitically important. The Eastern Partnership and its two main products, the Association Agreement and DCFTA, offered EU "enlargement-lite," that is, integration without membership. Unlike Association Agreements signed with

Eastern Europe and the Baltic states, Ukraine had no membership prospect; the EU has offered membership prospects to the former Yugoslav republics including Kosovo, which is not recognized by some countries.

In 2005–2007, the Ukrainian parliament adopted legislation for Ukraine's accession to membership of the WTO. But Ukraine missed the opportunity to join the WTO in 2006 because of political instability and opposition from the Party of Regions and the parliamentary left. The second Tymoshenko government laid the groundwork for Ukraine's WTO membership in May 2008. Negotiations for an Association Agreement (the political component of Ukraine's new relationship with the EU) began in 2007 while those for a DCFTA were launched after Ukraine joined the WTO. Two other components included a visa-free regime and energy cooperation after Ukraine joined the European Energy Charter in 2011.

In March 2012, following four years of negotiations, the Association Agreement was initialed, but signing by the European Council and its recommendation for ratification was frozen by the European parliament and member parliaments because of selective use of justice. EU Commissioner for Enlargement Štefan Füle said, "Today, when during the elections representatives of the opposition are to be found in jail on the basis of selective use of justice, then obviously you should expect this fact to have direct consequences as to how these elections will be viewed."[59] Carl Bildt, William Hague, Karel Schwarzenberg, Sikorski, and Guido Westerwelle, the foreign ministers of Sweden, Britain, the Czech Republic, Poland, and Germany, respectively, signed a joint opinion article in the *New York Times* that lambasted democratic regression in Ukraine: "Today, however, we are at an impasse in the association process. While negotiations on the association agreement were successfully concluded in December 2011, the way forward—through signing and ratification of the agreement—has in effect been blocked by Ukraine's actions."[60] The five foreign ministers continued, "The reason for this is simple: Developments in Ukraine in the last two years have caused us to question Kiev's intentions with respect to the fundamental values that underpin both the agreement and our relations in a broader sense."

The Ukrainian leadership came under pressure to choose whether to integrate with the East or with the West ahead of the 2015 elections. Ukraine and the EU held their twice-annual summit on February 25, 2013, three years to the day when Yanukovych came to power. Two months earlier the European Council had drafted benchmarks Kyiv needed to undertake to unfreeze the Association Agreement. The announcement of the new murder charge against Tymoshenko on February 13, 2013, the same day the government issued its annual plan for EU integration, reflected continued virtuality in Ukrainian foreign policies,[61] which was evident a week later when the Party of Regions and opposition

deputies adopted a resolution calling for the Association Agreement to be pursued.[62] The three key reforms in the EU's benchmarks for Ukraine dealt with an end to selective use of justice, improvement in election legislation,[63] and judicial reforms or, as Sherr described it, "a polite euphemism for severing the link between politics, business and crime."[64] The EU set a short-term deadline of May 2013 to show some progress in fulfilling the benchmarks with more substantial progress by November, when the EU held an Eastern Partnership summit in Vilnius. The EU offered an inducement of 610 million Euro's in assistance that was conditional on Ukraine reaching an IFM agreement that would require Ukraine to gradually eliminate subsidies on household utilities, move to a flexible exchange rate, and divide *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* into different entities, conditions that Yanukovych turned down.

Negotiations for a compromise continued through to November 2013 without any success. Meanwhile, Russia stepped up the pressure by threatening to blockade Ukraine's economy.[65] Lack of good faith in negotiating a compromise became evident when the government halted the process of preparing for the Association Agreement that sparked the Euromaidan.[66] There were six factors behind the failure of the Cox–Kwasniewski mission that had visited Ukraine 27 times to seek a resolution to the deadlock. First, Yanukovych was never ideologically committed to European integration in the manner of Eastern European and Baltic leaders who desired to escape their communist past and Russian hegemony, while Yanukovych's "bottom line" was always how integration would benefit or damage his personal interests. As Leshchenko explained, "Association with Europe was never Viktor Yanukovych's dream. Values in the European sense of that term for Europeans do not mean anything for him—unless they can be converted into a Honka private airplane and landing strip with gold trims. The Association therefore was only opportune for the authorities as a useful bargaining chip for Yanukovych."[67]

Second, Yanukovych, like many Ukrainian leaders and experts, had an exaggerated opinion of Ukraine's geo-strategic importance to the West and therefore believed the EU was bluffing and would sign the Association Agreement irrespective of whether Tymoshenko remained in jail. Polish Foreign Minister Sikorski warned Ukraine's leaders that "[w]hen raising the stakes you can over-estimate the strength of your own cards."[68] Pifer pointed out Ukraine was a low priority for both the United States and EU, who had far bigger problems on their agendas and, therefore, "Yanukovych's geopolitical game is based on miscalculations regarding the depth of the West's interest in Ukraine and its readiness to compromise on democracy questions."[69] As the *Economist* pointed out, "Eastern Europeans see a titanic contest between Moscow and Brussels for Ukraine. Yet, having turned inward, most of Brussels is barely aware of it."[70]

Third, the EU never understood Yanukovych, who was a far more authoritarian leader than earlier Ukrainian presidents: "the political significance of Tymoshenko's jailing and Yanukovych's strategic calculations behind it." A similar inability to understand Putin prevails in the EU. In addition to removing her from politics, the imprisonment of Tymoshenko "also meant to demonstrate to a domestic audience (both ruling coalition members and the opposition) his capacity to repress his most prominent critic and then withstand international pressure to have her released. Her conviction and jailing established his credibility as the ultimate power wielder in the country and played a crucial role in his further successful consolidation of political and economic power and in preventing defections from within the regime." Kudelia continues: "Tymoshenko's release would, hence, have imposed substantial political costs on Yanukovych by exposing his vulnerability to external pressure and, hence, undermining his power superiority. This could have threatened the cohesion of his ruling coalition, raised doubts about his relative strength among his core voters, and showed the West that pressure actually works. Tymoshenko's release would have also shifted the power balance in favour of the opposition."[71]

Fourth, similar to its "weak and inept"[72] response to Russia's new imperialism, the EU either kept changing the deadline or different EU officials and member states would raise alternative deadlines. Poland's foreign minister only a few weeks before Vilnius said the deadline could be extended into 2014, while the Polish president said the Association Agreement could be signed in Vilnius and the "benchmarks" be implemented the following year. Such confusing and mixed signals undermined the EU's credibility as a negotiating partner. Fifth, Yanukovych and Azarov blamed the EU for not offering sufficient financial compensation to cover economic losses from Russian blockades.

Implementing the reforms within the DCFTA would be very expensive with limited EU assistance (this was after all enlargement on the cheap, or "enlargement-lite") and Ukraine would only feel the benefits in the medium to long terms. "The talks with the EU were an auction. It was a position of a pimp who is offering Ukraine up for sale," said Poroshenko. Yanukovych's price was $160 billion by 2017—presumably delivered in cash.[73] Yanukovych demanded 20 billion euros a year over four years as his price for signing the Association Agreement, which was scoffed at by the EU who responded by saying they were in the business of supporting reforms, not paying for poor economic and financial policies. Finally, the EU never used its strongest card to pressure Ukrainian elites to reach a compromise, the fact their bank accounts were in EU states and their offshore tax havens.

Ultimately, power and money triumphed over European values and national interests; Yanukovych feared Tymoshenko freed from jail, even in Germany, would be a threat to his chances of reelection in 2015, which

was always a far more important goal to him than European integration.[74] Yanukovych's foreign policy was neither pro-European nor pro-Russian but simply pro-Yanukovych. *Dzerkako Tyzhnya* editor Mostova reminded us that the failure of Yanukovych as a European integrator of Ukraine should be not surprising because his domestic and foreign policies were undertaken in response to his only three goals: (1) to become the wealthiest, (2) most powerful, and (3) longest serving president in Ukraine.[75] "Mr Yanukovych—whose rap-sheet features cronyism and claims of media harassment, alongside election-rigging and the selective incarceration of his enemies—has lost his chance to swap a gangster's reputation for a statesman's," the *Economist* quiffed.[76]

The West overestimated the degree to which the medium- to long-term benefits for Ukrainian big business from a free trade zone with Europe was more important than short-term opportunities for rent seeking and winning reelection. "As a Eurocrat puts it, the Ukrainian president must choose between a rich Russian dinner with lots of vodka and with the risk of discovering that he has been captured and his car stolen; or a boring Brussels sandwich lunch that offers respectability and a solid job, but only in the longer term. The profound reforms demanded by the EU, moreover, risk breaking the very system that put Mr Yanukovych in power."[77]

The Euromaidan and Ukraine's European Integration

Ukrainian foreign policy lacked strategic direction and had become "inconsistent and unpredictable."[78] Sherr decried the gap between declaration and implementation under Yanukovych that "has been almost obscenely and flagrantly and provocatively enormous since the autumn of 2010."[79] Ukraine was to have been the showcase country of the Eastern Partnership because negotiations had begun earlier between Kyiv and Brussels and it was the largest Eastern partner in terms of territory and population. The Euromaidan unblocked the Association Agreement and it was signed in March and the DCFTA in June 2014, at the same time as Moldova and Georgia. The two elections held in 2014 showed there was no longer an alternative to European integration after the pro-Russian vector imploded under Yanukovych and was discredited by Putin.

A major component of a country's national security policy is the military that through cooperation with NATO since 1994 has been downsized and reformed while at the same time financially squeezed. Ukraine's nonmilitary security forces, which are also analyzed in the next chapter and which continue to remain neo-Soviet institutions, in the past represented a major threat to Ukraine's ability to build a democratic system while incapable of coping with threats to Ukraine's national security.

CHAPTER 12

Military and Security Policy

Who if not I, Who if not You, Who if not We, then They will come, Again.
Druha Rika (Ukrainian rock band), 2014[1]

Either by military or economic or other tools, I am afraid that Russia wants to rebuild control over the whole of Ukraine.
President of the European Council Donald Tusk

National security was important to Ukrainian leaders from the early stages of the formation of the Ukrainian state that took control by the first quarter of 1992 of the majority of conventional military assets and security personnel on Ukrainian territory.[2] Ukrainian officers and troops constituted an important component of many of the middle-level officers and sergeants of the Soviet armed forces, 800,000 of which Ukraine inherited from the USSR. Ukrainian veterans of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan were quite numerous. Kyiv failed, however, to gain control of the Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol, Crimea, and it was not until 1997 that the question of a 20-year "temporary" basing agreement was finally resolved.[3] Ukraine never attempted to take control of nuclear weapons on its territory. Ukraine's military-industrial complex was huge, accounting for a third of the economy spread over 750 factories and 140 scientific and technical institutions.

Under Ukraine's first three presidents, there had been a relative consensus on national security policy that changed in three ways under Yanukovych. First, Ukraine no longer viewed Russia as a potential threat to Ukraine's territorial integrity. Kuchma, although elected in 1994 by Russophone Eastern Ukrainians, believed Russia often acted in an anti-Ukrainian manner and "[t]he threat of Russification is a real concern for us."[4] Kuchma complimented Yeltsin on being a democrat in his heart without saying the same about Putin.[5] Second, a benign view of Russia facilitated increased Russian influence in the Ukrainian government and security forces and led to the brokering of an alliance between the Party

Self-defense volunteers standing on the Euromaidan stage who were veterans from the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, Kyiv, December 2013. (UNIAN)

of Regions and Crimean Russian nationalists.[6] This paved the way for Russia's occupation of Crimea and proxy war in the Donbas. Third, unlike Ukraine's first three presidents, Yanukovych did not support NATO membership.

This chapter surveys and analyzes Ukraine giving up the world's third largest nuclear weapon stockpile, division of the Black Sea Fleet and formation of a Ukrainian navy, and downsizing of a large Soviet military into smaller Ukrainian ground and air forces. In addition to armed forces, Ukraine nationalized three Soviet security forces, transforming the Soviet KGB into the SBU, the Soviet KGB Border Guards into the Ukrainian Border Troops, and the Soviet Ministry of Interior (MVD) into the Ukrainian National Guard and the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVS). Although the military have been downsized and reformed, largely due to intensive cooperation with NATO's PfP program, they were starved of funding and new equipment. The nonmilitary security forces remain bloated in size, largely unreformed and Soviet in their working culture, corrupt, and highly inefficient. Ukraine is the 19th most militarized state in the world (Russia and Belarus are 4th and 16th, respectively; see Table 12.1).[7]

NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Ukraine did not attempt to gain control over tactical and strategic nuclear weapons on its soil and demanded security guarantees in exchange for agreeing to give them up. Ukraine inherited the world's third largest

Table 12.1
Ukraine's Security Forces

Security Forces	Number of Personnel (approx.)
Military	130,000–200,000
	73,000 Ground Forces
	46,000 Air Force
	15,000 Navy
	Remainder civilians
Ministry of Interior (MVS)	330,000 (total)
	30,000–50,000 National Guard
Border Troops and Customs Service	63,000
Prosecutor-General's office	18,000
Security Service of Ukraine and Foreign Intelligence Service	34,000
	Including 3,000 Alpha and other units
State Service of Ukraine for Emergency Situations	10,000

Note:
In comparison, Russia has 850,000 armed forces, 1.1 million Interior Ministry personnel, 300,000 FSB (in addition to its external service, the SVR), 200,000 prosecutor's, and 100,000 customs and border guards.

Source:
Edward Lucas, *Deception. Spies, Lies and How Russia Dupes the West* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 68.

nuclear force and the nuclear question proved to be a difficult issue to resolve in a regional environment where a security vacuum had emerged following the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact. By May 1992, all tactical nuclear weapons had been removed from its territory, but Ukraine continued to demand security guarantees and financial compensation for the strategic nuclear weapons.

Negotiations with the five declared nuclear powers continued until 1994 when the Ukrainian parliament ratified the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START 1) in February and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in November of that year. The change in Ukraine's position only took place after most Western governments had abandoned their Russia-first policies toward the former USSR and begun to take a greater interest in Ukraine's national security; particularly important here was Bill Clinton replacing George H. W. Bush as U.S. president. In addition, the election of Kuchma in July 1994, who had been director of the *Pivdenmash (Yuzhmash)* military-industrial plant that had built nuclear weapons,

Box 12.1. Memorandum on Security Assurances in Connection with Ukraine's Accession to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)

Budapest, December 5, 1994.

This long forgotten international agreement signed by three of the five declared nuclear powers UK, the United States,, and Russia—but not France and China—received international attention and notoriety in March 2014 when Russia intervened and annexed Crimea, the first such territorial annexation in Europe since World War II. Russia's actions were a flagrant violation of the security assurances given to Ukraine under the Budapest Memorandum and opened the way to worldwide nuclear proliferation. Ukraine agreed to give away the world's third largest nuclear weapons, bigger in capacity than those of China, the UK, and France combined, when it signed the Budapest Memorandum.

The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland,

Welcoming the accession of Ukraine to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a non-nuclear-weapon State,

Taking into account the commitment of Ukraine to eliminate all nuclear weapons from its territory within a specified period,

Noting the changes in the worldwide security situation, including the end of the Cold War, which have brought about conditions for deep reductions in nuclear forces.

Confirm the following:

1. The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, reaffirm their commitment to Ukraine, in accordance with the principles of the CSCE Final Act, **to respect the Independence and Sovereignty and the existing borders of Ukraine.**
2. The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, reaffirm their obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of Ukraine, and that **none of their weapons will ever be used against Ukraine except in self-defense or otherwise in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.**
3. The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, reaffirm their commitment to Ukraine, in accordance with the principles of the CSCE Final Act, to refrain from economic coercion designed to subordinate to their own interest the exercise by Ukraine of the rights inherent in its sovereignty and thus to secure advantages of any kind.
4. The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, reaffirm their commitment to seek immediate United Nations Security Council action to

provide assistance to Ukraine, as a non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, if Ukraine should become a victim of an act of aggression or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used.

5. The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, reaffirm, in the case of the Ukraine, their commitment not to use nuclear weapons against any non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, except in the case of an attack on themselves, their territories or dependent territories, their armed forces, or their allies, by such a state in association or alliance with a nuclear weapon state.
6. **The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland will consult in the event a situation arises which raises a question concerning these commitments.**

This Memorandum will become applicable upon signature.

Signed in four copies by the UK, the United States, Russia, and Ukraine, having equal validity in the English, Russian, and Ukrainian languages.

Sources:

Memorandum on Security Assurances in connection with Ukraine's accession to the Treaty on the NPT, UN General Assembly document A/49/765, UN Security Council document S/1994/1399, December 19, 1994.

Steven Pifer, *The Trilateral Process: The United States, Ukraine, Russia and Nuclear Weapons* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, May 2011). http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2011/05_trilateral_process_pifer.aspx

was important in improving the atmosphere for negotiations. The January 1994 Trilateral Agreement between Ukraine, Russia, and the United States paved the way for the granting in December of that year of security assurances (not to be confused with *security guarantees*) by three of the world's five declared nuclear powers. In June 1996, the last Soviet strategic nuclear weapons were withdrawn from Ukraine.

Security assurances provided in the 1994 memorandum to Ukraine were not backed up by the promise of military assistance in the event of a threat to Ukraine's national security. NATO and Western European governments could not defend Ukraine in the event of a potential threat to its sovereignty and territorial integrity, which was demonstrated in the autumn 2003 crisis over the Tuzla Island and in 2014 during Russia's annexation of the Crimea. Kuchma canceled a state visit to Latin America during the Tuzla crisis and during Russia's annexation of the Crimea in 2014 and said, "[W]e will defend our territory as it is stated and outlined in our constitution." An emergency meeting of the RNBO was held, which resolved to defend

Tuzla by all means necessary.[8] During the 2003 Tuzla crisis, NATO turned down Ukraine's requests for security consultations under the 1997 Charter while the 1994 Budapest Memorandum proved to be—as in 2014 when Russia occupied the Crimea—a worthless piece of paper. Kuchma recalls, "Until then I had already come to understand that it was pointless to wait for security assurances from the West which would never materialise." A July 2014 resolution of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly condemned the Russian Federation for, since February 2014, having "violated every one of the 10 Helsinki principles in relations with Ukraine." There is no mechanism for Ukraine to consult on threats to its security leading Kuchma to conclude, "If there is no mechanism there is no problem."[9] A major difference between 2003 (Tuzla) and 2014 (Crimea) was that China (although not a signatory to the Budapest Memorandum) supported Ukraine's territorial integrity in the former while adopting a neutral position in the latter.

BLACK SEA FLEET AND UKRAINIAN NAVY

In 1991, the majority of naval personnel and officers in the Black Sea Fleet were from Ukraine, and over 80 percent of them voted in favor of Ukrainian independence in the December 1991 referendum. Nevertheless, in contrast to Soviet ground and air forces that were quickly nationalized by Ukraine, the Black Sea Fleet proved to be more difficult for Kyiv to take control over. When it came to dealing with Crimea, President Kravchuk never had the same degree of determination and political will as President Kuchma.

One factor that proved to be important in autumn 1991, following Ukraine's Declaration of Independence, was the composition of the Black Sea Fleet that had been a state secret in the USSR. This information was not though secret in the West and the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies's (IISS) annual *Military Balance* published detailed figures on the Black Sea Fleet and other Soviet military forces. Soviet diplomats (it was assumed by the IISS they were KGB officers) purchased copies of the annual *Military Balance*, and in the USSR they were included in the Special Funds of libraries accessed only by trusted individuals with high-level passes. In September 1991, the Ukrainian Press Agency received a request from the democratic opposition in the Ukrainian parliament to provide information on the composition of the Black Sea Fleet. In response, the Ukrainian Press Agency faxed a detailed breakdown published in *The Sunday Times* that was based on the IISS *Military Balance*.[10] What was secret in the USSR was open source information in the West, where democratic openness trumped Soviet spy mania and secrecy.[11] The fax machine, which became first available in the late 1980s, proved to be as revolutionary a technological breakthrough as the Internet a decade later.

Ukraine never claimed the entire Black Sea Fleet and rancorous negotiations continued through to the signing of the 1997 Russian-Ukrainian treaty and Black Sea Fleet agreement over the proportion of vessels and aircraft Ukraine would receive to build its independent navy. The negotiations were tortuous for two reasons. First, Russia assumed Ukrainian independence was a temporary aberration and eventually Kyiv would fully rejoin CIS structures leading to unified CIS security forces. Secondly, Russian perceptions of Ukrainians as "peasant bumpkins" unable to run their independent state translated into Moscow ridiculing the concept of Ukraine becoming a naval state.[12] All of these attitudes have deepened as Putin has launched Russia's new Russian imperialism. These contemptuous Russian attitudes merely served to strengthen the resolve of Ukrainian negotiators.[13] The 1997 agreement settled on Ukraine receiving a quarter of the Black Sea Fleet's medium- and smaller-sized vessels. A second difficult area of negotiations was how long the Russian Black Sea Fleet base would continue in Sevastopol. The 1997 agreement provided for a "temporary" stationing of the Black Sea Fleet for 20 years until 2017.

Commanders of the Black Sea Fleet opposed Ukrainian demands to divide the fleet arguing it should remain part of a united CIS strategic force; Kravchuk disagreed always insisting on dividing Soviet security forces. The Black Sea Fleet had been one of the four fleets in the former Soviet navy and was larger than the British Royal Navy. In addition, there was always a close connection between the Black Sea Fleet question, Crimean separatism, and Russian historical myths of Sevastopol as a "city of Russian glory."[14] President Yeltsin, although tolerant on the issue of the break-up of the USSR and Ukrainian independence, believed the Black Sea Fleet "was, is, and always will be Russian." Completing negotiations on the Black Sea Fleet question eluded Kravchuk, and it was Kuchma, after three years in power, who signed an agreement. The 1997 Black Sea Fleet agreement was a compromise accepted by Ukrainian national-democrats and centrists. The April 2010 "Kharkiv Accords," which destroyed the compromise and were signed in the teeth of bitter opposition by the parliamentary opposition and without the support of three parliamentary committees, extended the Sevastopol base until 2042–2047.

With Ukrainian patriotism on the rise in the late 1980s, many former Soviet naval officers joined the Union of Ukrainian Officers (SOU) in the Crimea and Odesa, where they agitated for a division of the Black Sea Fleet and launch of a Ukrainian navy.[15] The SOU called upon Ukrainians in the Soviet navy to declare their loyalty to Ukraine.[16] In August 1992, President Kravchuk issued a decree outlining plans for a Ukrainian navy, which came late in the day, and would have had more effect if issued earlier that year or when the USSR was replaced by the CIS.

During the division of the Soviet Black Sea Fleet, the Ukrainian navy received mainly older vessels. The Ukrainian state did not heavily invest

into constructing new vessels, making the navy an outdated Soviet-era force.[17] Following the "Kharkiv Accords," Russia outlined major plans to modernize and include new vessels and aircraft in the Black Sea Fleet, making it unlikely it would ever withdraw from Sevastopol, which of course after the annexation of the Crimea is even less likely.[18]

Ukrainian Naval Forces headquarters were located in Sevastopol with other major bases in Feodosiya, Izmayil, Mykolayiv, and Odesa. Ukraine's navy consisted of five branches: (1) naval forces, (2) marines, (3) naval aviation, (4) coastal anti-aircraft units, and (5) submarine forces. The area of operations of Ukraine's navy is relatively small and was restricted to the Black Sea, Sea of Azov, and Danube Delta. Ukraine's naval forces included Krivak frigates; Hrisha, Tarantul, and Pauk corvettes; Zhuk patrol craft; Sonya and Natya minesweepers; Matka missile boats; and a Ropucha landing ship. Ukraine has one submarine, the Zaporizhzhya, that came into operation in 2012. Twenty auxiliary ships complement these vessels. Ukraine's naval forces inherited Soviet aircraft for transportation (Antonov An-26 aircraft and Mi-8 helicopters), anti-submarine helicopters (Mi-14 and Ka-27), Ka-29 assault helicopters, and Be-12 Beriyev maritime patrol aircraft. The only vessel capable of long endurance missions is the frigate *Hetman* (Konashevych-)Sahaydachnyy. How many of these were saved and not stolen by Russia after it annexed Crimea remains unclear.

MILITARY FORCES

Ukraine was in the second echelon of Soviet troops poised to fight NATO in a European conflict (after those based in Eastern Europe) and, as a consequence, inherited 800,000 armed forces. These forces included elite Soviet military units, such as a Rocket Army, four Air Force Armies, Air Defence Army, and the Black Sea Fleet. Ukraine's former Soviet armed forces included 350 vessels, 1,500 combat aircraft, over 1,200 strategic nuclear warheads, and an undisclosed number of tactical weapons. A parliamentary resolution adopted a month after the Declaration of Independence launched the formation of Ukraine's armed forces, and in the next few years, legislation was adopted "On Defense of Ukraine" and "On the Armed Forces of Ukraine" as well as a Military Doctrine of Ukraine.

In the 1990s, Ukraine's armed forces were reduced by half to 400,000, and this attrition continued in the next decade when the number of military personnel was again reduced by another half. France, the UK, and Italy have populations larger than Ukraine of between 60 and 65 million, and each country possesses armed forces of 200,000–250,000 personnel. Despite numerous populist promises by candidates and political parties in election campaigns to move to a contract-based system for the military,

Military cadets participate in a 50,000 strong rally in support of Viktor Yushchenko's presidential candidacy in Lviv during the Orange Revolution. The cadets were from the Heroes of Kruty State Lyceum of Advanced Military and Physical Training named after a battle that took place in January 1918 when 300 students and cadets and 100 Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) soldiers faced a 4,000 Bolshevik force in a fierce five-hour battle. (UNIAN)

this costly reform has never been seriously considered by any Ukrainian government, at least until Russia's invasion. The efficiency and professionalism of Ukraine's conscripts were of poor quality because they are from lower socioeconomic backgrounds who do not possess the financial means to buy themselves out.

The Ukrainian president is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces and exercises his power through the General Headquarters that is composed of the General Staff and the Ministry of Defense. Ministers of defense have usually been political appointees of the president, and of Ukraine's defense ministers, only two have been reformers, Marchuk and Hrytsenko. The low quality of senior officers became obvious in the course of 2014 when Ukraine changed its defense ministers four times. The Ministry of Defense is responsible for management of territorial defense, training for missions and engagement, manning, weapons and military equipment, interaction with the executive power, international cooperation, military deployment, combat readiness, and mobilization

Billboard exhorting "Sign up for contract military service in the Armed Forces of Ukraine. Here, you can become strong, sturdy, and courageous, meet true friends, and receive a job you deserve," Lviv, November 2013. (Taras Kuzio)

in war. Ukraine's military officers are trained in three academies: the National Defense University in Kyiv, the Air Force University in Kharkiv, and formerly the Naval School in Sevastopol.

Among the various branches of Ukraine's security forces, the military have benefitted the most from cooperation with NATO's PfP, and therefore, it is the least Soviet branch of Ukraine's security forces. Ukraine's high level of security cooperation largely transformed the psychology of Ukraine's officer corps differentiating them from Russia's military officers in their attitudes toward NATO, the United States, and the West in general. Similar reforms have not taken place in Ukraine's other security forces. Cooperation with NATO's PfP and "In the Spirit of PfP" was an important factor in facilitating the military not intervening in the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan.

Individuals have often occupied the position of minister of defense with little, if any, experience of military affairs, reflecting the lack of strategic importance placed by presidents upon military reforms and modernization. Typical of such appointments were Yushchenko loyalist Yekhanurov and Yanukovych's appointment of Salamatin, son-in-law of

former Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets. Salamatin was born in Karaganda, Kazakhstan, spent his working career in Russia, and moved to Ukraine in 1999 taking Ukrainian citizenship only in 2005. He was elected to parliament in the 2006 and 2007 elections by the Party of Regions and in 2010–2012 headed *UkrSpetsExport*, Ukraine's arms export agency.[19] Russian appointees were successful in reducing the operational effectiveness of Ukraine's security forces and the selling off of equipment and infrastructure. In addition to lack of political direction and strategic goals, the military has always been insufficiently funded with the majority of its budget used to cover salaries, utilities, medical services, foodstuffs, and construction costs. One of the numerous vintage cars found in *Mezhyhirya* palace was a Studebaker US6-62 given as a present by Salamatin. As Leshchenko writes, "[A] Russian Minister of Defense of Ukraine destroys the defense capabilities of the armed forces in the interests of an aggressive neighbour and in parallel gifts Yanukovych World War Two era American military technology!"[20]

THE SECURITY SERVICE (SBU)

Soviet political cultural tenets of xenophobia, spy-mania, and conspiracy theories run throughout the working culture of the Russian and Ukrainian successor intelligence agencies to the Soviet KGB. Foreigners (diplomats, journalists, businesspersons, and human rights activists) are often assumed to be Western spies. Such mind-sets were evident in legislation adopted in Russia and nearly adopted by Ukraine that defined foundations and NGOs that received foreign (i.e., Western, not Russian) funding as "foreign agents." The FSB believe democratic revolutions are "carried out by CIA spies carrying bagful's of dollars, a view held by the Party of Regions and KPU."[21] Putin and the FSB are "suspicious, deeply paranoid, unfamiliar with the non-Russian world, and prone to irrational or emotional acts,"[22] which is probably similar to elements in the SBU. Soldatov and Borogan trace the mind-set of the intelligence services to Tsarist and Soviet legacies that have made it "suspicious, inward looking and clannish" as well as provincial and xenophobic.[23]

FSB and SBU and officers continue to believe their *raison d'etre* is to protect the president (which they associate with the state) and maintain surveillance over his opponents and punish them. The provincial nature of senior Russian and Ukrainian intelligence officers is a reflection of their Soviet education, KGB training, and lack of knowledge of the outside world (few speak English). Leonid Derkach and his SBU "poorly articulated their reports" to President Kuchma.[24] Their knowledge of new technologies such as the Internet and social media was abysmal; in 2000 Kuchma asked Derkach, "Listen, is the whole Internet disconnected?,"

to which he replied that it was.[25] Thirteen years later, Ukraine's Border Troops acting on the instructions of the SBU searched journalists at Kyiv's Borispil airport who were on their way to Berlin to screen a film about *Mezhyhirya*. They confiscated DVD copies and searched their laptops, obviously patently unaware of social media such as Google Drive or DropBox. Similarly, attempts by the security forces to prevent the screening of the film throughout Ukraine ignored the fact that photographs and film clips of *Mezhyhirya* are widely available on the Internet, and the sumptuous palace can be geographically located on Google Earth. Therefore, time and effort was wasted by the SBU crudely attempting to block the showing by independent journalists of a movie about the president's *Mezhyhirya* palace. The tactics used included turning off electricity; organizing drunken homeless people to attend the show, who caused a ruckus; the police searching for explosives; and dropping stink bombs and throwing tear gas canisters. The continuation of this mind-set in the SBU is a reflection of the lack of reforms, including their reorganization and reduction in manpower and unwillingness of presidents to introduce democratic oversight.

The SBU has always had close ties to the old former Soviet intelligence old boy network, and these ties became closer as Russian influence grew in the Yanukovych administration. Kalinin, who was SBU chairperson in 2012–2013, was born in Moscow *oblast* and spent his career in the Soviet KGB in Russia. Two Russian citizens, Kalinin and Zanevskyy, illegally protected Yanukovych because of his paranoia and distrust of the SBU since the 2004 elections. During the Orange Revolution, when Kalinin held a senior position in the SBU's *Alpha spetsnaz* forces, he remained loyal to Yanukovych. Kalinin's appointment increased Russian influence in the SBU and enhanced cooperation between the SBU and the FSB with whom they both have a "common Cheka (All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combatting Counter-Revolution and Sabotage) past," Khoroshkovskyy said.[26] During Yanukovych's presidency the SBU closed down its counter-intelligence operations against Russia and focused on the United States, permitting the FSB and GRU to penetrate and operate without hindrance in the Crimea and Russophone Ukraine, preparing the ground for future "active measures" that were launched in spring 2014.

In September 1991, a closed session of the Ukrainian parliament dissolved the KGB and announced its transformation into the National Security Service of Ukraine (from spring 1992 becoming the SBU). The SBU would come under the direct command of the president; parliament has never exerted control over the SBU under the 1996 presidential or 2006 parliamentary constitutions.

On the eve of the December 1991 referendum, the Soviet Ukrainian KGB issued a patriotic appeal to the Ukrainian parliament declaring their loyalty to Ukraine, "We confirm we will respect the constitution of

Ukraine and sternly abide by the laws of our independent state." Military counter-intelligence officers had signed a joint appeal with SOU calling for cooperation in the building of an independent Ukrainian state. The Ukrainian KGB claimed that during the August 1991 coup d'état, they "did everything possible that blood was not shed, abiding solely by the articles of the constitution and Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine and decisions of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the republic." This would be the second occasion in two decades that the intelligence services prevented bloodshed when they worked with the military during the Orange Revolution (during the Euromaidan the SBU was directing violence against protesters). The appeal requested the Ukrainian parliament to speed up the adoption of a law on the organs of state security of Ukraine and "voiced their support for the removal of (political) parties from law enforcement organs." Two decades on, this optimism has still to become official policy or lead to major reforms of the SBU.

The structure of the SBU has remained largely similar to that of the KGB; the exceptions were the removal of the Border Guards and directorate for the protection of senior state officials, which became two independent institutions. The SBU maintained control over the *Alpha* spetsnaz force, which has two units named Storm and Protection with bases in every Ukrainian *oblast* center. *Alpha* officers receive training in parachute jumping, mountaineering, sniping, amphibious landing, and storming buildings. A "third force" (very likely Russian) and *Berkut* snipers were intricately involved in killing protesters on the Euromaidan. The Ninth Directorate of the KGB had 40,000 personnel tasked with guarding senior Soviet leaders and critical installations, such as nuclear weapons. In Ukraine it was separated from the SBU and became the UDO (Directorate on State Protection) analogous to the U.S. Secret Service, where Melnychenko was an officer, with the task of protecting senior Ukrainian elites.

With 30,000 officers, six times more than the combined British MI5 (domestic) and MI6 ([SIS] external) secret services, the SBU continues to remain as bloated in size as the Soviet Ukrainian KGB. Until the creation of an external intelligence agency in 2004, the SBU had always possessed limited external capability when working out of Ukrainian embassies abroad.[27] The majority of its 30,000 officers, therefore, have concentrated on domestic security and their tasks were dependent on who was in power in Kyiv and at the regional level.

The Central Board coordinates the activities of other departments as well as issuing instructions to regional branches. The Central Board includes the apparatus of SBU chairperson and departments in intelligence; counter-intelligence, with responsibility for the armed forces; military intelligence; protection of statehood; corruption and organized crime; information-analytical analysis; technical operations and operative-documentation

services; investigation; government communications; administrative, financial, and medical; and human resources offices.

In 2004, the SBU's Intelligence Department was reorganized into an independent Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine that increased its personnel from 3,100 to 4,000. The Foreign Intelligence Service has therefore twice the number of personnel in the Canadian Secret Intelligence Service (CSIS) and is larger than Britain's MI6 (SIS). President Yushchenko transformed the SBU Department of Government Communications into an independent agency, the Ukrainian State Service of Special Communications and Protection of Information (*DerzhSpetsZvyazok*). In January 2012, President Yanukovych established a new department within the SBU with the vague responsibility for protecting "information security" that journalists and human rights groups feared would become a threat to media freedom.[28]

In November 1991, former KGB officer Marchuk, a Kravchuk loyalist, became the SBU's first chairperson. Marchuk was a graduate from the Kirovohrad Pushkin Pedagogical Institute, who joined the Soviet Ukrainian KGB at an early age rising successfully to become its Soviet Ukrainian deputy chairperson. Most SBU departments had former KGB careerists as heads, such as Marchuk, and in its formative years, personnel drawn from outside the KGB headed only three departments. These included departments in military counter-intelligence (headed by Oleksander Skipalskyy, who eventually joined BYuT), protection of national statehood (headed by Viktor Burlakov), and corruption and organized crime (headed by Hryhoriy Omelchenko, also a BYuT deputy). In the early 1990s, Oleksandr Yemets, a well-known parliamentary deputy from the democratic opposition, was unsuccessful in his bid to become SBU chairperson.

The SBU took over the property of the former Soviet Ukrainian KGB, and the large Stalinist building on Kyiv's Volodymyr Street, just across the road from the St. Sophia *Sobor*, has continued to remain its headquarters. A different location would have signaled a clearer break with the KGB past because the building has an unpleasant history when in the 1930s and during World War II the NKVD and Gestapo, respectively, committed crimes against humanity in its basement premises. SBU officers are trained at the former all-union KGB Academy in Kyiv, which was renamed the Institute for the Preparation of Cadres of the Security Service of Ukraine, whose first Dean was General Volodymyr Sidak, a former regional head of the Soviet Russian KGB in Orenburg.[29] The Kharkiv-based Yaroslav the Wise National Academy of Law also trains SBU officers.

The March 1992 Law on "The Security Service" outlines its main responsibilities as defending Ukraine's state sovereignty, constitutional order, and territorial integrity. The SBU supports the organs of the Ukrainian state in their activities and implements decisions by the president,

parliament, and government. Many of the earlier-mentioned objectives of the SBU have remained virtual, particularly in the 1990s when the SBU in some regions of Ukraine, such as Donetsk, remained passive or teamed up with criminals, participated in *prykhvatizatsiya*, and ignored the rampant violence taking place. Donetsk during the decade from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s witnessed high-profile assassinations that the SBU and regional prosecutor's office did not attempt to resolve. In one famous case in Western Ukraine, 100,000 police in an SBU-led operation were deployed after 10 murders were committed in the village of Bratkovych, Lviv *oblast*, in December 1995. Yuriy Mozola was arrested, interrogated, and tortured for three days, but he refused to admit to the trumped-up charges and tragically died in custody. The real serial killer, Anatoliy Onopriyenko, was arrested the following year but by then he had committed 52 murders.

The SBU Department for the Struggle against Corruption and Organised Crime ("Department K") has responsibility for combating economic crime and preventing the penetration of upper echelons of power by "mafia structures." Their Donetsk, Odesa, and Crimean branches ignored economic crimes by Ukrainian elites and the emerging business–politics–crime nexus discussed in Chapters 9 and 10. In 1988–1997, there was a massive explosion of crime in Ukraine, especially related to property crime (theft, robbery, swindling, and extortion) and economic crime (bribery, counterfeit, and trading in illegal goods). During the same period of time in Russia and Ukraine the number of registered offenses massively fell and individuals sentenced for embezzlement declined 10-fold.[30] Discussing the FSB in Russia, Soldatov and Borogan write about the 1990s: "The rank and file often seemed to be sleepwalking through their jobs," which could also be said about the SBU.[31] Moskal points out the absurdity of the SBU structure including directorates on defending Ukraine's economy against foreign agents: "Tell us, well, have foreign agents ruined *Naftohaz (Ukrayiny)*, *EnergyAtom*, or the coal industry of Ukraine? Or how about Ukrainian railways? Was it foreign agent's secret services or our governments that did this with their poorly thought out policies."[32] The SBU (including Orange Chairperson Nalyvaychenko) ignored the links between "mafia structures" and business that had always existed in the gas trade. With the SBU and state so closely integrated, it is impossible for the SBU to initiate criminal cases against senior officials who are in power. Meanwhile, the SBU's bloated size has not ensured its effectiveness in filing charges for abuse of office against any members of Ukrainian ruling elites, except when these charges have been politically motivated selective uses of justice.

From 1994, Administration A within the SBU has responsibility for combating terrorism and protection of witnesses and accused brought to court. Whether this SBU department has been efficient in the fulfillment

of its duties is doubtful. In the 1990s, there remained numerous outstanding questions about the reliability of former KGB employees and public distrust in the security services and calls for lustration also followed the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan.In the early 1990s, questions were raised if Ukraine needed such an institution as the SBU and, if so, what size should it be and with what functions? Who would the SBU defend and from whom? Who would be the cadres of the new SBU, and if it will consist of former members of the Soviet Ukrainian KGB, how would the Ukrainian state assess their loyalty? In particular, would the huge number of Soviet *stukachi* (informers) continue their work, an aspect of the KGB's work that the public had found the most loathsome? In the later years of the USSR, there were 11 million *stukachi*, or 1 in 18 Soviet people of adult age. The GDR also had a huge number of informers that was most vividly shown in the 2006 movie *The Lives of Others*. Darden writes, "The capacity for such surveillance—and in particular, the fact that all government buildings are wired with listening devices and the Security Service has a pre-existing network of informants—is a legacy of Communism common to many of the most corrupt states."[33]

The SBU's military counter-intelligence has responsibility for combating espionage, terrorism, defense of military bases, and corruption in the armed forces. It also must have been sent on extended leave in the 1990s, preventing it from halting the illegal mass export of Soviet weaponry from Ukraine. In the late 1990s, Marchuk publicly accused then SBU chairperson Leonid Derkach of being involved in this illegal arms trade.

The SBU, in a similar manner to the Russian FSB, have Soviet-era KGB mind-sets where their main function is not to protect the state but to defend those who are in power.[34] A similar culture permeates the MVS who undertake undemocratic practices often in tandem with the SBU. A thorough transformation and democratization of the former Soviet KGB into a new SBU has never occurred—as was visibly demonstrated by the return to KGB practices under SBU Chairperson Khoroshkovskyy. In the area of democratic rights, the SBU has worked on more occasions *against* human rights and has ignored or in some cases facilitated election fraud. The exception to this rule became 2004 because election fraud threatened to spiral out of control into interregional violence. Darden writes, "Political repression was one of the primary tasks of the state administration."[35]

Soviet-style surveillance of, and covert operations against, the opposition and journalists has never ceased. In 2004, SBU Officer Valeriy Kravchenko, who was stationed in Germany, publicly accused the SBU of undertaking surveillance against opposition politicians who traveled abroad. In 2007, a memorandum written for the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine by this author was intercepted after it was sent from an Internet café in central Kyiv and then republished on two websites with close links

Euromaidan protesters detain an SBU officer illegally spying on them in a surveillance van, Kyiv, December 2013. (UNIAN)

to presidential chief of Staff Baloha. Ukraine's bloated nonmilitary security forces continued to expend most of their time combatting the opposition, which they do not have legal authority to undertake, while ignoring corruption (e.g., in the energy sector), high-level abuse of office, and other important serious crimes.

The security forces have participated in election fraud in 1999, 2002, 2004, and during Yanukovych's presidency. During the 2004 elections some rogue SBU officers taped Yanukovych's election headquarters, but these tapes were never used in court as evidence.[36] The SBU failed to prevent the poisoning of Yushchenko and by chance found the two bombers who had intended to blow up his election headquarters. Murdered journalist Gongadze was kept under surveillance by both the SBU *and* the MVS. One of the main factors why Ukraine is unable to follow countries such as Peru, Egypt, and Pakistan in criminally prosecuting presidents, prime ministers, and senior members of the elites is that its nonmilitary security forces remain in essence Soviet.

The absence of reforms in the SBU came to a head with the revival of KGB-style activities during Yanukovych's presidency. These included UDO officers physically attacking journalists and the SBU hacking into

emails of journalists working at *Ukrayinska Pravda*, Lviv-based *Express* newspaper, and elsewhere. The Stop Censorship NGO reported many of its members were under SBU surveillance, which was confirmed in January 2013 when *Express* newspaper reporter Taras Zozulinsky found a listening device in his apartment.[37] Fraudulent interviews were published with Tymoshenko's lawyer Serhiy Vlasenko, fake emails were sent by opposition parliamentary deputies, while fake SMS texts were sent to opposition deputies announcing parliamentary meetings having been canceled. Evidence of continued surveillance of opposition politicians, in the tradition of the Soviet KGB, was found on the Euromaidan (see illustration on p. 473).[38]

Ukrainian participants in events and seminars organized by Western foundations were approached by the SBU who demanded they provide lists of participants and a report of what was discussed. State officials were asked to report to the SBU whom they have met on foreign visits during the past decade. The SBU and Foreign Intelligence Service routinely keep Western experts and Ukrainian diaspora leaders under surveillance. Members of CUPP who had returned from studying and attending conferences abroad were contacted by the SBU with a request to visit their offices to discuss what they were doing and whom they had met. Some, feeling intimidated, agreed to attend the meeting while others refused arguing that there was no Ukrainian legislation that gave the SBU the right to interview people who had traveled abroad. A fake UDAR website was hosted during the 2012 elections, and fake UDAR blogs, with the aim of dividing the opposition, were published that were critical of *Batkivshchina* in an attempt to sow quarrels between opposition political forces. Vitaliy Klitschko's personal documents were obtained by hackers and posted on the Internet. Yevheniya Tymoshenko, daughter of then imprisoned Tymoshenko, and Ridge Consulting, a British PR company that worked for Tymoshenko in 2006–2011, had their computers hacked.[39] All of these SBU activities are, of course, illegal.

In July 1992, the SBU signed a cooperation agreement with the Russian Federation followed by numerous agreements signed within the CIS that banned the conducting of espionage against member states. The Russian-Ukrainian agreement outlined the readiness of the SBU and FSB to cooperate against international terrorism, exchange intelligence, and undertake joint training of staff. This, and other agreements, never led to Russia halting its espionage and subversive operations against Ukraine and other CIS states, especially under Yushchenko and since 2014. Russian intelligence agencies have always been integral to the survival of frozen conflict zones in Transdniester, Nagorno Karabakh, South Ossetia, and Abkhazia, and the FSB and GRU provided covert and overt support for separatism in the Crimea and Odesa, and later in the Donbas. Under President Yanukovych, the SBU ignored Russian espionage and subversion.[40] In February 2011 and October 2012, respectively, in what

was a sign of SBU cooperation with foreign intelligence services, Palestinian Gaza electric power plant engineer Didar Abu-Sisi and Russian opposition activist Leonid Razvozhayev were kidnapped in Kyiv and handed over to Israel's Mossad and the FSB respectively. This prompted a Ukrainian journalist to ask, "Whose interests do the Ukrainian secret services uphold?"[41] The answer was it depended on who was in power.

During Yanukovych's presidency, Russian intelligence agencies were permitted to infiltrate the SBU and military intelligence, and when Nalyvaychenko took control in February 2014, he entered a near-empty SBU headquarters in Kyiv, where computers and data files had been removed. On the eve of Yanukovych fleeing from Kyiv, his operatives stole or destroyed data on 22,000 officers and informants and anything related to cooperation between the Ukrainian and Russian intelligence services. "Every hard drive and flash drive was destroyed—smashed with hammers" and "it was all ash and dust." Nalyvaychenko bemoaned they took "everything that forms a basis for a professional intelligence service."[42]

A second development during Yanukovych's presidency was Ukraine's curtailing of counter-espionage activities against Russian intelligence activities in Crimea, the Donbas, and Odesa and turning a blind eye to their recruitment of locals and infiltration of state institutions. These developments laid the ground for Russia's rapid annexation of Crimea while infiltration of the SBU, possession of SBU intelligence files, and the installation of sleepers in the Donbas would play a strategic role in the rapid takeover of power by the Donbas separatists in spring 2014. After Nalyvaychenko took over, the SBU was in tatters. "We have no idea who we can trust right now" and "[e]verybody is suspicious of everybody," an SBU officer said. SBU Chairperson Yakymenko and four top aides fled to Russia, while over 200 agents, including the counter-intelligence chief, were arrested and some have been charged with high treason. Ninety percent of SBU officers were subsequently changed, including all regional heads. The SBU set about massively recruiting new, younger officers who were put through lie detectors and frequent interrogations before hurriedly being sent to the field and frontline.[43]

In January 1992, a presidential decree established UDO and placed the structure directly under the president's control. UDO emerged from the KGB's ninth directorate and its responsibilities were to protect Ukraine's senior leaders as well as official and private properties utilized by them. UDO had the same responsibility as the U.S. Secret Service and Britain's Special Branch in protecting foreign dignitaries during their visits to Ukraine. UDO cooperated with the SBU, and in the event of a terrorist action against the Ukrainian leadership, UDO would draw on SBU *Alpha* units. In 1999–2000, UDO officer Melnychenko illicitly taped Kuchma's office leading to the Kuchmagate crisis and, following the scandal, the SBU re-absorbed UDO.

Left to right, *Berkut* police special forces, *Sokil* special forces of the Interior Ministry's Directorate to Combat Organised Crime, the Customs Service of Ukraine and Tax Police. In the middle is the lapel badge of the Crimean division of the "NGU" (National Guard of Ukraine in the 1990s), a lion and black-and-red cross to the right and along the bottom saying, "Nation, Honour, Virtue, Ukraine." On the bottom from left to right are MVS Internal Troops and *Bars* special forces, Border Troops, Security Service (SBU), and Directorate on State Protection (UDO). (Taras Kuzio)

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR

National Guard

When Ukraine declared independence from the USSR, parliament outlined its intention to establish a National Guard. The appeal of the headquarters of the National Guard to Soviet military and MVS officers and soldiers in Ukraine stated, "Fellow patriots! Defense of independent Ukraine is now in our hands! Join the ranks of the republican National Guard of Ukraine." The August 30, 1991, decree of the Presidium of the Ukrainian parliament placed all MVS and Border Troops in Ukraine under the control of parliament. Patriotic civil society groups SOU, Citizens Committee for the Revival of the Ukrainian National Army, and Cossack groups undertook much of the initial work of establishing a National Guard. On November 4, 1991, the National Guard was officially established and its first commander was Colonel Volodymyr Kukharets, who had professional experience as a commander in MVS Internal Troops convoy brigades.

Parliament established the National Guard before Ukraine elected a president, and control over them therefore became an area of contention during the next decade between the president and parliament. Presidents Kuchma and Yushchenko both argued they, as commanders-in-chief, should control all military units on Ukrainian territory. Yushchenko's presidential secretariat tabled legislation in 2008 to reestablish a National Guard based on MVS Internal Troops, but this was not supported by NUNS deputy Hrytsenko, head of parliament's committee on national security and defense. The main obstacle was distrust of the president and therefore an unwillingness to provide him with full control over a new National Guard.

In the 1990s the National Guard comprised 30,000 troops that grew to 50,000, but the number of personnel returned to 30,000 after Special Militarised Militia Units (SMVChM) was transferred back to the MVS because it was felt the National Guard should not have internal policing functions. The National Guard was created as an elite security force similar to airborne troops with responsibility for protecting embassies, government buildings, and the president (duplicating some of UDO's responsibilities). The National Guard's additional responsibilities included defending the republic's sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as supporting State Service of Ukraine for Emergency Situations[44] troops during natural disasters. The law on the National Guard described them as a "state military organ" based on MVS Internal Troops, Suvorov/Kutuzova 48th elite KGB Division (similar in its composition to the Felix Dzherzhinskiy elite division stationed near Moscow), and former military units. The National Guard's Academy in Kharkiv trained officers.

Italy's *Carabinieri* and Spain's *Guardia Civil* with 120,000 and 80,000 officers, respectively, were the European paramilitary formations that the National Guard sought to emulate. Nevertheless, the National Guard never reached the size of its Italian and Spanish counterparts and often duplicated responsibilities with other security forces. By the mid-1990s, the National Guard was composed of 30,000 personnel in seven divisions who were stationed in 14 out of 25 *oblast* centers. Two of the largest bases were in the potential separatist regions of Donetsk and the Crimea, which would have been strategically located if they had existed in 2014. Plans, never fulfilled, were outlined to establish National Guard divisions of 10,000 personnel divided into regiments and battalions of 2,500 and 500 personnel, respectively. Each Ukrainian region possessed its own *spetsnaz* units: White Panther (Kyiv district), Cobra (Southern Ukraine and Crimea), and Scorpion (Lviv and Western Ukraine). The National Guard possessed armored personnel carriers, helicopters, and artillery, and its seven divisions "are perhaps stronger than the entire Ukrainian army."[45] "The National Guard of Ukraine is the elite," Lieutenant-General and future Party of Regions deputy Oleksandr Kuzmuk said. He continued,

"[T]his is a highly organized, professionally prepared, united in ideals military structure which is always ready for self-sacrifice in the name of Ukrainian independence and its territorial integrity."[46] The National Guard, in a similar manner to the military and Border Troops, experienced underfunding, and a decade after it was formed, two-thirds of National Guard officers still possessed no housing.

In the 1990s, the National Guard played an important role in stabilizing the Crimea and defeating Russian separatism, which was nonviolent in comparison to the Donbas after the Euromaidan. In 1996, as separatism continued to remain a threat to Ukraine's territorial integrity, the Crimean National Guard received a brigade of Crimean marines and motor rifle battalion from the armed forces. Different National Guard units in the Crimea were reorganized that year into the seventh division consisting of troops, marines, and *spetsnaz* based in Simferopil, Sevastopol, Feodosiya, and Kerch. Crimean-based Cobra and Levanda *spetsnaz* units trained in mountain, airborne, and amphibious warfare. In 2000, Kuchma dissolved the National Guard, and the MVS and Border Troops retook control of the majority of its personnel and equipment.

Abuse by Internal Troops and *Berkut* riot police units (the latter dissolved) against Euromaidan protesters, massive Russian support for Donbas separatists, collapse or defection of police units in the region, and weakness of the Ukrainian armed forces led to the reestablishment of the National Guard in spring 2014. Staffed on a volunteer basis, including from Euromaidan self-defense units, they became an important fighting force sent against Donbas separatists.[47] Twenty-seven-year-old Antin Sokolov from Kharkiv joined the *Aydar* Battalion after taking part in the Euromaidan Revolution. "We were defeating the authorities there and here we are fighting to save Ukraine," he said.[48] In August 2014, Mykola Berezovyy, Euromaidan activist and husband of anticorruption crusader Tatyana Chornovol, died in action in Ilovaysk as a volunteer in the Azov battalion.

If Ukrainian presidents had been forthright enough to negotiate compromises with parliament, Ukraine would have continued to have a National Guard in the case of Kuchma or have revived it in the case of Yushchenko. Instead, Ukraine had to fight a Russian-backed proxy war with few security forces at its disposal and create volunteer battalions nearly from scratch for a new National Guard.

Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVS)

The MVS, a neo-Soviet, overmanned, and unreformed institution, comprises 330,000 personnel. Large size is important in a post-Soviet country such as Ukraine as it translates into resources and influence; quantity therefore trumps quality. Tarasyuk and Zvarych sought to reduce the size

of the MVS through Europeanizing reforms but were opposed by Lutsenko.[49] The MVS continues to control, as it did in the Soviet Union, passport and registration, fire, and rescue services. In Georgia, where police reforms have been extensive, a new department took over Soviet-era services such as the issuing of passports;[50] therefore, the contrasts between the still neo-Soviet Ukrainian *militsiya* and the Europeanized Georgian police are vast. In 2011, Russia changed the name of its *militsiya* to *politsiya*, a step that took place in Ukraine only after the Euromaidan. Poroshenko Bloc faction leader Lutsenko was critical of Interior Minister Avakov's postponement of reforms of the MVS until after the conflict with Russia came to an end and put forward his own proposals for the MVS to be transformed into a national police force.[51]

The reason for Ukraine not following Georgian police reforms, Lutsenko pointed out, was that the Ukrainian and Georgian presidents had very different working styles:

> In Georgia, the President personally met on a weekly basis with his team, government and parliament. They jointly planned reforms, executed them, prepared legislation and as a consequence these people felt fulfilled. I acted without the support of the President and without any possibility of changing legislation

Euromaidan self-defense forces on the steps of the Ukrainian parliament in Spring 2014 holding a placard reading "We Demand Lustration" and another placard above reading "We will not permit the Donetsk Scenario to take place in Odesa" next to an Odesa city yellow, white, and red flag. (Taras Kuzio)

Banner on the Euromaidan stage in spring 2014 calling for volunteers for the National Guard many of whose soldiers are former Euromaidan self-defense volunteers. (Taras Kuzio)

in parliament. In such a situation, it was impossible to *cut or reform* the police force. One could instead only watch over the police, providing it with one's own personal example.[52]

Lutsenko continued,

I did not sell titles or positions in the MVS, did not *grabitise* state and departmental villas, did not organise business ventures and steal other businesses. . . . I removed ninety percent of the old managers of the MVS who were tied to corruption schemes in Kyiv and in the regions. Throughout my four years (as Minister of Interior), I fired all those who did not abide by the law.[53]

Of the 330,000 *militsiya*, nearly 50,000 belong to the traditional criminal *militsiya* of the Soviet era, 90,000 are involved in public security, 50,000 belong to the State Protection Service (DOS), 12,000 belong to the investigative department, and 5,000 are instructors in MVS academies and research centers. Of the MVS leadership, only approximately 10 percent are women in a still male-dominated *militsiya* world. Ukraine's MVS includes a Central Headquarters and Investigative Branch and, together with the SBU, a second ineffective Department to Struggle against Organized Crime and Corruption. Other police departments include Criminal Investigation, Criminal Police, Narcotics, Expert-Criminal investigations, Ukrainian Bureau of Interpol, Transportation, the notoriously corrupt

Automobile Inspectorate (DAI), and from 2000 to 2014, Internal Troops who for a second time became a National Guard. In March 1996, the cabinet of ministers adopted a plan to reform the MVS between 1996 and 2001 that envisaged a reorganization of the ministry and increased efficiency of management to include a reduction in administrative personnel, greater combat readiness of MVS specialist units, and modernization of the staff structure. In reality, few reforms were undertaken until after the Orange Revolution and the Euromaidan.[54] Training of MVS personnel takes place in Ministry of Internal Affairs academies in Kyiv, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Luhansk, Lviv, and Odesa.

The MVS possess the worst reputation of any of Ukraine's security forces because of human rights abuses and mistreatment, and little has changed since the Soviet era in police culture. It therefore remains surprising why Ukrainian democratic political parties have largely ignored in their election programs and government policies demands for a reduction in human rights abuses and mistreatment, and torture in police custody and prisons.[55] Persons loyal to President Kuchma (Nina Karpachova) and the Party of Regions (Karpachova[56] and Valeriya Lutkovska) have headed Ukraine's moribund parliamentary ombudsman for human rights since 1998. As with the prosecutor-general's office, the Party of Regions adopted a strategic decision to control the parliamentary human rights office. Karpachova completed three terms in this position from 1998 to 2012, during which time her office was highly unproductive and submitted only four pieces of legislation: (1) law on the "Ukrainian Parliamentary Commissioner for Human Rights", (2) two judicial procedures on adoption (Orphan Children within the Marriage and Family Code and Adoption of Orphan Children within the Civil Procedure Code), and (3) addition of liability to the criminal code for trafficking in human beings. President Yushchenko, three Orange parliamentary coalitions, and governments never attempted to change Karpachova for a more forthright defender of human rights and supporter of democratic controls over the security forces. The U.S. Embassy in Ukraine reported that Karpachova received poor grades from Ukraine's human right's community complaining that she publicly defended the Fidel Castro authoritarian regime. In December 2005, the leaders of 18 Ukrainian human rights organizations called on her to resign because her decision to be a Party of Regions candidate undermined "the independence and impartiality" of the ombudsman's office.[57]

Interior Minister Lutsenko supported the humanization of the police force, and importantly, in the light of criticism by Amnesty International and other international human rights organizations, "For the first time we recognised the problem of torture in police custody and the first torturers were brought to justice." He continues, "I was open to the media, introduced a system in the MVS for monitoring the rights of detained people by human

rights activists who had full access to all, but secret, police units. Reception areas for citizens were held weekly in Kyiv and in the regions."[58]

Presidents have always understood the MVS (in the same manner as the SBU) to represent a component of state-administrative resources for them to draw upon to ensure election victories. In the 2004 elections, Minister of Interior Bilokin described his ministry as the "Armed Organ of the Authorities." Former interior minister Mohilyov, a member of Yanukovych's "The Family," was convinced the MVS should defend "the interests of the political force that is in power at the time."[59] Their understanding of the role of the MVS was at odds with the law "On the Militia" and Ukrainian constitution, which guarantees the independence of state structures from political forces.

These Soviet attitudes to the police changed only under Lutsenko, who claims credit for the police not infringing the right to free demonstrations, pickets, and protests. "No one was dispersed, persecuted, or had roads blocked," he recalled, and "there was no longer police pressure in election campaigns, the media, (business) sponsors of political parties and (civil society) activists."[60] In 2006–2010, the MVS did not intervene in the elections to prevent the Party of Regions from receiving first place plurality or Yanukovych elected the president.

Conditions in Ukraine's police custody and prisons have never been good and have not dramatically improved since 1991, and large numbers of Ukrainians continue to be victims of police mistreatment with torture remaining commonplace.[61] Investigations of police brutality became impossible following the closure of the oversight body of civilian and civil society representatives that had made progress in dealing with police brutality. In April 2010, Amnesty International called upon President Yanukovych and his government to ensure accountability for human rights abuses by bringing the country's laws and practices into line with international standards.[62] Ukraine and Belarus were the only countries in the EU's Eastern Partnership that have not implemented the independent national torture prevention mechanism (OPCAT Protocol), the Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture. Four other Eastern Partnership countries—Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, and even authoritarian Azerbaijan—had taken this step. Amnesty International outlined recommendations on how to protect Ukrainians from torture and other forms of ill-treatment in police custody. "The new authorities in Kyiv must not squander the progress in the protection of human rights that Ukraine has made over the last 20 years," said Nicola Duckworth, senior director at Amnesty International. "Statements in support of human rights are commendable. They must be backed up by deeds—by impartial and thorough investigations into all allegations of human rights violations, by bringing those responsible to account and by providing redress for the victims."

Amnesty International reported that torture and maltreatment in prisons persist in Ukraine, "fostered by a climate of impunity as police continue to rely on extracting confessions and fail to respect the presumption of innocence." Procedures for investigating allegations of torture and other ill-treatment fall short of European standards of impartiality and independence, and few prosecutors bring charges against police officers for torture. In 2010, the Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union received 172 complaints of torture and abuse, of which 90 pertained to torture and abuse committed by the police. In 2010, the European Court of Human Rights issued 11 rulings against Ukraine over torture, which had grown from nine in 2009 and only four in 2008. Police officers rely heavily on forced confessions and do not respect the right to presumption of innocence (as witnessed in the murder charge against Tymoshenko). Ukraine's courts rule only 0.2 percent of those arrested as innocent, or 80 out of 40,000 prisoners held in pre-detention cells.

In April 2010, the Council of Europe published a report that condemned the lack of investigation of cases of torture stating[63] "Few police officers are ever called to account for their unlawful behaviour; even fewer are ever convicted." The Council of Europe researched 6,000 complaints of torture of which the Ukrainian authorities only investigated 200 and in these cases, there was a clear bias in favor of the perpetrators. The burden of proof lies with the victim who must prove she or he was tortured, rather than relying on investigations into infringements of human rights by law enforcement officers. A 2012 Council of Europe report found that the police represent a serious human rights concern because of well-documented examples of torture by law enforcement personnel and arbitrary deprivation of liberty.[64]

Amnesty International did praise the adoption of a new Criminal Procedural Code in line with Council of Europe recommendations that came into force in November 2012 and the law "On Principles of Prevention and Combating Discrimination in Ukraine" adopted in February 2013. A National Preventive Mechanism was established in November 2012 under the Parliamentary Commissioner for Human Rights that provides for visits to places of detention and reporting evidence of abuses to ministers and the Prosecutor's Office. At the same time, Amnesty International continued to condemn the lack of police accountability and called for the speeding up of the formation of an effective State Investigative Bureau that is provided for under article 216 of the Criminal Procedural Code.[65] Close to 1 million people in Ukraine each year suffer from police mistreatment and torture, and "the police view such actions as well-established, usual, routine and in no way criminal."[66]

The prosecutor-general's office has an in-built conflict of interest inherited from the Soviet Union whereby it is tasked with investigating confessions obtained through torture while at the same time relying on these

same confessions as a key element in prosecutions. The prosecutor-general's office has therefore been disinterested in investigating allegations of torture and unwilling to access the veracity of confessions that it will be relying upon to secure convictions. Meanwhile, prosecutors do not see their investigative roles to be as important as their prosecutorial duties. These and other factors have led to stable low levels of public trust in the judicial system, police and prosecutor-general's office with 63–69 percent of Ukrainians not trusting these three institutions.[67] Public trust in the courts declined from 11 percent under Kuchma in 2002 to only three percent under Yanukovych in 2012. Ukrainians view the courts, police, SBU, and prosecutor's office as Ukraine's most corrupt state institutions.[68] A 2013 poll found only one percent of Ukrainians trusted the police, a statistic that amounted to no Ukrainians trusting them at all—and this was before police abuses and murder on the Euromaidan. Students in Kyiv said that the concept of innocent before proven guilty was superfluous because "[e]verything can be solved with your wallet."[69] With young people already early in their lives believing bribes could resolve a person's legal problems it is little wonder that legal nihilism is prevalent in Ukrainian society.

In October 2011, Amnesty International issued a new report revealing widespread cases of torture, extortion, and arbitrary detention and demanded the Ukrainian authorities act immediately to deal with endemic and growing police criminality[70] with the number of Ukrainians dying in prison growing. Up to 200,000 Ukrainians are held for long periods of confinement in pre-trial detention, of whom a high number die each year (808 in 2010 and over 1,000 in 2012). The number of prisoners who commit suicide is also high at 44 in 2010 and more than 100 in 2012. A student, Dmytro Yashchuk, died in prison in June 2010 a day after he was arrested and forced into confessing a crime he never committed. A court acquitted the police officers who were responsible for his death. Another student, Ihor Indylo died in police custody in May 2011. Two police officers were also acquitted of his murder with one receiving a five-year suspended sentence and another granted amnesty. Amnesty International reported that charging the two police officers with minor negligence "shows a shocking disregard for human life."[71]

Amnesty International,[72] Council of Europe, and EU concerns about prison conditions and police torture in Ukraine are supported by evidence found in a lengthy report titled "The Ukrainian Gulag."[73] The report quotes prisoners who describe their fear of repeated beatings by masked men using truncheons (usually prisoners who are *pakhans* and *stukachi* and work for the police guards) after which they are thrown into isolation cells. "In the prisons and colonies (camps) there are a high number of deaths. Prisoners work day and night, for which they receive five *hryvnya* each (50 cents)." "This is a slave labour force," the report quoted a prisoner

who described it as a hell where "[t]hey build, sow, paint and construct walls in endeavours that are part of the business activities of the prison guards." Family members receive prisoners who have died from injuries in sealed coffins and are given death certificates that falsely claim their family members passed away from "heart attacks." Many prisoners undertake gruesome self-injuries to themselves in order not to be transported to notorious prisons such as these, from which they believe they will only leave in sealed coffins.

MVS Internal Troops in the USSR possessed a negative public image and although they had come into existence in 1966, they were descendent from NKVD troops, which had fought against Ukrainian and Baltic nationalist partisans during the 1940s, committed numerous atrocities, and deported Western Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians to Siberia. MVS Internal Troops guarded the Soviet gulag where nationalists, dissidents, and criminals were imprisoned. MVS Internal Troops were an anomaly in independent Ukraine because a state purporting to be democratic should not possess a structure entitled "Internal Troops" whose main area of responsibility lies in suppressing its own population.

In autumn 1991, most Soviet Internal Troops in Ukraine became the new National Guard that existed until 2000 (see previous section) while remaining MVS Internal Troops continued to be used for traditional duties of guarding prisons and strategically important objectives, such as nuclear power stations. In April 1986, 18,000 Soviet Ministry of Interior Internal Troops had taken part in the operation to quell the fallout from the Chornobyl nuclear accident. MVS Internal Troops that guard nuclear power stations include *spetsnaz* units that can be quickly mobilized to react to crises such as that which took place in Chornobyl.

In October 1995, reform of the March 1992 Law on "Internal Troops and Convoy Protection" removed "Convoy Protection" from its title and responsibility for guarding prisoners and places of confinement. In February 1997, the government adopted a reform concept for MVS Internal Troops that reduced them in size from 52,000 to 30,000 but plans failed to materialize to transfer MVS Internal Troops who guarded prisons to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice, where they would become prison officers commonly found in Western democracies. The transfer would have required changes in legislation and more importantly an end to the use of conscripts, thereby increasing the professionalism of prison officers. The 1995 reforms aimed to make MVS Internal Troops leaner, more mobile, and better equipped.

In 1991, the newly formed National Guard took over MVS Internal Troops SMChM used previously to quell internal public disorder who are special forces units designed to act in cooperation with *Berkut* riot police. *Berkut* in turn succeeded the *ZMOP (OMON)* riot police launched in 1988 by Soviet leader Gorbachev to deal in a nonlethal manner with

the rising tide of civil unrest. Riot police were to be different to MVS Internal Troops who traditionally used live rounds against protestors, as in the June 1962 Novocherkassk massacre of protesting and striking workers and repeated on the Euromaidan.[74] *Berkut* were initially only based in Kyiv, Odesa, Donetsk, and Lviv, but during the 1990s, their units spread to each *oblast* center. *Berkut* was extensively used by the Yanukovych regime to intimidate protestors and prevent Ukrainians from exercising their constitutional right to protest. The violent dispersal of the *Maydan* during the night of November 30, 2013,[75] and violence inflicted by the *Berkut* throughout the Euromaidan led to its dissolution on February 25, 2014 after the opposition had come to power.

A July 1994 presidential decree called during a period of massive asset stripping of the state "for improvement of methods in order to increase the struggle against crime." SMChM were to be utilized in the fight against organized crime and to assist other *militsiya* units such as *Berkut* in the maintenance of public order. Aircraft and helicopters were provided to improve mobility of SMChM; they received special dog- (transferred from convoy duties) and horse-mounted units. MVS Internal Troops had AN-72s and AN-74 aircraft and helicopters permitting the mobilization of SMChM units to any Ukrainian region within one hour. SMChM units constituted the operational reserve of *oblast militsiya* leaders and are mobilized in the event of civil emergencies or if *Berkut* are unable to cope with civil unrest (as during the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan). Subduing unarmed protesters is though a far easier task than battling terrorists and insurgents who are well armed and this required the establishment of a National Guard.

In March 1994, MVS Internal Troops began creating *spetsnaz* (recognised by their red beret) units with responsibility for different regions of Ukraine. The unit that covers Central Ukraine was based in Kyiv and called *Bars* and used in the November 2004 failed attempt to crush the Orange Revolution. The *Bars* facility became a major training ground and staging point for the National Guard heading to Donetsk. The *Bars spetsnaz* unit included four military and one instructor-methodological company and instructors in armed intervention, fire, radio technical, under-water, tactical-specialist, and medical specialties. A *Bars* department for transportation and supplies included responsibility for aviation, automobile transportation, foodstuffs, and technical supplies. *Bars* were equipped to high standards with armored personnel carriers, aviation, water transportation, automobiles, various types of modern weaponry and specialist technology. The *Jaguar* unit designated for Eastern Ukraine had a base in Zaporizhzhya (which was used successfully to remove separatists who had taken control of the Kharkiv State Administration building in April 2014) and the *Hepard* unit covered Western Ukraine from its base in Vinnytsya. All three units jointly cover Southern Ukraine and the

Crimea and from 1996-2014, there were two SMVChM bases in the Crimea. During the Orange Revolution, fully armed MVS Internal Troops *spetsnaz* from the Crimea standing behind unarmed *Berkut* riot police successfully prevented protestors from taking control of the presidential administration. Their Crimean Russian-language accents led to misplaced rumors they were from Russia.[76] *Berkut* on the Euromaidan were primarily drawn from Eastern and Southern Ukraine and Crimea, and their traumatic experiences coupled with being disbanded by the revolutionary authorities made many of them passive or separatist supporters.

Personnel in these three *spetsnaz* units signed a contract to serve for five years and possess former combat experience in elite military units. Personnel are attracted to MVS Internal Troops *spetsnaz* units by higher than average pay, contracts, and high quality equipment. In the same manner as in other authoritarian regimes, MVS Internal Troops were allocated salary increases, apartments, good contracts, and equipment in a policy of supporting internal security forces. As with many specialist security forces in Ukraine, the responsibilities of MVS Internal Troops overlapped to a considerable degree with the SBU's *Alpha* force, UDO, *Berkut* and other security forces. During Yanukovych's presidency the *Berkut* were developed as the regime's praetorian guard and together with SBU *Alpha* were issued weapons during the Euromaidan.

Sokil and *Titan* units are two additional *spetsnaz* units in the MVS. *Sokil* units belong to regional branches of the MVS Main Directorate on Struggle against Organised Crime and Corruption (in which Yarema had worked) and in contrast to *Berkut* are more specialized. In the late Kuchma era, details emerged of *Sokil*'s involvement in organized crime and murder, including accusations they were involved in the Gongadze scandal.[77] In one of the tapes recordings illicitly made by Melnychenko in Kuchma's office, MVS Minister Kravchenko is heard telling Kuchma in June 2000, "I have such a unit, their methods; they have no morals, no nothing. So, God forbid that something happens."[78] He describes the group as *Orly* (Eagles), but here it refers to the Russian word for brave and skilled soldiers. *"Kravchenko's Orly"* became a symbol of the degradation of the MVS and especially its *spetsnaz* forces during 1990s. MVS officer Andriy Kozar is the chief suspect in the disappearance and presumed murder of journalist Klymentyev, who went missing in August 2010 after leaving his Kharkiv home.

Ukraine's security forces are bloated and inefficient because their responsibilities overlap and conflict was especially prevalent when the 2006–2010 parliamentary system divided control over these structures between the president and parliament. Ukraine's security forces have confronted two revolutions (Orange and Euromaidan), the dissolution of parliament in 2007, and violent counterrevolution in the Donbas. The

military, starved of funds until 2014, refused to become involved in assisting suppressing both revolutions. Limited and weak reforms of the non-military security forces were symptomatic of a similar state of affairs throughout the political and economic system that this author described as leading to Ukraine becoming an "immobile state." Reform of the bloated, incompetent, and corrupt SBU, Prosecutor-General's Office, MVS, and Border Troops should be a priority of the new Euromaidan regime.

EPILOGUE

History Is Not Destiny

Whatever the outcome, it's already quite clear that the good old Ukraine we have lived in for twenty-three years since she gained independence will no longer exist. What kind of Ukraine will replace this quiet, peaceful version, no one knows.

Andrey Kurkov[1]

This book begins with the Cold War between the West and the USSR in the early 1950s and ending with a *de facto* new Cold War between the West and Russia in the second decade of the twenty-first century. During the period covered by the book, the years 1953 (Stalin's death opening up liberalization and a new historic cycle in Ukraine), 1972 (*pohrom* of Ukrainian dissent and culture), 1991 (disintegration of the USSR and independence of Ukraine), and 2014 (Euromaidan and Russia's new imperialism) have become four key turning points in the country's history that have produced rapid changes in its trajectory and national identity. The disintegration of the USSR has been a process over the last quarter of a century, not an event, and is reaching its apogee in Eastern and Southern Ukraine through reconstruction of its inhabitant's national identity and de-Sovietization. Ukraine is fighting the war of independence that it never faced when the USSR peacefully disintegrated. The year 2014 should be remembered as the year that demolished the myth of "age-old Ukrainian-Russian friendship" touted for centuries by Tsars and Commissars alike. If the Crimea was transferred to Ukraine in 1954 as a sign of "Ukrainian–Russian friendship," then its annexation by Russia 60 years later buried that "friendship" and the author of this cataclysmic change in relations was none other than Putin's new Russian imperialism. Lenin monuments have been pulled down by pro-Ukrainian patriots and defended by Russian and Soviet nationalists. Putin's actions had similar unintended consequences of promoting Ukrainian patriotism as those undertaken by the Soviet henchman Stalin he so admires who united Ukrainian territories during World War II.

Russia's annexation of the Crimea and new imperialism inevitably impacted on amorphous Ukrainian–Russian identities in Eastern and Southern Ukraine as Ukrainians come under pressure to choose between Ukrainian and Russian (and Soviet) identities. A Donetsk-based journalist said "The Russian part of me died on March 1 when I saw the Russian senate allowed Putin to send troops into Ukraine. It was the biggest shock of my life."[2] Zhurzhenko believes "the era of post-Soviet ambiguity and tolerance of blurred identities and multiple loyalties has ended" and the East "no longer exists' because identities can rapidly change" under conditions of territorial secession, external aggression, and military conflict.[3]

(Here and facing page) Dismantling of the largest Lenin monument in Ukraine left standing in Kharkiv in September 2014 that symbolized the victory of Ukrainian (largely Russian speaking) patriots in this key Eastern Ukrainian city lying only 40 kilometers to the Russian border. The city had been a key battleground between pro-Russian and pro-Ukrainian forces in the spring of that year. (UNIAN. See video of the toppling of giant Lenin monument in Kharkiv at http:/ www.rferl.org/content/ukraine-vote-takeaways-things-we-learned/26659694.htm)

Patriotism among Russian-speaking Ukrainians in Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Odesa, Zaporozhzhya, and other Russian-speaking regions of Eastern and Southern Ukraine has increased support for a territorial, civic-inclusive Ukrainian identity. "My kid brother and all his friends used to speak Russian. It was just normal for them. They watched Russian movies, they read Russian magazines, and the language of their pop-culture just seeped into their daily interaction," a Euromaidan activist said, and "it used to be cool to speak Russian. Now it's cool to speak Ukrainian."[4] The Euromaidan was more pan-national than the Orange Revolution with a fifth of those attending rallies and among permanent protesters coming from Eastern and Southern Ukraine.[5] The implosion of pro-Russian political forces, and Kyiv's loss of control over the Crimea and one third of the Donbas have led to the election of a pro-European president and parliament and surge in support for NATO and EU membership.

European integration has been made more difficult because of Russia's military invasion while at the same time made easier by the fact that pro-Russian political forces, for so long dominating Ukraine's political life, having been discredited by Yanukovych's violent kleptocracy and Russia's dismemberment of Ukraine. For integration into Europe to be successful, Ukraine's ruling elites have to move from "partial reform equilibrium" toward undertaking Ukraine's quadruple transition to an integrated national state, consolidated democracy, and market economy. For this to be in turn successful will require, Anne Applebaum believes,

not less—but more—civic nationalism (i.e., patriotism) where elites would pursue Ukraine's national interests rather than their traditional goal of rent seeking.[6]

The preceding century of Ukrainian history should be viewed as one of recurring historic cycles, three of which have combined political and economic liberalization and ethnic Ukrainian (Europeanist) national identity policies while another three have included political repression, the curtailment of economic liberalization, and Russophile (Eurasianist) nationality policies. In 2014, Ukraine entered a seventh historic cycle that looked set to become irreversible until the onset of violent separatist revolt and Russia's annexation of the Crimea and invasion of Eastern Ukraine. Independent Ukraine's most successful period of national unity was in the 1990s when President Kuchma integrated a mix of eclectic policies that satisfied Ukraine's mutually exclusive *and* multiple identities. In other words, Kuchma adopted the flexible nation-building strategies that have become commonplace in Western national states after they had moved from the assimilationist melting pot dominant until the 1960s. Ukraine became more divided, and therefore more immobile, when Presidents Yushchenko and Yanukovych pursued policies supporting mutually exclusive and multiple identities, respectively, in the latter case leading to police repression and separatist violence. Ukraine has three policy options to deal with the Donbas conflict: first, agree to Russia's plans for Donbas "statehood" by recognizing the DNR and LNR within a federalized Ukraine that give Moscow a veto over Ukrainian policies; second, follow the example of Croatia in 1991–1995 by retraining the security forces and purchasing and receiving new weaponry with the goal of forcibly retaking the separatist enclaves; or third, cauterization—leaving the areas in the Donbas controlled by separatists outside Ukraine either in the form of a frozen conflict or agreeing to them joining Russia with the cease-fire line becoming Ukraine's new permanent border. There are pitfalls with each of the three options and military and political strategies should include extensive reform of Ukraine's (still largely Soviet) territorial administrative system through de-centralization. Federalism has always been and remains unpopular throughout Ukraine, even in the Donbas,[7] and in summer 2014, a high of 76 percent backed a unitary state and only 11.2 federalism. Kyiv will therefore not agree to support federalization of the country or a new territorial arrangement using the term "autonomy" for the Donbas.[8] Reaching compromise after violence has taken place is though very difficult to accomplish, as witnessed in numerous conflicts around the world.

The Donbas had not wanted to be part of Ukraine during the 1917 Russian revolution and a century later a sizeable proportion of its population continues to hold Soviet and multiple identities, on the eve of the Euromaidan only a third of its population supported Ukrainian

independence and many more were angry at the Euromaidan and regime change. Donetsk regional elites never ruled Soviet Ukraine but in independent Ukraine the region produced Ukraine's only political machine and its clan captured and pillaged the state, an important factor behind the Euromaidan that is studiously ignored by separatists. Yanukovych's plan to stay in power indefinitely was visible in his penchant for fabulous riches and luxurious palaces.

The election of pro-European president and parliament provides Ukraine with the opportunity to pursue radical reforms and fight high-level corruption; although the Orange Revolution cautions us that this is not inevitable. But, historically, change has never come easily because societies are traditionally conservative and resistant to reform, which is why Fukuyama found "violence has been so central to the process of political development."[9] Fukuyama writes that societies stuck in "dysfunctional institutional equilibrium, in which existing stakeholders can veto necessary institutional change sometimes violence or the threat of violence is necessary to break out of the equilibrium."[10] Ukraine entered such a juncture in 2013–2014 when it sought to leave the crossroads. Fukuyama therefore believes "violence is the only way to displace entrenched stakeholders who are blocking institutional change."[11] Acemoglu and Robinson describe how the fight against apartheid in the U.S. South required the use of federal troops in the 1960s, and they point to how "British democracy was not given by the elite. It was largely taken by the masses."[12] The Donbas conflict is not a civil war over ethnic, linguistic, and religious lines but a civilization battle between Ukrainians and Russians who cling to a Russian and Soviet past and those who aspire to live in a European future. The Donetsk regional history museum curator believes "this is a war between those who remember the Soviet past with nostalgia and pride—and who wish the empire still stood—and those who can no longer bear its lingering influence."[13]

Tsarist and Soviet colonial legacies in Ukraine have been more influential than many policymakers and scholars initially believed, and two factors are central to discussing why this has been the case. The first is the influence of Soviet political culture. The ideological and moral vacuum inherited from the USSR was filled by cynicism, disrespect for fellow members of one's community, weak social responsibility, deceitfulness, and chameleon and corrupt political and business elites. Ukrainian political, economic, and cultural elites have yet to overcome their provincialism by integrating into European and Western intellectual milieus' and without doing so will continue to find it challenging to propose new ideas, programs, and vision for the country.

Countries can remain mired in partial reform equilibriums for decades, and hybrid and competitive authoritarian regimes are therefore the norm in the world. Ukraine's ideological vacuum and resultant virtual polity

was particularly commonplace in areas such as the lack of rule of law and policies to fight corruption that undermined its declared goal of European integration. It still remains unclear if Ukraine's pro-European leaders possess the political will to fight high-level abuse of office.Soviet *and* post-Soviet constitutions granted virtual democratic rights to its subjects while the Brezhnev *and* Putin doctrines have used military force to prevent the withdrawal of countries from Soviet and Russian spheres of influence. Ukraine's ruling elites held short-term horizons that were neatly captured by former Yanukovych Chief of Staff and Opposition Bloc deputy Serhiy Lyovochkin's belief: if they (i.e., themselves) did not steal, then someone else will, so why bother to fix the problem.[14] His cynicism was compounded by European states facilitating corruption through their provision of offshore tax havens and poor due diligence of Ukrainian and Eurasian capital outflows with huge amounts of financial assets ending up in London, United Kingdom, the "tax dodge capital of the world."[15] A large shadow economy and low payment of taxes became two stable features of Ukrainian life that needs to be finally tackled. The energy sector has been the biggest source of corruption strengthening Ukraine's ties to Russia (as analyzed in Chapter 10), limiting its ability to conduct an independent foreign policy, reducing its attractiveness to foreign investors, and producing disincentives to seeking energy independence. The gas lobby's continued influence after the Euromaidan is evident in its support for the election of two political forces to the Ukrainian parliament.

The second factor is how Ukraine became an immobile state. Ukrainian elites never missed an opportunity as a Washington, DC, policy maker famously quipped and rarely listened to advice and implemented Western policy recommendations. The Ukrainian state muddled along without undertaking fundamental, structural reforms (including in law enforcement) and in the process frustrated Ukrainian citizens, international financial institutions, and Western governments who seek reforms to tackle issues that are long overdue. In 1990, Soviet Ukraine and Poland had comparable GDP per capita, and a quarter of a century later Poland is three times as big. Decisions and policies by Ukrainian elites favoring rent seeking over economic growth and reforms had serious ramifications and consequences for the country, citizens, and national security.

History is not destiny and countries can change if inclusive institutions gradually replace extractive ones. "Countries are not trapped by their pasts. But in many cases, things that happened hundreds or even thousands of years ago continue to exert major influences on the nature of politics," Fukuyama warns, "But what are they in the present is also shaped by what they were in the past and there is not one single path that links one to the other."[16] Change is "neither automatic nor easy" because countries need a confluence of factors, such as broad coalitions pushing

for reform that Ukraine has lacked since the Kuchmagate crisis but maybe rebuilt by the election of a pro-European president and parliament, political will, and institutional backing for change; nevertheless, without a cross-national coalition of patriotic reformers promoting Europeanist policies, Ukraine will continue to remain an immobile state. Business and politics need to be separated with Ukraine's oligarchs becoming law-bidding and tax-paying entrepreneurs. Winters writes, "The nation's oligarchs and its elites must be overpowered and tamed by impersonal institutions of law and governance that are stronger than the most empowered individual in the system."[17]

Acemoglu and Robinson point out, "some luck is key, because history always unfolds in a contingent way."[18] But, change is never impossible and Ukraine has a second chance after the Euromaidan and two elections in 2014. Latin American, Southern, and Eastern European authoritarian states became democracies in the third and fourth waves of democratization. Britain escaped in the 1980s under Prime Minister Thatcher from being the post–World War II "sick man of Europe" and in the 1990s Prime Minister Tony Blair revitalized the moribund British Labour Party. Following the Rose Revolution, Georgia succeeded in bringing radical changes to a country that had become a failed state. Ireland, Southern, and Eastern Europe showcase the strategic importance of external institutions (e.g., the EU) in overcoming colonial and authoritarian legacies and providing support for modernization and European integration. The alternative, integration into Putin's Eurasian Union, now unpopular, would consolidate a kleptocracy typically found in Russia's sphere of influence.

Ultimately, countries are not condemned to repeat their historic cycles and Ukraine's seventh cycle could be its last. But, for that to be the case requires domestic political will for reforms and fighting corruption that would facilitate European integration. It also requires robust Western support for a country that was the first to experience Russia's new, but very much old-fashioned, imperialism.

Notes

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7. W. J. Risch, *The Ukrainian West*, 140.

8. J. A. Armstrong, *The Soviet Bureaucratic Elite*, 122.

9. Ivan Banakh and Alik Olisevych, eds., *Khippi u Lvovi*, 2 vols. (Lviv: Triada Plus, 2011–2012); and A. Olisevych, *Revolutsiya Kvitiv* (Lviv: Triada Plyus, 2013).

10. A. Olisevych (interview, Lviv, November 2, 2013) calculated that 70 percent of the parents of those involved in Lviv's hippie and alternative cultural scene were from Central and Eastern Ukraine with the remainder from Russia.

11. Anna Wylegala "Odessa and Lvov or Odesa and Lviv: How Important Is a Letter? Reflections on the 'Other' in Two Ukrainian Cities," *Nationalities Papers* 36, no. 5 (November 2008): 799.

12. Serhiy Zhuk, "Détente of the 1970s and 'Pop-Cultural Revolutions in the Soviet Provincial Society: The Diaries and Construction of the Soviet Self," paper presented to the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies convention, Boston, November 22, 2013, 15.

13. Ibid., 22.

14. W. J. Risch, "Soviet 'Flower Children': Hippie and the Youth Counter-Culture in 1970s L'viv," *Journal of Contemporary History* 40, no. 3 (July 2005): 579–583.

15. Communication from W. J. Risch, November 12, 2013.

16. It took Olisevych a long time to find employment until in 1984 he was accepted by Lviv's Opera House where he works to this day.

17. S. Zhuk, "Religion, 'Westernization,' and Youth in the 'Closed City' of Soviet Ukraine, 1964–84," *Russian Review* 67, no. 4 (October 2008): 661–679.

18. The 1972 Deep Purple hit "Smoke on the Water" seems to be a particular favorite, as the author witnessed in Lviv in November 2013.

19. In October 2005, Death Valley Screamers heavy rock band lead singer Sean Carr, from the author's home region of West Yorkshire in England, married Yevheniya Tymoshenko. They separated in August 2011.

20. "Ukraine: Ambassador's Interfaith Dialogue Lunch," U.S. Embassy, Kyiv, March 17, 2006, https://www.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/06KIEV1061_a.html.

21. A. Olisevych, interview, Lviv, November 2, 2013.

22. The UPC was established by the London-based and Prolog-funded Ukrainian Press Agency in 1986 as an alternative to the Soviet-controlled World Peace Council (WPC) and published the monthly *UPC News* newspaper. Its first action was to disrupt the Copenhagen congress of the WPC in October 1986—the first occasion the WPC had held such an event in a NATO member country. The UPC campaigned against nuclear power stations in Soviet Ukraine, following the 1986 Chornobyl accident, and for a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. See report dated October 20, 1986, written by Roman Kupchinsky for the CIA titled "The World Peace Congress, Copenhagen, Oct. 1986," at http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/1705143/QRPLUMB%20%20%20VOL.%201_0006.pdf.

23. A. Olisevych (interview, Lviv, November 2, 2013) recalled how the KGB in three cars followed British UPC members and their group.

24. See Taras Kuzio, "The Polish Opposition and the Ukrainian Question," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 12, no. 2 (Winter 1987): 26–58.

25. T. Kuzio, *Ukraine: Perestroika to Independence*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 2000), 150–151.

26. S. I. Zhuk, *Rock and Roll in the Rocket City: The West, Identity, and Ideology in Soviet Dniepropetrovsk, 1960–1985* (Washington and Baltimore: Woodrow Wilson International Center and Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 47.

27. Soviet Ukraine had 11 closed cities, including Dnipropetrovsk, Pripyat (Chornobyl), and Sevastopol.

28. Leonid Kravchuk was employed in this field. See L. M. Kravchuk (head of the Editorial Board) et al., eds., *Ideologicheskaia rabota: Opyt, Problemyi* (Kyiv: Politycheskoy Literatury Ukrainy, 1982). Shcherbytskyy introduces the book (pp. 5–28), and Kravchuk's chapter (pp. 123–143) is titled "Serdtsevyna ideologicheskoy politiko-vospytatelnoy raboti."

29. H. Kasyanov, *Nezhodni ukrayinska inteligentsiya v rusi oporu 1960-80-x rokiv*, 88.

30. Masha Lipman, "Stalin Lives," *Foreign Policy*, March 2013, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/03/01/stalin_lives.

31. Roman Szporluk, "Valentyn Moroz: His Political Ideas in Historical Perspective," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 18, no. 1 (March 1976): 82.

32. "Janissaries" is a term from Ottoman Turkish meaning the "new soldiers" who comprised infantry units that formed the Ottoman Sultan's household troops and bodyguards. They were created with Christian boys taken from countries conquered by the Ottoman Empire.

33. Borys Lewytzkyj, *Politics and Society in Soviet Ukraine, 1953–1980* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies, 1984), 166.

34. Władysław A. Serczyk, *Historia Ukrainy* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1979).

35. *The Chornovil Papers* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968) and *Lykho z rozumu* (Paris: Persha Ukrayinska Drukarnya u Frantsii, 1968 and Lviv: Memorial, 1991). The first edition to be published in Ukraine took place when Vyacheslav Chornovil was head of the Lviv *oblast* council.

36. The 7–8 double issue of *Ukrayinskyy Visnyk* was published and edited by nationalist Stepan Khmara and far more radical than issues 1–6 edited by Vyacheslav Chornovil who when he revived it in 1987 began numbering at 7 where he had ended before his arrest. See Olena Saciuk and Bohdan Yasen, eds., *The Ukrainian Herald. Issue 7–8. Ethnocide of Ukrainians in the U.S.S.R. An Underground Journal from Ukraine* (Baltimore–Paris–Toronto: Smoloskyp Publishers, 1976).

37. Jaroslav Bilocerkowycz, *Soviet Ukrainian Dissent: A Study of Political Alienation* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press 1988), 146.

38. Petro Y. Shelest, *Ukrayino nasha Radyianska* (Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo Politychnoii Literatury Ukrayiny, 1970).

39. B. Lewytzkyj, *Politics and Society in Soviet Ukraine*, 111.

40. S. I. Zhuk, *Rock and Roll in the Rocket City*, 53–64.

41. Available at http://www.utoronto.ca/elul/English/Honchar/Honchar-cathedral.pdf.

42. Yaroslav Bilinsky, "Shcherbytskyi, Ukraine and Kremlin Politics," *Problems of Communism* 32, no. 4 (July–August 1983): 7.

43. O. Saciuk and B. Yasen, *The Ukrainian Herald. Issue 7–8*, 127.

44. Ibid., 128–129.

45. Ludmilla Alexeyeva, *Soviet Dissent: Contemporary Movements for National, Religious, and Human Rights* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1985), 46 and 53.

46. O. Saciuk and B. Yasen, *The Ukrainian Herald. Issue 7–8*, 127.

47. Y. Shapoval, "Petro Shelest: 100th Anniversary of the Birth of One of Ukraine's Most Spectacular Political Figures," *The Day*, February 19, 2008, http://www.day.kiev.ua/en/article/culture/petro-shelest.

48. P. R. Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine, the Land and its People, Second Reading* (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 704.

49. J. A. Armstrong, *The Soviet Bureaucratic Elite*, 16–18 and 111.

50. R. Szporluk, "National Awakening: Ukraine and Belarus," in *The Soviet Empire: The Challenge of National and Democratic Movements*, ed. Uri Ra'anan (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1990), 75–76.

51. On the removal of Shelest, see *Za Shcho Usunuly Shelsta?* (Munich: Suchasnist, 1973), and Y. Shapoval, ed., *Petro Shelest. Spravzniy sud istorii shche poperedu. Spohady, Shchodenyky, Dokumenty, Materialy* (Kyiv: Heneza, 2003). Shelest's own account is given in P. E. Shelest, *Da ne sudymyi budete. Dnevnykovyie zapysy, vospominaniya chlena Politbiuro TSK KPSS* (Moscow: edition q, 1995).

52. P. R. Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, 713.

53. Bohdan Nahaylo, "Ukrainian Dissent and Opposition after Shelest," in *Ukraine after Shelest*, ed. Bohdan Krawchenko (Edmonton: Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies, 1983), 30.

54. Vakhtang Kipiyani and Volodymyr Fedoryn, interview with L. Kravchuk, *Istorychna Pravda*, September 10, 2011, http://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/4e5da5adf2f0e/.

55. In 2001, when this author immigrated to Canada, Ukrainian Ambassador to Canada Yuriy Shcherbak warned Honorary Consul in Toronto Vasyl Baziv to stay clear of this author because of his politics. Although loyal to Kuchma, Shcherbak went into opposition to Yanukovych after he came to power.

56. J. A. Armstrong, *The Soviet Bureaucratic Elite*, 142.

57. http://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2013/08/23/135031/.

58. The Romanian national minority never had good relations with national democratic forces in the region, and during Yushchenko's presidency, they aligned with the Party of Regions.

59. Timothy Garton Ash and T. Snyder, "The Orange Revolution," *New York Review of Books*, April 28, 2005, 29, http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2005/apr/28/the-orange-revolution/.

60. The liberal use of alcohol was discussed by many of those present, including Kravchuk during his 1996 visit to the University of Birmingham where this author was writing his PhD. See Chapter One, "The Demise of the Soviet Union and the Emergence of Independent Ukraine," in P. D'Anieri, Robert Krawchuk, and T. Kuzio, *Politics and Society in Ukraine*, Westview Series on the Post-Soviet Republics (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), 10–44.

CHAPTER 2

1. T. Snyder, *Bloodlands*, XIX.

2. Steven L. Solnick, *Stealing the State: Control and Collapse in Soviet Institutions* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 219.

3. Ibid., 232. See also Francis Fukuyama, *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution* (New York: Farras, Straus and Giroux, 2011), 270; and D. Satter, *It Was a Long Time Ago and It Never Happened Anyway*, 110.

4. Anders Aslund, *How Ukraine Became a Market Economy and Democracy* (Washington DC: Petersen Institute of International Economics, March 2009), 80–81.

5. Edward Hugh, "Staring Into the Ukrainian Economic and Political Abyss," *EconoMonitor*, February 26, 2012, http://www.creditwritedowns.com/2012/02/staring-into-the-ukrainian-economic-and-political-abyss.html.

6. Information on the range of bribes can be found in Volodymyr Tsvil, *U Tsentri Kasetnoho Skandalu* (Munich-Kyiv: n.p., 2004 and 2007), 113, 166, and 169.

7. Tetyana Nikolayenko, "Shche odyn 'tsinnyy' svidok Kuzmina pid spravoyu," *Ukrayinska Pravda*, June 4, 2013, http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2013/06/4/6991417/.

8. This next section draws on Jaroslaw Koshiw, "President Kuchma's 'Inner Cabinet' for Authoritarian Rule in the Year 2000: Evidence from the Melnychenko Tapes," Third Annual Danyliw Research Seminar in Contemporary Ukrainian Studies, Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Ottawa, October 12–14, 2007, http://www.ukrainianstudies.uottawa.ca/news/danyliw_conf07.html.

9. See the conversation of Kravchenko introducing Pukach to Volodymyr Lytvyn reproduced in J. V. Koshiw, *Abuse of Power, Corruption in the Office of the President* (Reading: Artemia Press, 2013), 155.

10. "Ukraine Gongadze Case and Election Politics," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, February 2, 2006, http://www.wikileaks.org/cable/2006/02/06KIEV461.html.

11. Melnychenko said Kuchma had no personal motive to murder Gongadze in "The Ideologue of This Operation Was—I Say Officially—Lytvyn," *Ukrayinska Pravda*, September 15, 2010, http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2010/09/15/5384990/. V. Tsvil agrees that it was Lytvyn who suggested to Kuchma to use Kravchenko to deal with Gongadze. Besides these three conspirators, V. Tsvil also includes Leonid Derkach (*U Tsentri Kasetnoho Skandalu*, 35).

12. Yevhen Marchuk, *Pyat rokiv ukrayinskoyi trahediyi* (Kyiv: n.p., 1999), drew on the Melnychenko tapes, especially parts 1 and 2 in the third section (pp. 126–146). In February 1998, Marchuk predicted a "Ukrainian Watergate" would remove Kuchma from power (V. Tsvil, *U Tsentri Kasetnoho Skandalu*, 130). Marchuk denied his involvement in "Pravda, yaku ne vdastsya prykhovaty," *Den*, April 22, 2011, http://www.day.kiev.ua/uk/article/nota-bene/pravda-yaku-ne-vdastsya-prihovati.

13. The 1999 elections were an important year for my father (Joseph Kuzio) who I accompanied to the Ukrainian embassy in London where he voted for the first time in his life. My father had arrived in Britain as a displaced person in 1947 but had never taken British citizenship and half a century later, following a change in Ukraine's citizenship legislation, he became a Ukrainian citizen. Like many Ukrainian nationalists, he was drawn to former KGB officer Marchuk and found it hard to vote for Kuchma in the second round. The nationalist vote for a former KGB general is one of the many ironies of Ukrainian politics.

14. V. Tsvil, *U Tsentri Kasetnoho Skandalu*, 89–91.

15. Ibid., 130.

16. See my "Ukraine: An Insider Report," *Jane's Intelligence Digest*, September 13, 18, and 27, 2002.

17. V. Tsvil, *U Tsentri Kasetnoho Skandalu*, 83–85.

18. Tymoshenko paid $160,000 for copies of the original documents showing that Hanna Herman had signed up to work with the KGB in the 1980s when she was the wife of a Soviet Ukrainian diplomat where her task was to inform on other

diplomat's spouses. Information supplied by journalist Askold Krushelnycky, Washington, DC, August 14, 2013.

19. In November 2007, the BBC Ukrainian service stopped publishing the author's blogs following protests from the presidential secretariat about his "uncompromising personal criticism of Ukrainian politicians." For a biography of Roman Kupchinsky, see "Say Not the Struggle Naught Availeth. Roman Kupchinsky, a Scourge of Communists and Post-Communist Kleptocrats Alike," *Economist*, January 28, 2010, http://www.economist.com/node/15387379.

20. V. Yushchenko's speech to PACE, January 25, 2005, http://www.coe.int/T/E/Com/Files/PA-Sessions/janv-2005/Yushchenko%20.pdf.

21. Video footage and photographs of Pukach being criminally charged in court, http://www.pravda.com.ua/photo-video/2013/01/29/6982455/.

22. Memoirs of the Ukraine without Kuchma movement, http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2006/03/9/3074768/ and http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2006/03/10/3075051/, while video footage of the violence on March 9, 2001, can be watched at http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=trVhbcyLY3o#!.

23. Tammy Lynch, "Building a Revolution: Elite Choice and Opposition Tactics in Pre-Orange Ukraine," in *Orange Revolution and Aftermath: Mobilization, Apathy, and the State in Ukraine*, ed. P. D'Anieri (Washington and Baltimore: Woodrow Wilson International Center Press and Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 47–75.

24. V. Tsvil, *U Tsentri Kasetnoho Skandalu*, 37.

25. Kost Bondarenko, interview, director of the Gorshenin Kyiv Institute of Management, Kyiv, May 19, 2009. Bondarenko is the author of the major biography *Leonid Kuchma: portret na foni epokhy* (Kharkiv: Folio, 2007).

26. "Political Crisis in Ukraine," PACE, Doc. 10058, January 27, 2004, http://assembly.coe.int/ASP/Doc/XrefViewHTML.asp?FileID=10420&Language=EN.

27. As reported by Oleksandra Kuzhel in her interview with *Ukrayinska Pravda*, November 30, 2011, http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2011/11/30/6800589/.

28. Yuliya Mostova, "Nakazano: vyzhaty!" *Dzerkalo Tyzhnya*, January 25, 2013, http://gazeta.dt.ua/internal/nakazano-vizhati.html.

29. The episode is recounted by Ihor Huzhva, Oleksiy Popov, and Oleksandr Chalenko, "Taynyi Maydana," *Segodnya*, November 21, 2005, http://www.segodnya.ua/oldarchive/c2256713004f33f5c22570c0002f88b4.html, and translated as "Maydan's Secrets," http://www.ukrainianstudies.uottawa.ca/ukraine_list/ukl371_12.html. The episode is also cited by A. Wilson, *Ukraine's Orange Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 136. L. Kuchma did not want to propose Yanukovych as a candidate until the very last moment because of his criminal past, Mykhaylo Pohrebynskyy told the author in a conversation in Kyiv, November 6, 2013.

30. I. Huzhva, O. Popov, and O. Chalenko, "Taynyi Maydana." Andriy Kluyev admitted that his 2004 headquarters had existed but denied it was a "shadow" structure, claiming instead that it had been an integral part of the official election campaign. See his interview in *Ukrayinska Pravda*, April 14, 2006, http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2006/04/14/3094465/.

31. Taras Chornovil, interview, *Glavkom*, April 4, 2012, http://glavcom.ua/articles/6709.html.

32. Serhiy Leshchenko, *Mezhyhirskyy Syndrom, Vladi Viktora Yanukovycha* (Kyiv: Bright Star Publishing, 2014), 55.

33. Dmytro Chekalkin interview, *Ukrayinska Pravda*, December 16, 2004, http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2004/12/16/3005401/. See also www.eggs.net.ua.

34. VAT (П ДВ) and GDP (ВВП) sound similar but should not be confused by a prime minister who allegedly holds a PhD in Economics. On the likely dubious nature of Yanukovych's PhD, see John Marone, "Is Yanukovych's Education Paper-Thin? Some Think So," *Kyiv Post*, January 15, 2010, http://www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/is-yanukovychs-education-paper-thin-some-think-so-57097.html.

35. For an extensive list of confused statements by Yanukovych, see S. Leshchenko, "Khit-parad konfuziv Viktora Yanukovycha," *Ukrayinska Pravda*, January 28, 2010, http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2010/01/28/4676043/. In a classic comment, Yanukovych said, "We generally believe that the territory of our country should be made a dangerous place for the lives of our citizens, and especially so when guests come to visit us," http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2012/05/25/6965318/.

36. In August 1996, he signed his state employment contract as "Yanukovich" when he became first deputy governor of Donetsk *oblast* rather than "Yanukovych" using Russian, not the state language (Ukrainian): "By and large, his civil servant's oath (to the Ukrainian state) may be viewed as being null and void. That is, Yanukovych was in fact never sworn in, did not (legally) enter public service and has illegally occupied all his positions, beginning in 1996 until his election as President when he took a new Presidential oath." See S. Leshchenko, *Ukrayinska Pravda* blog, February 23, 2013, that republished the original documents, http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/leschenko/5128a524614a4/.

37. "Operation ProFFessor," http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m9l1G9Z4s8A&feature=player_embedded.

38. Recounted to the author by Supreme Court judge Ihor Samsin from Ivano-Frankivsk who attended the October 2005 convention of the Ukrainian-American Bar Association (UABA) in Miami, where the author was the guest speaker. S. Leshchenko (*Mezhyhirskyy Syndrom*, 56–57) also cites Taras Chornovil about the same provocation although it is not clear if a real bullet was to have been shot that is difficult to believe.

39. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fP0vWkqOQT8.

40. *Kray Kamyanetskyy*, http://www.istpravda.com.ua/short/2011/09/30/57196/.

41. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fP0vWkqOQT8.

42. "Putin, Russia and the West 2: Democracy Threatens," BBC, January 27, 2012.

43. Luke Harding, *Mafia State: How One Reporter Became an Enemy of the Brutal New Russia* (London: Guardian Books, 2011), 40.

44. The bomb plot has received surprising little publicity compared to the poisoning. See "Ukraine: Yushchenko Poisoning Case Unsolved Two Years after His Inauguration," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, February 1, 2007, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2007/02/07KYIV282.html.

45. The published edition of the government newspaper *Uryadovyy Kuryer* (November 26, 2004) declaring Yanukovych elected president was destroyed, http://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2010/11/9/3469/.

46. T. Kuzio, "Yanukovych-Gate Unfolds after Ukrainian Elections," *Eurasian Daily Monitor* 1, no. 139 (December 3, 2004), http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=27241. A stenograph of the telephone conversations is provided in three parts in *Ukrayinska Pravda* (November 24–26, 2004) and includes conversations by Viktor Medvedchuk, Serhiy Kivalov, Serhiy Lyovochkin, political technologist Yuriy Levenets, Serhiy, and Andriy Kluyev and Eduard Prutnik, who were all senior figures in the Yanukovych administration and Party of Regions, http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2004/11/24/3004606/; http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2004/11/25/3004655/; and http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2004/11/26/3004715/.

47. Pavlo Solodko, "Lyudi yaki stvoryly styl revolutsiyi. Chastyna persha," *Ukrayinska Pravda*, November 22, 2005, http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2005/11/22/3020805/.

48. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PZLmE1OW2nU&feature=player_embedded.

49. L. Bevzenko, "Pomarancheva Revolutsiya yak Sotsyalna Bifurkatsiya," in *Ukrayinske Suspiltsvo 1994–2005. Dynamika Sotsialnykh Zmin*, eds. V. Vorony and M. Shulhy (Kyiv: Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2005), 22–32.

50. Ivan Leonov, "Nedilya, yaka ne stala kryvavoyu," *Ukrayina Moloda*, November 29, 2005, http://www.umoloda.kiev.ua/number/563/295/20387/.

51. V. Baziv, interview, Kyiv, August 7, 2009.

52. Ion Bogdan Vasi, "The Fist of the Working Class: The Social Movements of Jiu Valley Miners in Post-Socialist Romania," *East European Politics and Societies* 18, no. 1 (February 2004): 132–157.

53. "Putin, Russia and the West 2: Democracy Threatens."

54. http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2005/12/3/3026772/.

55. Eugene Fishel was a foreign affairs analyst in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. State Department, and David Kramer was in the policy planning department in the U.S. State Department. Kramer is president of Freedom House since 2010.

56. Craig Murray, *Murder in Samarkand: A British Ambassador's Controversial Defiance of Tyranny in the War on Terror* (Edinburgh and London: Mainstream Publications, 2007).

57. This information is provided to the author by one of the U.S. political consultants who was working for Prime Minister Yanukovych. The author also attended the press conference.

CHAPTER 3

1. Taras Chornovil, interview, *Ukrayinska Pravda*, November 16, 2009, http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2009/11/16/4316947/.

2. L. Kuchma, *Posle Maidana, 2005–2006: Zapysky Prezydenta* (Moscow: Dovira, 2007), 342.

3. Ibid., 684.

4. Gregory Grossman, "The 'Second Economy' of the USSR," *Problems of Communism* XXVI (September–October 1997): 25–40. In 1996, I witnessed the

practice *of prinosheniye* in Lviv when gifts were brought by Baziv, then deputy head for Political-Legal Questions in the Lviv state administration to a birthday party for Governor Mykola Horyn (brother of former dissidents Mykhaylo and Bohdan Horyn).

5. J. V. Koshiw, *Abuse of Power*, 8.

6. Olena Miller, "Chomu nikhto ne chipaye Yushchenka, abo tsina svobody Borysa Kolesnikova," *Ukrayinska Pravda*, June 20, 2012, http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2012/06/20/6967135/.

7. Hennadiy Moskal, interview, *Ukrayinska Pravda*, March 21, 2013, http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2013/03/21/6986155/.

8. S. Leshchenko, *Mezhyhirskyy Syndrom*, 93–95.

9. Petro Poroshenko is heard on the Melnychenko tapes in 2000 attacking Tymoshenko. President of the National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy Vyacheslav Bryukhovetskyy recalled at the Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, that Poroshenko opened every meeting in 2003–2004 of Our Ukraine's Political Council with an attack on Tymoshenko. When asked by Bryukhovetskyy why Poroshenko criticized her, but never the Party of Regions, Poroshenko denied the latter was their enemy. Private source confided to the author at Harvard University, September 16, 2014. This was not surprising as Poroshenko was a founder of the Party of Regions and supporter of grand coalitions.

10. L. Kuchma, *Posle Maidana*, 376.

11. "Ukraine: Firtash Makes His Case to the USG," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, December 10, 2008, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2008/12/08KYIV2414.html.

12. "Akhmetov Holds Forth on Ukrainian Politics and Economics," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, October 10, 2008, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2008/10/08KYIV2022.html.

13. Ibid.

14. Yuriy Yekhanurov, interview, *Ukrayinska Pravda*, November 17, 2006, http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2006/11/17/3178541/.

15. *Interfax*, April 17, 2006.

16. "Ukraine: President Yushchenko's Our Ukraine Changes Its Public Tune on Coalition Negotiations," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, April 20, 2006, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2006/04/06KIEV1587.html.

17. "Ukraine: OU Insider Zvarych on Orange-Blue Consultations" and "Ukraine: Orange-Blue Coalition Talks Allegedly Moving Quickly," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, June 15 and 16, 2006, http://www.wikileaks.org/cable/2006/06/06KIEV2331.html and http://www.wikileaks.org/cable/2006/06/06KIEV2359.html.

18. U.S. ambassador to Ukraine Carlos Pascual, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, DC, September 20, 2006.

19. Grand coalitions were welcomed by U.S. political and business consultant Adrian Karatnycky, speaking at the Kennan Institute on January 30, 2006, and by Aslund in his "A Coalition Worth Waiting For," *The Moscow Times*, August 7, 2006, http://www.iie.com/publications/opeds/oped.cfm?ResearchID=651. U.S. Ambassador Taylor was more inclined to prefer a grand coalition while the George W. Bush administration supported an Orange coalition. U.S. policy to Ukraine was divided between a coalition of Republican policymakers (vice president Dick Cheney, U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, Fishel,

Matthew Bryza, and others) who felt strongly that the Yanukovych government was pro-Russian, undemocratic and would undermine Ukraine's independence. However, another group included Kramer, Ambassador Taylor, and others who were noncommittal. Ambassador Taylor was skeptical of Tymoshenko but accepting of the views of Yanukovych put forward by U.S. political consultant Paul Manafort who had worked for Yanukovych since 2005. During the 2007 negotiations between Yushchenko and the Party of Regions, the U.S. and German ambassadors to Ukraine acted as intermediaries (S. Leshchenko, *Mezhyhirskyy Syndrom*, 66).

20. V. Baloha, interview, *Segodnya*, March 28, 2011, http://archive.segodnya.ua/pdf/11_68/110328_SEG_KIE_08.pdf.

21. "Presidential Secretariat Chief Quits, Denounces Yushchenko," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, May 21, 2009, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2009/05/09KYIV864.html#.

22. In summer 2014, I was told Border Guards and Customs Officers paid €2,000 to be stationed on Ukraine's Western border because it was so lucrative in potential bribes.

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CHAPTER 4

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19. Alexander Statiev, *The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 81, 106, and 108.

20. Jeffrey Burds, "Agentura: Soviet Informant's Networks and the Ukrainian Underground in Galicia, 1944–48," *East European Politics and Society* 11, no. 1 (December 1996): 112.

21. http://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2012/03/5/75689/.

22. Statiev, *The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands*, 134. The last recorded battle by an UPA unit was in 1960. See Roman Moskal, "Ostaniy biy UPA. 1960 rik," *Istorychna Pravda*, March 28, 2011, http://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2011/03/28/33736/.

23. Timothy Johnston, *Being Soviet: Identity, Rumour and Everyday Life under Stalin, 1939–1953* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 135–136.

24. T. Kuzio, "How America Played a Central Role in Ukraine Becoming Independent," *Kyiv Post*, September 11, 2011, http://www.kyivpost.com/news/opinion/op_ed/detail/112603/.

25. Both publishing houses competed to be the first to publish Ukrainian *samvydav* and often did not recognize the contribution made by the other in supporting national and democratic rights in Ukraine. The first and second editions of *Rukh Oporu v. Ukrayini 1960–1980. Entsyklopedychnyy Dovidnyk* (Kyiv: Smoloskyp Publishers, 2010, 2012), edited by long-term Smoloskyp Director Osyp Zinkewych, have no entry, for example, on Kupchinsky who was president of Prolog and head of *Radio Svoboda* for a quarter of a century from 1978 to 2003.

26. *Dokumenty Ukrayinskoho Komunizmu* (New York: Prolog, 1962); Bohdan Kravets, ed., *Ivan Franko pro Sostyalizm i Marksyzm* (New York: Prolog, 1966); Ivan Koshelivets, *Mykola Skrypnyk* (Munich: Suchasnist, 1972) and *Mykola Skrypnyk: Statti i promovy z natsionalnoho pytannya* (Munich: Suchasnist, 1974).

27. "Biographical Sketch: George Y. Shevelov, Prominent Slavic Linguist and Philologist," http://www.ukrweekly.com/old/archive/1998/389819.shtml.

28. Shevelov was described as a "Nazi henchman" by Kharkiv city Mayor Kernes, and the memorial plaque unveiled in his honor was removed but was restored in 2014. http://www.istpravda.com.ua/short/2013/09/25/136684/; http://www.istpravda.com.ua/short/2013/09/25/136728/; http://www.istpravda.com.ua/short/2013/09/25/136682/; and http://www.istpravda.com.ua/short/2013/09/24/136645/.

29. Jaroslaw Martyniuk, interview, Washington, DC, June 28, 2013.

30. Information provided by Stephan Welhasch, last treasurer at Prolog, who recalled first meeting Kupchinsky in the mid-1970s when he was wearing a tee-shirt with "USA (Ukrainian Secret Agent)" emblazoned on it. "Ukrainian Student Movement in 1960's–70's of the Twentieth Century," Shevchenko Scientific Society, New York, April 20, 2013.

31. K. Podilskyy, "Suchasna Faza Borotby Za USSD (Ukrainian Independent United State), 1989," *Byuleten Provodu Orhanizatsiyi Ukrayinskykh Natsionalistiv*, no. 32 (September 1989): 5–11, http://www.taraskuzio.net/researchdocs/OUNbBulletin_1989.pdf.

32. Marek Matraszek, then based in Oxford, England, and currently president of CEC Government Relations, one of Poland's biggest lobbying companies, was Prolog and the Ukrainian Press Agency's contact to Bronisław Komorowski, http://www.cecgr.com/pl/our-offices/warsaw.html.

33. Special issue of *Vidnova* on Ukraine and the Polish Opposition, no. 4 (Winter 1985–Spring 1986). *Vidnova* was a short-lived Ukrainian émigré journal covertly funded by the U.S. government and published in Munich in 1984–1987.

Vidnova's editor was Jaroslaw Pelenski, president of the W. K. Lypynsky East European Institute in Philadelphia. The editorial board included R. Szporluk, well-known Sovietologist Bilinsky, Bohdan Osadchuk, and Potichnyj. Pelenski had been aligned with zpUHVR and OUNz and the émigré Hetmanite movement (i.e., followers of the 1918 *Hetman* Pavlo Skoropadskyy government in Kyiv).

34. Kazimierz Podlaski (pseudonym of Bohdan Skaradziński), *Białorusini, Litwini, Ukraińcy. Nasi Wrogowie—Czy Bracia?* (Warszawa: Słowo, 1983, Przedświt, 1984; London: Puls, 1985). In 1986, a Ukrainian-language version was translated and published in Munich by Vidnova.

35. One of my professors at the University of Sussex, United Kingdom, was Zdenek Kavan, Jan Kavan's brother.

36. www.ucipr.kiev.ua.

37. S. Zhuk, *Rock and Roll in the Rocket City*, 40.

38. "The Triumph of the Émigrés," in A. J. Motyl, *Sovietology, Rationality, Nationality*, 132–145.

39. In April 1990, this author planned to attend the inaugural congress of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union in Kyiv but was deported from Moscow's Sheremetyevo airport and told he was not permitted to enter the USSR (at that time there were no direct flights to Kyiv from outside the Soviet Union). My first visit to the USSR came in September 1991 following the failed putsch the month before.

40. The UNR (Ukrainian People's Republic) government in exile from 1918 to 1921 did not have influence inside Soviet Ukraine and was being courted by and received some funding from the Polish government-in-exile, according to CIA documents. The URDP (Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party) supported by Eastern Ukrainian exiles was also not influential inside Soviet Ukraine. URDP supported UNR and cooperated with zpUHVR and later with Prolog. Deputy Director of the CIA, "CIA Position Paper for Ukrainian Discussion with SS (SIS or MI6) in London, 23–25 April 1951," http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/1705143/AERODYNAMIC%20%20%20VOL.%209%20%20(DEVELOPMENT%20AND%20PLANS)_0039.pdf.

41. The 1948 split between zpUHVR and OUNb was the precursor to the 1954 split within OUNb that led to a breakaway faction entitled OUNz who supported zpUHVR.

42. Relations of both émigré groups to Ukraine and the ideological differences between the authoritarian nationalistic OUNb and "left-wing" zpUHVR are analyzed in "CIA Position Paper for Ukrainian Discussion with SS (SIS or MI6) in London, 23–25 April 1951."

43. Personal communication from Anatol Kaminsky, December 31, 2012. See also A. Kaminsky, *Vid nasylnoyi do myrnoyi revolutsii* (New York–London–Sydney: Political Council of OUNz, 1996), 20–23. A similar U.S.–U.K. covert operation attempted to support the anti-Soviet resistance in the three Baltic states. See E. Lucas, *Deception, 216–250.*

44. Harold Adrian Russell (Philby) fled to Moscow in 1963 after the 1961 defection of KGB officer Anatoliy Golitsyn who revealed to the CIA there was a high-level mole in MI6 (SIS).

45. Kim Philby, *My Silent War; the Soviet master spy's own story* (New York: Grove Press, 1968), 159.

46. T. Snyder, "To Resolve the Ukrainian Problem Once and for All: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ukrainians in Poland, 1943–1947," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 1, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 86–120.

47. A photograph of Wojciech Witold Jaruzelski in a KBW uniform during *Akcja Wisła* can be found in Antoni B. Szcześniak and Wiesław Z. Szota, *Droga do nikąd: działalność Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów i jej likwidacja w Polsce* (Warsaw: Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1973), 379. The book was more objective than antinationalist literature published in Soviet Ukraine and was taken and was sent by the Ukrainian national minority in Poland to Soviet Ukraine.

48. Jan Bury, "Operation *Stonka*: An Ultimate Deception Spy Game," *Cryptologia* 35, no. 4 (October 2011): 325.

49. Kevin C. Ruffner, "Cold War Allies: The Origins of CIA's Relationship with Ukrainian Nationalist(s)," declasssified CIA document available at http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/1705143/STUDIES%20IN%20INTELLIGENCE%20NAZI%20-%20RELATED%20ARTICLES_0015.pdf.

50. K. Philby, *My Silent War*, 158–159.

51. http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/1705143/AERODYNAMIC%20%20%20VOL.%209%20%20(DEVELOPMENT%20AND%20PLANS)_0039.pdf.

52. American support for the Russian émigré organization NTS (National Alliance of Russian Solidarists) continued, as with Prolog, through to the late 1980s. In London, George Miller was a well-known NTS leader.

53. K. Philby, *My Silent War*, 158–159.

54. Lebed believed Matviyeko had already been a KGB agent in the West when he cooperated with the Abwehr (Nazi German military intelligence). The KGB controlled Matviyeko and the people around him from his capture in May 1951 until his death in 1984. Kaminsky, *Vid Nasylnoyi Do Myrnoiyi Revolutsiyi*, 53.

55. Ibid., 50–54.

56. There are two UPA veteran organizations in the Ukrainian diaspora: *Obyednannya Kolyshnikh Voyakiv UPA SShA i Kanady* (Brotherhood of Former Veterans of UPA in the US and Canada) with ties to zpUHVR and OUNz and *Tovarystvo Kolyshnikh Voyakiv UPA im. Hen. Khor. Tarasa Chuprynky v SShA i Kanadi* (Lieutenant General Taras Chuprynka Society of Former Veterans of UPA in the US and Canada) with links to OUNb. Both organizations cooperate in the publication of *Litopys UPA* (*UPA Chronicles*) edited by Potichnyj that has published over 100 volumes of documents and materials in four series, www.litopysupa.com.

57. Zinoviy Krasivsky's biography, http://museum.khpg.org/eng/index.php?id=1142682587.

58. OUN and UPA members in the 1940s carried cyanide capsules for swallowing in the event of being captured by Soviet security forces.

59. *Foreign Report*, Economist Intelligence Unit, May 23, 1985.

60. T. Kuzio, "Émigré Strategies Face Soviet and Ukrainian Realities," *Kyiv Post*, November 17, 2011, http://www.kyivpost.com/opinion/op-ed/emigre-strategies-face-soviet-and-ukrainian-realit-117131.html.

61. A. Kaminsky, *"Proloh" u kholodnoyiyi viyni proty moskvy. Prodovzhennya vyzvolnoyiyi borotby iz-za kordony* (Poltava: Hadyach publishers, 2009), 105–106.

62. T. Kuzio, "Ukrainian Politicians Put the Squeeze on Civil Society," *RFERL Commentary*, May 18, 2011, http://www.rferl.org/content/ukrainian_politicians_puts_the_squeeze_on_civil_society/24178777.html.

63. On the first UNF and Ukrainian All-National Organisation (UNF-2), see Ivan Hel, *Vyklyk Systemi. Ukrayinskyy Vyzvolnyy Rukh Druhoyii Polovyny XX Stolittya* (Lviv: Chasopys, 2013), 139–161 and 302–310. On these "Intermediary Groups," see ibid., 101–168.

64. Lesia Jones and B. Yasen, eds., *Dissent in Ukraine: The Ukrainian Herald, Issue 6. An Underground Journal from Soviet Ukraine* (Baltimore: Smoloskyp Publishers, 1977), 113.

65. Y. Bilinsky, "Shcherbytskyi, Ukraine and Kremlin Politics," 10.

66. Yaroslav Bihun, ed., *Boomerang: The Works of Valentyn Moroz* (Baltimore: Smoloskyp, 1974); John Kolasky, ed., *Report from the Beria Reserve: The Protest Writings of Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian Political Prisoner in the USSR* (Toronto: P. Martin, 1974), and *Esey, lysty i dokumenty Valentyn Moroz* (Munich: Suchasnist, 1975). This translated edition of *Report from the Beria Reserve* was the first Ukrainian *samvydav* I read and the work had a powerful influence on me and many other young people in the Ukrainian diaspora.

67. Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "The Political Thought of Soviet Ukrainian Dissent," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 6, no. 2 (Winter 1981): 8.

68. This author participated in the protest at the Soviet Embassy in London in July 1979 when the freed Valentyn Moroz appeared alongside OUNb leader Yaroslav Stetsko. Two years later, this author was also present when Valentyn Moroz was prevented from speaking to the annual SUM rally in Leicester, United Kingdom, which led to a fracas on the stage between his supporters and opponents. SUM members, many of whom had participated in protests and hunger strikes outside Soviet diplomatic missions demanding Valentyn Moroz's release, were never told why he had overnight become *persona non grata* and the source of Valentyn Moroz's dispute with OUNb has never been made public.

69. P. Reddaway, "Dissent in the USSR," *Problems of Communism* 32, no. 6 (November–December 1983): 15.

70. On the UNF, see Nina Strokata, "Ukrayinskyy Natsionalnyy Front, 1962?–1967," *Suchasnist*, no. 6 (June 1985): 67–75, and "The Ukrainian National Front: A Look at Its Activity 1962–1967," *The Ukrainian Review* XXXIX, no. 1 (Summer 1986): 3–38.

71. H. Kasyanov, *Nezhodni ukrayinska inteligentsiya v rusi oporu 1960-80-x rokiv*, 30.

72. Ibid., 31.

73. Vasyl Ovsiyenko, "KGB proty dysydentiv. Sorok rokiv pohromu shistde syatnyky," *Istorychna Pravda*, January 12, 2012, http://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2012/01/12/68574/.

74. W. J. Risch, *The Ukrainian West: Culture and the Fate of Empire in Soviet Lviv*, 194.

75. P. Reddaway, "The Development of Dissent and Opposition," in *The Soviet Union since the Fall of Krushchev*, ed. Archie Brown and Michael Kaser (London: Macmillan, 1978), 137.

76. B. Nahaylo, "Ukrainian Dissent and Opposition after Shelest," 30.

77. P. Reddaway, "The Development of Dissent and Opposition," 122.

78. The 1976 Helsinki Agreement led to the establishment of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) that was renamed in 1996 the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

79. Oles Shevchenko, ed., *Ukrayinska Helsinkska Spilka u Spohadakh i dokumentakh* (Kyiv: Yaroslaviv Val, 2012).

80. B. Zakharov, *Narys Istoriyi Dysydentskoho Rukhu v Ukrayini 1956–1987*, 37–46.

81. O. Zinkewych and Rev. Taras P. Lonchyn, eds., *Martyrolohiya Ukrayinskykh Tserkov u chotyryokh tomakh. Tom 11. Ukrayinska Katolytska Tserkva. Dokumenty, materyaly, khrystyyanskyy samvydav Ukrayiny* (Toronto-Baltimore: Smolskyp, 1985).

82. The death of Danylo Skoropadskyy in 1957 in London has been alleged (without any firm evidence) to be an assassination through either an organized motorbike accident or poisoning. He was leader of the Ukrainian monarchist movement (United Hetman Association) and the son of *Hetman* Skoropadskyy.

83. Frank E. Sysyn, "The Ukrainian Orthodox Question in the USSR," *Religion in Communist Lands* 11, no. 3 (October 1983): 251–263.

84. T. Kuzio, "In Search of Unity and Autocephaly: Ukraine's Orthodox Churches," *Religion, State and Society* 25, no. 4 (December 1997): 393–415.

85. T. Kuzio, "The Struggle to Establish the World's Largest Orthodox Church," *RFE/RL Newsline* 4, no. 171 (September 5, 2000), http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1142232.html.

86. http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/religiousfreedom/index.htm#wrapper.

87. A third of Orange Revolution protestors were Greek Catholic Church.

88. Volodymyr Borysov, "My povernemosya z toho svitu," *Ukrayina Moloda*, October 12, 2011, http://www.umoloda.kiev.ua/number/1960/163/69716/.

89. Patriarch Filaret, interview, *Weekly.ua*, nos. 2–3, 2012, http://weekly.ua/pulse/interview/2012/01/20/145534.html.

90. Kevin Klose, *Russia and the Russians: Inside the Closed Society* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984), 9. The two original articles were published in *Financial Times*, January 9, 1981, and *Guardian*, February 22, 1981.

91. Ibid., 43.

92. http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2010/eur/154456.htm.

93. On workers' movements in Ukraine, see B. Zakharov, *Narys Istoriyi Dysydentskoho Rukhu v Ukrayini 1956–1987*, 54–57.

94. "When the KGB Declares You Insane," *Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty Multimedia*, September 5, 2011, http://www.rferl.org/media/video/24318593.html.

95. T. Kuzio, "Workers Opposition in Ukraine," *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe* 5, nos. 5–6 (1982–1983): 30–31.

96. "Ukraine Coal Mine Disaster: How Corruption Kills," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, December 17, 2007, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07KYIV3071_a.html.

97. Gulliver Cragg, "The Coal-Mining Racket Threatening Ukraine's Economy," BBC, April 23, 2013, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-22170976; Nataliya Gumenyuk, Sébastien Gobert, and Laurent Geslin, "Digging for Billions Who Runs the Illegal Coal Business in the Donbas," *Ukrainian Week*, March 15, 2013, http://ukrainianweek.com/Society/74747; and Vitaliy Sych, "Chernaya dyra Ukrainy," *Korrespondent* blog, May 13, 2013, http://blogs.korrespondent.net/journalists/blog/vitaliysych/a106887.

CHAPTER 5

1. B. Hoyle, "Revolutionary Zeal Returns to Streets of Ukraine," *The Times*, December 2, 2013.

2. http://www.cvk.gov.ua/party/ and http://www.minjust.gov.ua/parties.

3. Y. Hrytsak, "20 Rokiv Nezalezhnosti: try pokolinnya ukrayinskyh politykiv," *Istorychna Pravda*, July 27, 2011, http://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2011/07/27/47982/.

4. Y. Hrytsak, interview, *Radio Svoboda*, July 14, 2012, http://www.radiosvoboda.org/content/article/24644777.html.

5. B. Jackson, "The Post-Soviet Twilight: The Stubborn Political Culture of Russia and the Ukraine," *Policy Review*, no. 177 (February 2013), http://www.hoover.org/publications/policy-review/article/139291.

6. Neil Pattie, interview, London, January 21, 2012.

7. "Ukraine: Tymoshenko Runs on Populist Economic Policies," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, December 17, 2009, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2009/12/09KYIV2165.html. See "Paid Advisers Descend on Candidates," *Kyiv Post*, November 19, 2009, and 'Ukraine Candidates Relying on U.S. Advisers,' *Kyiv Post*, January 17, 2010, http://www.kyivpost.com/news/politics/detail/53251/ and http://www.kyivpost.com/news/politics/detail/57283/.

8. "Former Tymoshenko Insider Calls Her Destructive, Wants Her Out of Power," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, February 24, 2010, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2010/02/10KYIV278.html#.

9. "Ukraine: Overhauling the President's Men—Yushchenko's New Team Complete, for Now," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, October 11, 2006,http://wikileaks.org/cable/2006/10/06KIEV3919.html.

10. Oleksandr Rachok, interview, Kyiv, September 13, 2011. The Razumkov Centre worked for Yushchenko's 2004 and Poroshenko's 2014 election campaigns. Yushchenko's comments about his time in office were made during his long, rambling speech at the Krynica Economic Forum, September 8, 2011, which the author attended.

11. Sabrina Tavernise, "The Next Battle for Ukraine," *New York Times*, January 3, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/04/sunday-review/the-next-battle-for-ukraine.html?_r=0.

12. Serhiy Kudelia, "Chy mozhlyva v Ukrayini politychna nauka?" *Krytyka*, nos. 1–2 (2012): 24–25, http://krytyka.com/cms/front_content.php?idart=1205.

13. Ukrainian Ponars members include Olexiy Haran (Kyiv Mohyla Academy University), Oleksandr Sushko (Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation, Kyiv), Volodymyr Dubovyk and Polina Sinovets (Odesa National University), and Oleksandr Fisun (Kharkiv National University),http://ponarseurasia.org/blog/members/.

14. A. Aslund, "Ukraine's Outdated Educational System Translates into Lagging Economy," *Kyiv Post*, October 4, 2012, http://www.kyivpost.com/opinion/op-ed/why-ukraine-keeps-falling-behind-educationally-economically-313833.html.

15. http://zik.ua/ua/news/2013/10/08/pomer_polittehnolog_yuriy_levenets_yakyy_pratsyuvav_z_pr_433285.

16. Tymoshenko, for example, has a reputation as "a human wrecking ball for all who get in her way" but a bad reputation for never clearly outlining what she stands for. Brian Bonner, "Tymoshenko poised to help third president self-destruct," *Kyiv Post*, April 26, 2012, http://www.kyivpost.com/opinion/op-ed/tymoshenko-poised-to-help-third-President-self-des-126680.html.

17. In the 2010 elections, Hryhoriy Nemyrya, foreign policy spokesperson for Tymoshenko and deputy leader of *Batkivshchina*, could not answer a question by L. Harding, *The Guardian*'s Moscow correspondent, as to what were Tymoshenko's top five policies if she were elected president.

18. R. Olearchyk, "Q&A with Information Minister Ivan Drach," *Kyiv Post*, July 13, 2000, http://www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/qa-with-information-minister-ivan-drach-2.html.

19. T. Kuzio and Orest Deychakiwsky, "A Guide to Who's Who in D.C.'s Ukraine-Related Activities," *Ukrainian Weekly*, August 7, 2005, http://www.ukrweekly.com/WebFileBrowser/browser3.php.

20. In 2004–2006, I was a recipient of one of these short-term grants by the William and Helen Petrach Program on Ukraine as a Visiting Professor to the Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies (IERES), George Washington University. This was used to launch courses on Ukrainian politics taught by myself. In 2010–2011, when I was a recipient of an Austrian Marshall Plan Foundation grant at the Center for Transatlantic Relations, School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, I launched a monthly Ukraine Policy Forum (UPF) that brought together government policymakers, think tank experts, practitioners in democracy promotion foundations and academics.

21. In that year I launched courses on Ukrainian politics at the Centre for Russian and East European Studies (now Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies), University of Toronto, with support from the Wolodymyr George Danyliw Foundation,http://www.danyliwfoundation.org/danyliw/.

22. Communication from Ihor Bardyn, Toronto, January 24, 2013.

23. Yurii A. Levada, "What the Polls Tell Us," *Journal of Democracy* 15, no. 3 (July 2004): 44.

24. Country Report Ukraine–Party Cooperation in a Results Perspective (Stockholm: Swedish Agency for Development Evaluation), March 10, 2010, http://www.oecd.org/derec/sweden/pao.pdf.

25. Max Bader, "Party Politics in Georgia and Ukraine and the Failure of Western Assistance," *Democratization* 17, no. 6 (December 2010): 1097–1099.

26. Irina Chalupa, "Anti-Corruption Journalist Who Ran for Office Says Poroshenko Has Stifled Dissent within the New Government," *Atlantic Council of the US, New Atlanticist Policy and Analysis*, December 12, 2014, http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/direct-translation-my-first-ten-days-as-a-member-of-the-ukrainian-parliament.

27. Vitaliy Klitschko, interview, *The Ukrainian Week*, July 8, 2013, http://ukrainianweek.com/Politics/83976.

28. S. Leshchenko, "Spysok Turchynov-Yatsenyuk znovu kumivstvo, znovu stari hrabli," *Ukrayinska Pravda* blog, July 30, 2012, http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/leschenko/5016845f37b7e/.

29. Volodymyr Shcherban, interview, *Kievski Vedomosti*, March 5, 1997.

30. http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2012/03/17/6960850/ and http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2012/03/17/6960857/.

31. Volodymyr Panchenko, "Banderivtsi, melnykivtsi i 'dviykari.' OUN v Ukrayini protyahom 1990-x rr," *Istorychna Pravda*, October 21, 2011, http://www.istpravda.com.ua/research/2011/10/21/59950/.

32. "1992: ostanniy prezydent UNR peredaye Kravchuky kleynody," *Istorychna Pravda*, January 22, 2012, http://www.istpravda.com.ua/videos/2012/01/22/69657/.

33. Personal communication from P. J. Potichnyj, April 10, 2013.

34. During the 1998 elections, the first in which political parties began to use modern campaign techniques, I was a long-term observer (LTO) for the OSCE with responsibility for monitoring the Ukrainian media. This included long hours watching party political advertisements on television and I vividly recall the National Front advertisement as one of the weakest on television with three older generation Ukrainians lacking in charisma (Yaroslava Stetsko, Stepan Khmara, and Levko Lukyanenko) unable to attract the votes of young Ukrainians. *Svoboda* with its more charismatic and younger leaders was briefly more successful in mobilizing voters, as seen in the 2012 elections.

35. T. Kuzio, "Ukrainian Paramilitaries," *Jane's Intelligence Review* 4, no. 12 (December 1992), and "Paramilitaries in Ukraine," *Jane's Intelligence Review* 6, no. 3 (March 1994).

36. I interviewed Roman Zvarych in Kyiv after he was expelled from KUN and the information was used in my T. Kuzio, "Radical Nationalist Parties and Movements in Contemporary Ukraine before and after Independence: The Right and its Politics, 1989–1994," *Nationalities Papers* 25, no. 2 (June 1997): 211–242.

37. The name of the SNPU civic group was surprisingly similar to the Soviet official organization, the Voluntary Society for Aid to the Soviet Armed Forces (DOSAFF).

38. A typical refrain by émigré OUNB and SUM members or sympathizers would be that SNPU/Svoboda are "funded by Moscow" established with the purpose of discrediting Ukrainian nationalism, which says more about the failure of KUN in Ukraine and the retreat of OUNb from Ukraine.

39. *Svoboda* parliamentary deputies Yuriy Mykhalchyshyn and Iryna Faryon have used anti-Semitic language and VAAD described the former as a "neo-Nazi." "On the threat of anti-Semitism in the political life of Ukraine," http://vaadua.org/news/zayava-asociaciyi-ievreyskih-organizaciy-ta-obshchin-vaadu-ukrayini-pro-nebezpeku-antisemitizmu.

40. Eleonora Narvselius, *Ukrainian Intelligentsia in Post-Soviet L'viv: Narratives, Identity, and Power* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2012), 347.

41. Andre Liebich and Oksana Myshlovska, "Bandera: Memorialization and Commemoration," *Nationalities Papers* 42, no. 5 (September–October 2014): 757–758.

42. In September 2009, this author was surprised to see large Oleh Tyahnybok billboards in the city of Donetsk.

43. A. Wilson, "Ukraine after the Tymoshenko Verdict" (London: European Council on Foreign Relations, December 2012), http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/UkraineMemo.pdf.

44. "Putin's Russia Call Back Yesterday," *Economist*, March 3, 2012, http://www.economist.com/node/21548949.

45. Andriy Kluyev managed the relationship with Tyahnybok and *Svoboda*. The pro-Yanukovych American Institute of Ukraine published two briefing papers condemning Party of Regions financial support for *Svoboda*. See "A Kind of 'Freedom' Ukraine Doesn't Need" (March 12, 2011), http://www.aminuk.org/index.php?idmenu=12&idsubmenu=213&language=en, and "May 9 Lesson From Lviv: 'Svoboda' a Danger to Ukraine's Democracy, Not a Card to Be Played for Political Advantage," (May 20, 2011), http://www.aminuk.org/index.php?idmenu=12&idsubmenu=229&language=en.

46. http://expres.ua/main/2013/06/13/88677-groshi-tyagnyboka-dokumenty-fakty.

47. Taras Chornovil, interview, http://news.liga.net/interview/politics/886016-taras_chornovil_yanukovicha_pugayut_i_timoshenko_i_putin_i_evrosoyuz.htm.

48. http://www.vaadua.org/news/spilna-zayava-kongresu-nacionalnih-gromad-ukrayini-ta-vaadu-ukrayini-z-privodu-stvorennya.

49. "Protest Spirits in Ukraine," *National Security and Defence*, nos. 7–8 (2011): 49, http://www.razumkov.org.ua/eng/files/category_journal/NSD125-126_eng_5.pdf.

50. Volodymyr Prytula, "Fascisty vzyaly Krym (Fascists have taken over the Crimea)," *Radio Svoboda*, July 12, 2013, http://www.radiosvoboda.org/content/blog/25044517.html; and H. Coynash, "Selective Anti-fascism," Kharkiv Human Rights Protection Group, July 17, 2013, http://www.khpg.org/en/pda/index.php?id=1373836134.

51. An example is the monument to Soviet partisan leader Sydor Kovpak in Ivano-Frankivsk *oblast*, http://www.istpravda.com.ua/short/2013/08/7/133242/.

52. Y. Shapoval, "Hitler, Stalin I Ukrayina: bezhalni stratehii."

53. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MLfLT9xMVuo.

54. Party of Regions candidate and Dean of the Tax Academy Petro Melnyk physically attacked NUNS parliamentary deputy Iryna Herashchenko, http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2012/03/19/6960930/.

55. T. Kuzio, "Russia-Ukraine Diplomatic War," *Eurasia Daily Monitor* 6, no. 147 (July 31, 2009), http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=35347, and "Ukrainian-Russian Diplomatic War Intensifies," *Eurasia Daily Monitor* 6, no. 158 (August 17, 2009), http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=35420.

56. See photographs of victims of violence against civic activists in Donetsk, http://novosti.dn.ua/details/206730/, and violence against Femen activists, http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2013/07/28/6995082/, and http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2013/07/25/6994886/.

57. Ioulia Shukan, "Intentional Disruptions and Violence in Ukraine's Supreme Rada: Political Competition, Order, and Disorder in a post-Soviet Chamber, 2006–2012," *Post Soviet Affairs* 29, no. 5 (2013): 448–449.

58. Louise I. Shelley, "Russia and Ukraine: Transition or Tragedy?" in *Menace to Society*, 207.

59. Vadim Volkov, *Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), 7.

60. Vigilante sportsmen who attacked the opposition and journalists in May 2013 in Kyiv used Ministry of Interior premises to train. They claimed that "law enforcers control all informal fight clubs in one way or another." Oleksandr Mykhelso and Ruslana Velychko, "Thugs for Hire. In Ukraine, an Army of Street Fighters Is Being Established under the Supervision of Law Enforcers," *The Ukrainian Week*, May 31, 2013, http://ukrainianweek.com/society/81038.

61. V. Volkov, *Violent Entrepreneurs*, 8.

62. This author has photographs from 1989 of *Afgantsi* attacking pro-democracy protestors in Dnipropetrovsk. But, as the illustration in Chapter 12 shows, some *Afgantsi* supported the Euromaidan.

63. V. Volkov, *Violent Entrepreneurs*, 8.

64. Ibid., 6.

65. A. Fournier, *Forging Rights in a New Democracy*, 85–88. On the display of bling and use of force, see L. I. Shelley, "Privatization and Crime: The Post-Soviet Experience," *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 11, no. 4 (December 1995): 246.

66. O. Mykhelso and R. Velychko, "Thugs for Hire."

67. They are also routinely described in the Ukrainian media as "молодики сумнівноговигляду (youths with a dodgy appearance)."

68. Maciej Bartkowski and Elena Volkava, "The Ukrainian Soccer Ultras: Allies of the Resistance," *Open Democracy*, June 26, 2014, http://www.opendemocracy.net/civilresistance/elena-volkava-maciej-bartkowski/ukrainian-soccer-ultras-allies-of-resistance.

69. OSCE, "Ukraine, Human Rights Assessment Mission: Report on the Human Rights and Minority Rights Situation, March–April 2014," *The Hague/Warsaw*, May 12, 2014, http://www.osce.org/odihr/118476; Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, "Report on the Human Rights Situation in Ukraine," May 15, 2014, 32–33, http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/UA/HRMMUReport15May2014.pdf; "Ukraine: Mounting Evidence of Abduction and Torture," *Amnesty International*, July 10, 2014, http://www.amnesty.ca/news/news-releases/ukraine-mounting-evidence-of-abduction-and-torture; and "Ukraine: Rebel Forces Detain, Torture Civilians," *Human Rights Watch*, August 28, 2014, http://www.hrw.org/news/2014/08/28/ukraine-rebel-forces-detain-torture-civilians.

70. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y6zACg4uAjA.

71. Nick Cumming-Bruce, "Hardships Grow in Ukraine, UN Says," *New York Times*, December 15, 2014.

72. Oleh Protsyk and A. Wilson, "Centre Politics in Russia and Ukraine. Patronage, Power and Virtuality," *Party Politics* 9, no. 6 (November 2003): 703.

73. A.Wilson, "Ukrainian Nationalism: A Minority Faith," *Slavonic and East European Review* 73, no. 2 (April 1995): 285.

74. http://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vp2010/WP0011.

75. In June 1996, Kravchuk, after speaking at the "Soviet to Independent Ukraine: A Troubled Transformation" conference at The University of Birmingham, attended a Ukrainian Professional and Businessperson's barbeque at my

London home where he received a telephone call from Ihor Markulov living in exile who had founded the Liberal Party.

76. Valeriy Khmelko, interview, Kyiv, December 14, 2010. Khmelko is president of the Kyiv International Institute for Sociology (KIIS).

77. P. D'Anieri, *Understanding Ukrainian Politics: Power, Politics, and Institutional Design* (New York: Armonk, 2007), 170.

78. M. Beissinger, "Ethnicity, the Personnel Weapon and Neo-Imperial Integration," 71.

79. V. Yanukovych, interview, *Inter,* ICTV, and Channel 1, February 27, 2012, http://www.president.gov.ua/news/23133.html.

80. Alexander Gentelev, producer, *Thieves in Law* (Documentary Film), 2010, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1w8zME-uDtw.

81. Valery Chalidze, *Criminal Russia: Essays on Crime in the Soviet Union* (New York: Random House, 1977), 47.

82. Taras Chornovil, interview, *Ukrayinska Pravda*, May 29, 2012, http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2012/05/29/6965540/.

83. Socioeconomically disadvantaged West Virginians vote for the Republican Party and one of them is quoted as saying they were so poor they did not know there was a depression. See Nico Hines, "Roadkill Hillbillies Can't Stomach Either Runner for US President," *Times*, October 1, 2012.

84. "L'Italia giusta v political expediency," *Economist*, August 10, 2013, http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21583261-silvio-berlusconis-criminal-conviction-could-yet-bring-down-government-litalia-giusta-v.

85. Andrey Kurkov, *Ukraine Diaries: Dispatches from Kiev* (London: Harvill-Secker, 2014), 196.

86. "Ukraine: Yanukovych Suggests Regions Won't Accept Orange; Wants Yushchenko to Agree to Broad Coalition," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, October 4, 2007, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2007/10/07KYIV2522.html#.

87. "Partiya Pratsi Ukrayiny," *Heneza*, no. 1 (1994): 205–213.

88. http://r-u.org.ua/en/.

89. "Party of Regions' Internal Divisions," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, February 13, 2009, http://www.wikileaks.org/cable/2009/02/09KYIV305.html#.

90. "Ukraine: IUD's Taruta on Regions, Elections, and Gas Deals," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, September 13, 2009, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2007/09/07KYIV2286.html#.

91. "Party of Regions' Internal Divisions."

92. "Party of Regions Reacts to Gas Deal," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, January 29, 2009, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2009/01/09KYIV196.html#.

93. "Party of Regions' Internal Divisions."

94. Oleksandr Ilchenko, Dmytro Korotkov, and Anastasiya Rafal, "Vo vlasti idyot taynyi perevorot," *Segodnya*, November 8, 2011, http://www.segodnya.ua/news/14307526.html.

95. *Segodnya*, November 8, 2011.

96. "Politychna Zayava Yuriya Lutsenka."

97. Party of Regions parliamentary faction appeal, February 23, 2014, http://partyofregions.ua/ua/news/5309dfd9f620d2f70b000031.

98. In 2009, I acted as a consultant to the Swedish government for SADEV where we reviewed party-to-party cooperation. There was tremendous disappointment in Oleksandr Moroz and the SPU. The Swedish social democrats are very influential in the Socialist International and their despondency may have been an important factor in the expulsion of the SPU, http://www.sadev.se/en/Publications/SADEV-Reports/Country-Report-Ukraine—-Party-Cooperation-in-a-Results-Perspective/.

99. Mustafa Nayem, "Natalya Korolevska: zamakh na ByuT," *Ukrayinska Pravda*, December 27, 2011, http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2011/12/27/6870903/.

100. In the 2014 elections, Serhiy Tihipko used political technologist Mykola Hastello who had worked on Natalya Korolevska's 2012 campaign; in both cases, his advice failed to lead to these political forces entering parliament.

101. http://www.socialistinternational.org/viewArticle.cfm?ArticlePageID=931.

102. I was asked to prepare a memorandum on Ukraine's center-left parties that was one of the analyses used in deciding which Ukrainian political parties to admit into the Socialist International.

103. http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2011/07/3/6352402/.

104. On February 17, 1999, 310 deputies voted to remove Lazarenko's immunity. Only the *Hromada* (including deputy Tymoshenko) and SPU parliamentary factions did not support the resolution "To Grant Authorisation to Bring Peoples Deputy P.I.Lazarenko to Criminal Responsibility,"http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/radan_gs09/ns_arh_golos?g_id=810503&n_skl=3.

105. T. Kuzio, "Yushchenko versus Tymoshenko: Why Ukraine's National Democrats Are Divided," *Demokratizatsiya* 21, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 215–240.

106. "Party of Regions Reacts to Gas Deal" and "Ukraine: Firtash Returns to Set the Record Straight," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, March 6, 2009, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2009/03/09KYIV427.html#.

107. L. Kuchma, *Posle Maidana*, 290–291.

108. Ivan Lozowy, interview, Kyiv, January 13, 2012.

109. A. Wilson, *Virtual Politics: Faking Democracy in the Post-Soviet World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 155.

110. Serhiy Skrypnyk, interview, Kyiv, August 28, 2004. Skrypnyk was Poroshenko's *Pomichnyk* (personal assistant) in 2001–2004.

111. In August 1999, Yushchenko also said to L. Kuchma "I belong to you! I belong to you!" Quoted from J. V. Koshiw, *Abuse of Power*, 132.

112. This portion of the Melnychenko tapes is transcribed in *Ukrayinska Pravda*, July 6, 2005, http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2005/07/6/3011330/.

113. "Ambassador's Meeting with FM Poroshenko," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, February 17, 2012, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2010/02/10KYIV246.html.

114. O. Ivchenko was dismissed over a scandal using state funds to purchase a quarter of a million dollar Mercedes-Benz S-Class car.Leonid Amchuk, "Chy mav pravo holova 'Naftohazu' prydbaty sobi mashynu za miliyon hryven?" *Ukrayinska Pravda*, April 7, 2006, www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2006/04/7/3091166/.

115. http://www.ukrproject.gov.ua/en.

116. http://pora.org.ua/media/video/2006_01/ChomuVonyNeSydyat-pora-MPEG-1_DVD.mpg.

117. Vladyslav Kaskiv, speaking on a panel with Democratic Initiatives Foundation Director Ilko Kucheriv and former head of the Institute for Mass Media Serhiy Taran, praised Andriy Kluyev at a seminar held on February 8, 2007, at the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), Washington, DC.

118. Iryna Bedernikova analyzes four important changes in Yatsenyuk's policies in the course of only a short period of time in her "Neymovirni pryhody sluhy narodu v parlamenti,"*Dzerkalo Tyzhnya*, January 27, 2012, http://www.dt.ua/POLITICS/neymovirni_prigodi__slugi_narodu_v_parlamenti_-96393.html.

119. S. Leshchenko, "Yaltynskyy kastinh na krisla Yanukovycha i Azarova," *Ukrayinska Pravda*, September 19, 2011, http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2011/09/19/6597613/.

120. There are no photographs of Yatsenyuk on the *Maydan*, presumably because he never visited (let alone participated in) the Orange Revolution. In 2004, Yatsenyuk was working under Tihipko in the National Bank and therefore was based in Kyiv. Kinakh, Pinchuk, Lytvyn, and Bohoslovska visited the *Maydan* and Poroshenko invited Azarov on to the stage on New Year's Eve.

121. "Ukraine: Firtash Returns to Set the Record Straight."

122. "Ukraine: Oligarch Pinchuk on Nikopol Ferroalloy and Post-Election Politics," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, February 2, 2006, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2006/02/06KIEV456.html, and "Former President Kuchma on Ukrainian Election, Foreign Policy," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, February 3, 2010, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2010/02/10KYIV190.html.

123. "Yatsenyuk Claims He has Forty from OU-PSD for New Regions-Led Coalition," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, February 19, 2010, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2010/02/10KYIV264.html. S. Leshchenko (*Mezhyhirskyy Syndrom*, 225) points out that Yatsenyuk's dacha is next door to *Mezhyhirya* where he occasionally was a guest when he was logged in by the head of security as "sosed molodoy (young neighbor)."

124. Valeriy Chalyy worked with Yatsenyuk until resigning in September 2011 in protest at his negotiations with Akhmetov (interviews, Krynica, September 8, and Washington, DC, December 9, 2011). Chalyy was appointed deputy head of Poroshenko's presidential administration.

125. R. Pawlenko, interview, Kyiv, August 27, 2012.

126. Ibid.

127. S. Kudelia, interview, Washington, DC, April 17, 2013.

CHAPTER 6

1. Yuriy Boldyrev was formerly a member of the Donetsk-based Slavic Party and pan-Slavic Civic Congress of Ukraine that cooperated with the Party of Labour in the 1990s. He was a member of the Party of Regions since 2000. Interview, www.censor.net, March 16, 2012, http://censor.net.ua/resonance/200314/regional_boldyrev_galichane_doljny_znat_svoe_mesto_v_ukraine_oni_prijivalschiki.

2. Some of these factors draw on Victor Zaslavsky, "Nationalism and Democracy: Transition in Postcommunist Societies," *Daedalus* 121, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 97–122.

3. P. R. Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, 713.

4. Ibid.

5. W. J. Risch, *The Ukrainian West*, 55.

6. L. Kuchma, *Posle Maidana*, 581.

7. W. J. Risch, *The Ukrainian West*, 34.

8. Y. Bilinsky, "Shcherbytskyi, Ukraine and Kremlin Politics," 7.

9. Alfred D. Low, *Lenin on the Question of Nationality* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1958), 29.

10. On the question of mixed marriages and bi-ethnic identities, see Tadeusz A. Olszanski, *The Language Issue in Ukraine. An Attempt at a New Perspective* (Warsaw: Centre for Eastern Studies, No. 40, May 2012), 20; and Sergei Savoskul, "Russkiye v Nezavisimoy Ukrainie: Status Identychnost, Perspektyvi" in *Ukraina i Rossiya: Obshchestva i Gosudarstva*, ed. D. E. Furman (Moscow: Prava Cheloveka, 1997), 278–329, http://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/osw-studies/2012-05-16/language-issue-ukraine-attempt-a-new-perspective.

11. J. H. Miller, "Cadres Policy in Nationality Areas. Recruitment of CPSU First and Second Secretaries in Non-Russian Republics of the USSR," *Soviet Studies* XXIX, no. 1 (January 1977): 11.

12. S. Velychenko, "Empire Loyalism and Minority Nationalism in Great Britain and Imperial Russia, 1707 to 1914: Institutions, Law, and Nationality in Scotland and Ukraine," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39, no. 3 (July 1997): 413–441.

13. S. Velychenko's *National History as Cultural Process* (Edmonton: CIUS, 1992), 79–140, and *Shaping Identity in Eastern Europe and Russia* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 135–197.

14. T. Snyder, *Bloodlands*, 52.

15. B. Krawchenko, *Social Change and National Consciousness in Twentieth Century Ukraine*, 171.

16. T. Snyder, *Bloodlands*, 20.

17. Z. Lew Melnyk, "Ukraine within the USSR: An Economic Perspective, 1928/9–1932 and 1959–1980," *Nationalities Papers* 35, no. 1 (March 2007): 126.

18. Kostayntyn Morozov, *Moya Ukrayinizatsiya* (Kyiv: Osnovy, 2014).

19. Details of Tabachnyk's plans to expand use of the Russian language in education can be found at http://www.unian.ua/news/547246-tabachnik-vidav-nakaz-pro-konkurs-lukomorya-schob-bilshe-vchili-rosiysku.html.

20. A. Fournier, "Mapping Identities: Russian Resistance to Linguistic Ukrainianisation in Central and Eastern Ukraine," *Europe-Asia Studies* 54, no. 3 (May 2002): 420.

21. My two brothers, Ivan and Roman, recalled this episode. Like everybody in the Ukrainian diaspora, they had been brought up to believe Ukrainian nationalists and patriots should speak in Ukrainian and could not fathom a Ukrainian being therefore a Russophone *and* a patriot. They had obviously never traveled to Ireland.

22. Putin awarded the two authors of the language law, Kivalov and Vadym Kolesnichenko, the Pushkin prize for their "great contribution to the reservation and promotion of the Russian language and culture abroad."

23. At a conference I attended in Rome in May 2006, the director of the Istituto Affari Internationali (Institute of International Affairs [http://www.iai.it]) said that a large proportion of the nannies looking after young children in Italy were Ukrainian women.

24. http://www.epravda.com.ua/news/2012/09/26/336995/.

25. http://www.radiosvoboda.org/content/article/24683088.html.

26. Ihor Hoshovskyy, "Ekonomika Zakhidnoyi Ukrayiny, Tsyfry," *Ekonomichna Pravda*, September 13, 2012, http://www.epravda.com.ua/columns/2012/09/13/335089/.

27. http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2013/07/10/6993962/.

28. Anatol Lieven, "Russkoyazychnye Regionyi Ukraine: Troyanskyi kon?" in *Ukraina i Rossiya*, ed. Furman, 243–244.

29. J. Kolasky, *Education in Soviet Ukraine. A Study in Discrimination and Russification* (Toronto: Peter Martins Association, 1968), XIII.

30. I first felt this attitude in 1988 during an open evening in an art gallery in London where a Soviet diplomat burst out laughing when I spoke in the Ukrainian language.

31. See H. V. Kasyanov, "Ukrayinskyy natsionalizm: problema naukovoho pereosmyslennya," *Ukrayinskyy Istorychnyy Zhurnal* no. 2 (March–April 1998): 39–54, and *Teorii Natsiyi ta Natsionalizmu* (Kyiv: Lybid, 1999).

32. A. Wilson, "Ukrainian Nationalism: A Minority Faith," 285.

33. Julian Birch, *The Ukrainian Nationalist Movement in the USSR since 1956* (London: Ukrainian Information Service, 1971), 5.

34. L. Jones and B. Yasen, *Dissent in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Herald, Issue 6*, 129.

35. Ibid., 153.

36. R. Szporluk, "Valentyn Moroz: His Political Ideas in Historical Perspective," 83–84.

37. A. J. Motyl, "Do Animals Speak Ukrainian?" *World Affairs* blog, http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/new/blogs/motyl/Do_Animals_Speak_Ukrainian.

38. When teachers asked students to bring Ukrainian-language newspapers to class, they would sometimes instead bring Russian-language ones. See A. Fournier, *Forging Rights in a New Democracy*, 44 and 50.

39. Viktar Martinovich, "Divide and Be Conquered," *Transitions-on-Line*, November 29, 2010.

40. Daryna Shevchenko, "The Fight for Ukrainian Language," *Kyiv Post*, November 14, 2012, http://www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/the-fight-for-ukrainian-language-316111.html.

41. Edward Prus wrote countless books attacking Ukrainian nationalism, OUN, and UPA. During World War II, he fought in the Polish resistance and later joined NKVD *spetsnaz* formations that primarily took part in combat operations against the UPA. Nortom publishing house, publisher of his books, has an anti-Semitic reputation. Prus is an example of interwar Polish *endecja* (National Democratic party), which had been Ukrainophobic, and after World War II became a form of Polish national Bolshevism.

42. T. Kuzio, "Opposition in the USSR to the Occupation of Afghanistan," *Central Asian Survey* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 99–118.

43. In 2002–2004, the presidential administration revived a similar publication with the George Orwellian title of *Good News from Ukraine*. T. Kuzio, "Good News from Ukraine," *RFERL Poland, Belarus, Ukraine Report*, April 15, 2003, http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1344023.html.

44. Special issue on "Common Identity of Citizens of Ukraine," *National Security and Defence* no. 9 (2007), http://www.uceps.org/eng/journal.php?y=2007&cat=37 and http://www.uceps.org/ukr/journal.php?y=2007&cat=37. The figures are cited from pages 17–18 of the English-language edition.

45. Iryna Mahrytska, "Yarmo radyanshchyny v toponimitsi Luhanska," *Radio Svoboda*, March 4, 2013, http://www.radiosvoboda.org/content/article/24917426.html.

46. These figures combine Eastern and Southern Ukrainians who are enthusiastic (3.6 and 1.9 percent), are respectful (26 and 19.7 percent), and are sympathetic (6.3 and 5.6 percent) to Stalin. "Stavlennya Naselennya Ukrayiny do Postati Yosyfa Stalina," Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, March 1, 2013, http://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=ukr&cat=reports&id=140&page=1.

47. Hans von Zon, "The Rise of Conglomerates in Ukraine: The Donetsk Case," in *Big Business and Economic Development. Conglomerates and Economic Groups in Developing Countries and Transition Economies under Globalization*, eds., Alex E. Fernandez Jilberto and Barbara Hogenboom (London: Routledge, 2007), 390.

48. Volodymyr Harding, *Mafia State*, 202.

49. T. A. Olszanski, *The Language Issue in Ukraine*, 20; and S. Savoskul, "Russkiye v Nezavisimoy Ukrainie: Status Identychnost, Perspektyvi," 320.

50. Paul S. Pirie, "National Identity and Politics in Southern and Eastern Ukraine," *Europe-Asia Studies* 48, no. 7 (November 1996): 1079–1104.

51. Ararat L. Osipan and Alex L. Osipan, "Why Donbass Votes for Yanukovych: Confronting the Ukrainian Orange Revolution," *Demokratizatsiya* 14, no. 4 (Fall 2006): 499.

CHAPTER 7

1. A. Yatsenyuk, interview, *Fokus* magazine, January 4, 2012, http://focus.ua/politics/213418/.

2. L. Kuchma, *Posle Maidana*, 531–532.

3. Volodymyr Horbulin, RNBO Secretary under L. Kuchma, signed a protest letter against the 2012 law on languages. Kravchuk and L. Kuchma's protests are cited respectively at http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2012/08/21/6971227/ and http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2012/08/24/6971415/.

4. S. Shulman, "Ukrainian Nation Building under Kuchma," *Problems of Post-Communism* 52, no. 5 (September–October 2005): 38.

5. Volodymyr Kulyk, "Language, Identity, Linguistic Diversity and Political Cleavage: Evidence from Ukraine," *Nations and Nationalism* 17, no. 3 (July 2011): 633.

6. Renewal of Regions was led by Oleksandr Volkov and should not to be confused with the Party of Regions that established its own faction (Regions of Ukraine) after the 2002 elections.

7. I. Lozowy, interview, October 3, 2000.

8. "Pro konstepstiyu derzhavnoyi movnoyi polityky," Presidential Decree 161/2010 (February 15, 2010), www.president.gov.ua/documents/10486.html.

9. S. Savoskul, "Russkiye v Nezavisimoy Ukrainie."

10. A. Fournier, "Mapping Identities," 418, 425, and 430.

11. http://life.pravda.com.ua/culture/2012/05/7/101854/.

12. A. J. Motyl, "Language Intolerance in Ukraine," *World Affairs* blog, January 6, 2011, http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/blog/alexander-j-motyl/language-intolerance-ukraine.

13. Ibid..

14. Michael Moser, *Language Policy and Discourse on Languages in Ukraine under President Viktor Janukovyč, 25 February 2010–28 October 2012* (Stuttgart: Ibidem Press, 2013). A. J. Motyl discusses the book in his "Soviet-Style Imperialism & the Ukrainian Language," *World Affairs* blog, February 11, 2013, http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/blog/alexander-j-motyl/soviet-style-imperialism-ukrainian-language.

15. Ibid.

16. Hryhoriy Kryuchkov and D. Tabachnyk, *Fashizm v Ukraine: ugroza ili realnost?* (Kharkiv: Folio, 2008), 40–63.

17. A. J. Motyl, "Soviet-Style Imperialism & the Ukrainian Language."

18. *Ukrayinska Pravda*, June 11 and 25 and July 2, 2012.

19. *Sounding the Alarm: Protecting Democracy in Ukraine* (Washington, DC: Freedom House, April 27, 2011), http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/special-reports/sounding-alarm-protecting-democracy-ukraine; and *Sounding the Alarm Round 2: Protecting Democracy in Ukraine—A Follow-up Freedom House Report* (Washington, DC: Freedom House, July 2012), http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/special-reports/sounding-alarm-round-2-protecting-democracy-ukraine.

20. It remains unclear why Ukraine succumbed to pressure to sign the charter in May 1999 (ratifying it in May 2003) when the three Baltic states, Ireland, Portugal, Belgium, Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Georgia refused to do so. In the former USSR, only Armenia (which has no national minorities) joined Ukraine in signing the charter.

21. The Party of Regions, KPU, People's Party, and some independent parliamentary deputies supported the law, http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/radac_gs09/g_frack_list_arh?ident=2937906&n_skl=6&krit=66.

22. Extensive data on the status of the Ukrainian language can be found at http://dobrovol.org/article/213.

23. Serhiy Lyamets and Serhiy Shcherbyna, "Rosiyska navala na ukrayinskyy mediarynok," *Ekonomichna Pravda*, July 2, 2013, http://www.epravda.com.ua/publications/2013/07/2/383204/.

24. A. Sparinsky, interview, Kyiv, June 21, 2013.

25. A. Fournier, *Forging Rights in a New Democracy*, 186.

26. Ibid., 308.

27. Bohdan Klid, "Rock, Pop and Politics in Ukraine's 2004 Presidential Campaign and Orange Revolution," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 23, no. 1 (March 2007): 118–137.

28. Gala Radio's website was only in the Russian language, http://www.galaradio.com/.

29. http://www.razumkov.org.ua/eng/expert.php?news_id=4112.

30. S. Leshchenko, "Yanukovych u Yalti: YES epokhu zastoyu," *Ukrayinska Pravda*, September 15, 2012, http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2012/09/15/6972806/.

31. If the Donetsk Press Club (DPK) hosted an English-language speaker only one or two journalists would attend. Tetyana Stroy, head of DPK, interview, Donetsk, December 15, 2013.

32. Olena Tregub, "Did Yanukovych Guys Come Back Empty-Handed from US?" *Kyiv Post*, September 22, 2012, http://www.kyivpost.com/opinion/op-ed/did-yanukovych-guys-come-back-empty-handed-from-us-313324.html.

33. Ihor Sorkin, head of the National Bank of Ukraine who is also not an English-language speaker and sat next to the author at dinner, read his IPAD throughout the presentations. He left early, leaving behind business cards of Western investment bankers I had introduced him to on the table; clearly he was disinterested in networking with Europeans.

34. The Party of Regions party, UDAR, and Tymoshenko's personal websites have English-language pages, http://www.partyofregions.org.ua/en; http://klichko.org/en/ and http://www.tymoshenko.ua/. BYuT and Front for Change did not. http://byut.com.ua/ and http://frontzmin.ua/.

35. A. Kurkov, *Ukraine Diaries*, 56.

36. A. Fournier, *Forging Rights in a New Democracy*, 51.

37. http://life.pravda.com.ua/culture/2012/05/7/101854/.

38. Nadia Diuk, "Youth as an Agent for Change: The Next Generation in Ukraine," *Demokratizatsiya* 21, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 189.

39. Ibid., 190.

40. Personal observation when using Internet cafés in Ukraine.

41. During my six-month visiting fellowship at the Slavic Research Centre, Hokkaido University, there were many scholars from the former USSR. My observations about the use of the Internet are also drawn from observing them.

42. Joshua Goldstein, "The Role of Digital Networked Technologies in the Ukrainian Orange Revolution," *Internet & Democracy Case Study Series*, Berkman Center for Internet and Society, Harvard University, Research Publication no. 14, 2007, http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/sites/cyber.law.harvard.edu/files/Goldstein_Ukraine_2007.pdfK and Kateryna Kapliuk, "Role of Social Media in EuroMaidan Movement Essential," *Kyiv Post*, December 1, 2013, http://www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/role-of-social-media-in-euromaidan-movement-essential-332749.html.

43. Dinassa Duvonova, Alexander Semenov, and Alexander Nikolaev, "Do Social Networks Bridge Political Divides? The Analysis of VKontakte Social Network Communication in Ukraine," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 30, no. 4 (2014): 1–26.

44. "Web Used to Recruit Russians to Fight in Ukraine," *BBC Monitoring Research*, June 27, 2014.

45. Nickolay Kononov, "The Kremlin's Social Media Takeover," *New York Times*, March 10, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/11/opinion/the-kremlins-social-media-takeover.html?_r=0.

46. James Bradshaw, "A Russian Social Network Tale: Censorship and a CEO on the Run," *Globe and Mail*, July 12, 2014, http://m.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/a-russian-social-network-tale-censorship-and-a-ceo-on-the-run/article19577825/?service=mobile.

47. This author has an extensive library of Ukrainian history school textbooks collected since 1991.

48. Nancy Popson, "The Ukrainian History Textbook: Introducing Children to the 'Ukrainian Nation,'" *Nationalities Papers* 29, no. 2 (June 2001): 325–350; Jan G. Janmaat, "Identity Construction and Education: The History of Ukraine in Soviet and Post-Soviet Schoolbooks," G. Kasyanov, "Rewriting and Rethinking: Contemporary Historiography and Nation Building in Ukraine," and Andrew Fesiak, "Nation Building in the Ukrainian Military," in *Dilemmas of State-Led Nation Building in Ukraine*, ed. T. Kuzio and P. D'Anieri, 29–46 and 147–190.

49. "Pro vidznachennya 300-richya podiy, povyazanykh z voyenno-politychnym vystupom hetmana Ivana Mazepy ta ukladennyam ukrayinsko-shvedskoho soyzu," Presidential Decree 955/2007 (October 9, 2007), http://www.president.gov.ua/documents/6798.html.

50. http://www.president.gov.ua/documents/5098.html.

51. A. Wilson, "The Donbas between Ukraine and Russia: The Use of History in Political Disputes, "*Journal of Contemporary History* 30, no. 2 (April 1995): 265–289.

52. http://www.jewishgen.org/ForgottenCamps/General/victimsEngl.html.

53. Natalia Leshchenko, "A Fine Instrument: Two Nation Building Strategies in Post-Soviet Belarus," *Nations and Nationalism* 10, no. 3 (July 2004): 333–352, and "The National Ideology and the Basis of the Lukashenka Regime in Belarus," *Europe-Asia Studies* 60, no. 8 (October 2008): 1419–1422.

54. Yulia Ryabchun, "Stepan Bandera ne proshel test," *Komersant Ukraina*, January 24, 2013, http://kommersant.ua/doc/2111413.

55. http://gazeta.ua/articles/np/_znischuetsya-nacionalnij-centr-dovzhenka-lyudej-zvilnyayut-a-primischennya-vidda/479866.

56. T. Kuzio, "Back to a Soviet National Identity," *Jamestown Foundation* blog, July 23, 2010, http://jamestownfoundation.blogspot.com/2010/07/back-to-soviet-ukrainian-national.html.

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58. Viktor Mysan, interview, *Ukrayinska Pravda*, August 26, 2010, http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2010/08/26/5333553/.

59. See photographs at http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2013/11/29/7003581/.

60. *Holodomor* eyewitness Maria Sniher cited in *The Times*, December 2, 1991.

61. Robert Conquest, *Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

62. B. Klid and A. J. Motyl, *The Holodomor Reader*, 70–73.

63. H. Kasyanov, *Danse Macabre: holod 1932–1933 rokiv u polityts masoviyi svidomosti ta istoriohrafiyi (1980 ti-pochatok 2000 kh)* (Kyiv: Nash Chas, 2010).

64. http://canada.mfa.gov.ua/en/ukraine-%D1%81%D0%B0/holodomor-remembrance/holodomor-international-recognition.

65. T. Snyder, *Bloodlands*, 42.

66. Ibid., 42.

67. Ibid., 84.

68. B. Klid and A. J. Motyl, *The Holodomor Reader*, 73–75.

69. For an invaluable insight into internal discussions within the Party of Regions on the *holodomor*, see "Ukraine: The Holodomor and the Politics of Remembrance: The Legacy of Stalin's 1932–33 Famine," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, November 30, 2006, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2006/11/06KYIV4414.html.

70. http://www.president.gov.ua/content/golodomor_75.html.

71. http://www.president.gov.ua/news/17020.html.

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73. D. Satter, *It Was a Long Time Ago and It Never Happened Anyway*, 224.

74. Nineteen volumes deal with the city of Kyiv and individual *oblasts* in their current boundaries (at the time of the famine there were only seven *oblasts* in Soviet Ukraine and Kharkiv was the capital city). *Natsionalna Knyha Pamyati Zhertv Holodomoru 1932–1933 Rokiv v Ukrayini* has different editors and publishers depending on the volume. All the volumes can be accessed online at http://memorialholodomors.org.ua/.

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76. T. Kuzio, "The Ukrainian-Russian Cultural Conflict," *Eurasia Daily Monitor* 6, no. 87 (May 6, 2009), http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=34955#.UbaUY22oE8o; and S. Kulchytskyy, "What Is the Crux of Ukraine-Russia dispute?" *The Day*, February 17 and 24, 2009, http://www.day.kiev.ua/en/article/close/what-crux-ukraine-russia-dispute-2 and http://www.day.kiev.ua/en/article/close/what-crux-ukraine-russia-dispute-1.

77. T. Kuzio, "Yanukovych Relies on Soviet Nationalism to Stay in Power," *RFERL Commentary*, June 7, 2011, http://www.rferl.org/content/yanukovych_looks_to_soviet_nationalism_to_stay_in_power/24227494.html.

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83. T. Zhurzhenko, "From Borderlands to Bloodlands."

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86. D. Tabachnyk, "Kakim dolzhen byt uchebnyk istorii," http://www.partyofregions.org.ua/pr-east-west/4c08a20a530d1. Anti-nationalist rhetoric was the staple of the deputy head of the Party of Regions parliamentary faction, Kolesnichenko. See his Soviet-style condemnations of Bandera, http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/kolesnichenko/4f02ce359bf68/ and http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/kolesnichenko/50e32921f4051/. In November 2012, the author received a 2,000-page, two-volume collection from Kolesnichenko's parliamentary office titled *Ukrainskiye Natsionalisticheskiye Organizatsii v gody vtoroy mirovoy voyny, vol. 1, 1939–1943, vol. 2, 1944–1945* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2012).

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151. T. Johnston, *Being Soviet*, 178–179.

152. Typical of anti-Zionist (i.e., anti-Semitic) propaganda was Trofim K. Kichko, *Judaism without Embellishment* (Kyiv: Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, 1963), and *Judaism and Zionism* (Kyiv: Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, 1968).

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162. P. R. Magocsi, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848–1948* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 275.

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CHAPTER 8

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CHAPTER 9

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37. B. Vitvitsky, "Corruption, Rule of Law, and Ukraine," 45–49.

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72. S. Leshchenko, "Poroshenko otrymav chornu mitku vid Kolesnikova," *Ukrayinska Pravda*, April 23, 2009, www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2009/04/23/3898892/; and "Try plyamy Petra Poroshenka," *Ukrayinska Pravda*, May 22, 2014, www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2014/05/22/7026138/. Lutsenko told this author (Kyiv, November 1, 2013) that Akhmetov had attempted to bribe him to release Kolesnikov from jail in spring 2005. Lutsenko showed me how Akhmetov had raised his fingers one by one each indicating offers of $1 million each but he refused to accept the bribe and told him that this was not his criminal case. Lutsenko believes Prosecutor-General Piskun buried the case (after receiving a bribe), ensuring Kolesnikov's release.

73. J. V. Koshiw, "Kuchma's 'Parallel Cabinet."

74. "Politychna Zayava Yuriya Lutsenka."

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84. Peter Byrne, "President Taps Pshonka, a Loyalist with Questionable Record, as Top Prosecutor," *Kyiv Post*, November 12, 2010, www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/President-taps-pshonka-a-loyalist-with-questionabl-89690.html. As D'Anieri points out, the concept of courts checking the abuse of power is "Foreign to Post-Soviet Ukraine," *Understanding Ukrainian Politics*, 205. Pshonka's biography can be found at http://ord-ua.com/2011/03/10/ukrainian-nepotism-in-persons-pshonka-dynasty/

85. The official name of this body of the Council of Europe is the European Commission for Democracy through Law but it is usually referred to as the Venice Commission because it holds its meetings in the city of Venice.

86. www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/?opinion=292&year=all; www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/?opinion=539&year=all; and www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/?pdf=CDL-AD%282012%29019-e

87. http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/radan_gs09/ns_arh_golos?g_id=649607&n_skl=7

88. www.transparency.org/whatwedo/nisarticle/ukraine_2011

89. Oleksii Khmara, "Why Ukraine Is Incapable of Meeting Europe's Expectations," *Kyiv Post*, February 25, 2013, www.kyivpost.com/opinion/op-ed/why-ukraine-is-incapable-of-meeting-europes-expectations-320870.html.

90. O. Khmara, "Why Is Ukraine Unable to Meet the Requirements of Füle's List? An Analysis of the Government's Anti-corruption Policy Serves as a Useful Example," *Ukrainian Week*, February 21, 2013, http://tyzhden.ua/Columns/50/72902

91. As head of the state tax administration, Azarov told Kuchma of tax avoidance by oligarchs except those undertaken by members of the Donetsk clan. See J. V. Koshiw, *Abuse of Power*, 74–75.

92. On the campaign against Mykola Agafonov, see J. V. Koshiw, *Abuse of Power*, 92–93.

93. In February 1999, Prosecutor-General Potebenko read out the criminal charges against Lazarenko that did not mention Tymoshenko, who by then had done a deal with Kuchma, dropping her anti-presidential stance. Understandably, Bakay, Kuchma's long-time ally, was also ignored. See J. V. Koshiw, *Abuse of Power*, 89.

94. Jane L. Curry and Doris Goedl, "Why 'Together We Are the Strong' Does Not Work," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45, no.1 (March 2012): 65–76.

95. See Jon S. T. Quah, "Curbing Corruption in India: An Impossible Dream?" *Asian Journal of Political Science* 16, no.3 (December 2008): 240–259.

96. www.pravda.com.ua/news/2013/04/3/6987211/

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98. www.ord-ua.com/2013/07/18/perehozhi-siloyu-zatrimali-milicioneriv-sho-presuvali-divchat-na-vulici/

99. www.razumkov.org.ua/eng/expert.php?news_id=4119

100. A. Lapko, "Ukraine's Own Worst Enemy,"

101. Dmytro Mendelyeyev, "Tin Viyny," *Tserkalo Nedeli*, September 5, 2014, http://gazeta.dt.ua/internal/tin-viyni-derzhava-nazhivayetsya-na-krovi-biyciv-torgashi-zaroblyayut-na-patriotizmi-gromadyan-_.html

102. Just some of the civil society groups include www.narodniy.org.ua, www.armyhelp.com.ua, and www.ukrfreedomfund.org.

103. Ivan Yasniy and Leonid Kanter, "Viyna za sviy rakhunok," September 29, 2014, www.youtube.com/watch?v=iJBysn3NLiA#t=17.

104. S. Leshchenko, "Andriy Kluyev ide u pochesne zaslannya," *Ukrayinska Pravda*, February 15, 2012, www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2012/02/15/6958766/

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106. V. Horbulin, *Cherez roky, cherez vidstani...Derzhava i Osobystist. Vybrani publikatsiyi, intervyu ta vystupy* (Kyiv: Sammit Kniga, 2006).

107. "Ukraine: Presidential Adviser Sees Possibilities in Party of Regions," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, January 31, 2006, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2006/01/06KIEV400.html

108. "Ukraine: Overhauling the President's Men—Yushchenko's New Team Complete, for Now," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, October 11, 2006, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2006/10/06KIEV3919.html#

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interviewed at a Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary program workshop in Ottawa on October 16, 2013, undertook extensive analysis of the documents in the Lazarenko trial in San Francisco. The source of the information for the bribe paid to Marchuk comes from Lazarenko's partner Petro Kyrychenko who in exchange for providing damning testimony to the FBI was never criminally charged. Kyrychenko lives in a mansion in Belvedere on the Tiburon peninsula in the San Francisco bay. See analysis and photographs at www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2013/08/22/6996491/

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"Ukraine's (Russian) Defense Minister and Selective Justice," *Jamestown Foundation* blog, April 16, 2012, http://jamestownfoundation.blogspot.ca/2012/04/ukraines-russian-defense-minister-and.html. Both Novinsky and Salamatin had not lived in Ukraine for five years prior to being elected to parliament, a requirement of Ukrainian legislation.

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193. G. Grossman, "The 'Second Economy' of the USSR," 34.

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195. Alexander Gentelev, producer, *Thieves by Law.*

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214. A. Aslund, *How Ukraine Became a Market Economy and Democracy*, 258–259.

215. *Natsionalna Bezpeka i Oborona*, no.7 (2009): 53.

216. Jan Neutze and A. Karatnycky, *Corruption, Democracy and Investment in Ukraine* (Washington, DC: Atlantic Council of the United States, 2007), 28, www.acus.org/docs/071016_Corruption,%20Democracy,%20and%20Investment%20in%20Ukraine.pdf.

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219. M. Feldbrugge, "Government and Shadow Economy in the Soviet Union," 542.

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223. On the cost of 26 million *hryvnya* to build the Crimean palace, see http://tyzhden.ua/News/90895. Photographs at http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/politics/1585119-v-krymu-dlya-yanukovicha-stroyat-novoe-mezhigore-up

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232. H. Coynash, "Failed Book-Gate," *Kharkiv Human Rights Protection Group*, April 22, 2013, www.khpg.org/en/pda/index.php?id=1366118665

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234. The official list of inhabitants of these two villages is given in *Ukrayinska Pravda*, May 19, 2011, www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2011/05/19/6216960/

235. The residents are listed at www.pravda.com.ua/news/2013/01/30/6982498/

236. Serhiy Andrushko, "Kolyshnikh Deputativ-Ne Buvaye," *Ukrayinska Pravda blog*, July 5, 2013, http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/andrushko/51d6e7b529232/

237. L. Kuchma, *Posle Maidana, 2005–2006*, 555–557.

238. S. Leshchenko's *Ukrayinska Pravda* blog, January 31, 2013, http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/leschenko/510ad23d74939/

239. T. Chornovol, "Zavhosp Prezydenta: dlya Yanukovycha i dlya sebe," *Ukrayinska Pravda* blog, September 11, 2013, http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/chornovol/52302fa30adcd/. For a historical perspective of the origins of these elite privileges in the communist system, see Milovan Djilas. *The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System* (New York: Praeger, 1964); and Michael Voslensky, *Nomenklatura: Anatomy of the Soviet Ruling Class* (London: Bodley Head, 1984). Ukrainian nationalist publicists Petro Poltava and Osyp Hornovyy wrote similar analyses of the nature of communism, although a decade earlier in the Ukrainian nationalist underground. Lew Shankowsky, "Milovan Djilas and Ukrainian Revolutionaries,"*Prologue Quarterly. Problems of Independence and Amity of Nations* 2, nos.4–5 (Spring–Summer 1958), 62–67. *Prologue* was an English-language magazine published by Prolog Research and Publishing Corp. in New York in 1957–1961.

240. Y. Lutsenko cited by *Ukrayinska Pravda*, April 15, 2009.

241. S. Leshchenko, "Yuliya Tymoshenko povtoruye 'kadrov' karuseli Viktora Yanukovycha," *Ukrayinska Pravda*, April 15, 2009, www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2009/04/15/3882237/

242. D. Acemoglu and J. A. Robinson, *Why Nations Fail*, 315–316. One hundred *hryvnya* (less than $15) were offered to Ukrainians to buy their votes in the 2012 Ukrainian elections; see http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/grytsenko/506136f9139a4/

243. Clifford J. Levy, "Is the Mayor Fit for Office? No Sure Answer," *New York Times*, August 15, 2009, www.nytimes.com/2009/08/15/world/europe/15kiev.html

244. The film was made by TSN news that broadcasts on 1+1 channel. The video can be watched at http://tsn.ua/ukrayina/tsn-vdalosya-pospilkuvatisya-z-chernoveckim-v-yogo-kvartiri-v-izrayili.html

245. "Third Klitschko-Chernovetskyi Bout?" U.S. Embassy Kyiv, April 21, 2009, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2009/04/09KYIV691.html

CHAPTER 10

1. *J. Preuss, "The Other Chelsea—A story from Donetsk,"*

2. The term *clans* in the context of Ukraine and other post-Soviet states is not used in the traditional sense of kinship and descent, such as the Scottish Highlanders. In Ukraine the term refers in a non-ethnic manner to groups of people from regions (i.e., Donetsk and Dnipropetrovsk) that have a history of social, business, and family ties stretching back into the Soviet era and are therefore more akin to old boys' networks. In the Ukrainian case, clans have been created to lobby big business interests through political parties acting as *kryshy* lobbying the president, government, and parliament.

3. The Liberal Party established by Donetsk *Komsomol* leaders was the exception to this rule. Meanwhile, NDP, MBR, and Labor Ukraine were never accused of collusion with criminal elements.

4. O. Medvedev, *Ukrayinska Pravda* blog, April 20, 2012. http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/medvedev/4f9164e802016/

5. M. Beissinger, "Ethnicity, the Personnel Weapon and Neo-Imperial Integration," 82 and 84.

6. http://gazeta.dt.ua/internal/u-donecki-b-ya-pishov-hay-mene-nauchat-_.html

7. A. Wilson, "Ukrainian Nationalism: A Minority Faith," 285.

8. J. V. Koshiw, *Abuse of Power*, 212–213.

9. S. Zhuk, *Rock and Roll in the Rocket City*, 6.

10. S. Zhuk, "The Dnipropetrovsk Clan in the Soviet Era and Why It Lost Out to Donetsk in Independent Ukraine," Ukraine's Domestic and Foreign Affairs: Quo Vadis? Model Ukraine Conference, Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program, Oxford University, April 7, 2011. http://www.katedra.org/Conferences/Oxford2011.aspx

11. "Putin, Russia and the West 1: Taking Control." BBC, January 20, 2012.

12. "State Capitalism Is not All the Same," *The Economist*, January 21, 2012. http://www.economist.com/node/21542924

13. A. Karatnycky, interview, New York, January 28, 2012.

14. Kushnaryov cited in Chrystia Freeland, "Chink of Light in Ukraine Economy,' *The Financial Times*, July 8, 1997.

15. The "Kaniv Four" (named after the town where the final resting place of bard Shevchenko lies) was where Marchuk, SPU leader Oleksandr Moroz, Parliamentary Chairperson Tkachenko, and Cherkasy Mayor Volodymyr Oliynyk launched their election campaigns.

16. P. Loza, *Nevyipolnennyi Zakaz* (Kyiv: Taki Spravy, 2002), 81.

17. *Korrespondent* magazine (November 16, 2012) published on its front cover a picture of Boholyubov, Akhmetov, and Pinchuk imposed upon the British parliament with the headline "New Londoners. How Ukrainian Oligarchs Are

Transforming the British Empire's Capitol City into Koncha Zaspa." Koncha Zaspa is an elite suburb of Kyiv.

18. S. Leshchenko, "Vidlunnya skandalu roku: hroshi za vyshku Boyka platyly u 'sviy bank."

19. S. Zhuk, *Rock and Roll in the Rocket City*, 317.

20. Ibid, 301.

21. S. Leshchenko, *Amerykanska Saga Pavla Lazarenko*, 217–252.

22. S. Rudenko, *25 Bogachey Ukrainy* (Kyiv: Politicheskaya Literatura "Sammit-kniga," 2009): 148–165 (Pinchuk) and 202–219 (Tihipko).

23. Ukrainian oligarchs have never been transparent about their early lives and how they made their initial capital. Kolomoyskyy allegedly has ties with Tymoshenko going back to when they went to the same high school in Dnipropetrovsk.

24. "Ukraine: Oligarch Pinchuk on Nikopol Ferroalloy and Post-Election Politics."

25. Pinchuk has always turned to Russian political technologists even though they have continually failed to work in Ukraine, whether in the case of KOP in 2002 or Yatsenyuk's 2010 disastrous election campaign. Interviews with former KOP leader Mykola Veresen and former KOP consultant and UDAR deputy Pawlenko, Kyiv, November 3, 2013.

26. S. Rudenko, *25 Bogachey Ukrainy*, 244–257.

27. See two analyses by Katya Gorchinskaya, "Media Monitoring Shows Possible Rift between Oligarchs, Administration" and "Shills No More? Inter TV Comes Cleaner on Ownership, Pledges Fairer News Coverage," *Kyiv Post*, November 1, and December 27, 2012. http://www.kyivpost.com/content/politics/media-monitoring-shows-possible-rift-between-oligarchs-administration-315438.html and http://www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/shills-no-more-inter-tv-comes-clean-on-ownership-pledges-fairer-news-coverage-318230.html

28. S. Leshchenko, " 'Abramavych Viktora Yanukovycha."

29. On Kolomoyskyy, see S. Rudenko, *25 Bogachey Ukrainy*, 130–147.

30. See S. Matuszak, *The Oligarchic Democracy: The Influence of Business Groups on Ukrainian Politics, No.42* (Warsaw: Centre for Eastern Studies, September 2012), 105. http://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/osw-studies/2012-10-16/oligarchic-democracy-influence-business-groups-ukrainian-politics

31. Details can be found in my "Pryvat-Yushchenko Tie Spoils Anti-Graft Aim," *Oxford Analytica*, August 28, 2007.

32. S. Leshchenko, "Oliharkhy na vyborakh," www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2012/09/7/6972227/

33. Elena Skarpova, "Neyizvestnye faktyi iz zhyzny Igorya Kolomoyskogo," *Forbes Ukraine*, no. 9 (September 3, 2012). http://forbes.ua/magazine/forbes/1336450-neizvestnye-fakty-iz-zhizni-igorya-kolomojskogo. On the controversial business methods of Kolomoyskyy, see Jim Armitage, "Belgravias Oligarchs Square Up for Battle," *The Independent*, June 5, 2013. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/analysis-and-features/belgravias-oligarchs-square-up-for-battle-8644773.html#

34. See J. Armitage, "Raiders from the East: The Oligarchs Who Won Their Case but Took a Battering," *The Independent*, September 11, 2013. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/analysis-and-features/raiders-from-the-east

-the-oligarchs-who-won-their-case-but-took-a-battering-8807681.html?origin=internalSearch#

35. J. Armitage, "Belgravias Oligarchs Square Up for Battle."

36. Hennadyy Korban, Interview, *Ukrayinska Pravda*, October 25, 2010. http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2007/10/25/3308776/

37. "Ukraine's Dependence on Russian Energy," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, December 8, 2008, www.wikileaks.org/cable/2008/12/08KYIV2358.html

38. Edward Chow, interview, Washington, DC, June 2, 2011.

39. E. Chow and Jonathan Elkind. "Where East Meets West: European Gas and Ukrainian Reality," *Washington Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (January 2009): 77–92.

40. O. Rybachuk, "17 myttyevostey vesniy 2001-ho."

41. At a World Economic Forum "Strategic Dialogue on the Future of Ukraine" in Kyiv on November 5–6, 2013, I criticized Firtash and gas intermediaries at a break-out session. Poroshenko, who was in the same break-out group, took part in the discussion where he defended the gas mogul and RUE.

42. "Ukraine: Cabinet of Ministers Approves PSA—Signing to Follow Oct 8," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, October 2, 2007, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2007/10/07KYIV2505.html#

43. http://dtek.com/en/home

44. "Ukraine: Vanco Case Sent to Constitutional Court, Neither Side Backing Down," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, June 23, 2008, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2008/06/08KYIV1219.html#

45. See Chapter 8 on organized crime in D. Satter, *Darkness at Dawn: The Rise of the Russian Criminal State* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 127–155; and Myroslav Demydenko (pseudonym of R. Kupchinsky), "Ukraine, Vanco Energy, and the Russian Mob," *Eurasia Daily Monitor* 5, no. 177 (September 16, 2008), www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[swords]=8fd5893941d69d0be3f378576261ae3e&tx_ttnews[any_of_the_words]=PKK&tx_ttnews[pointer]=3&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=33941&tx_ttnews[backPid]=381&cHash=ae9e19184c#.UgJ5lqxvCSq

46. "The Luzhkov Dilemma," U.S. Embassy Moscow, February 12, 2010, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2010/02/10MOSCOW317.html.

47. R. Olearchyk, "Ukraine: Billionaire Akhmetov Seeks Partner for Offshore Energy Project," *Financial Times*, February 26, 2013, http://blogs.ft.com/beyond-brics/2013/02/26/ukraine-billionaire-akhmetov-seeks-partner-for-offshore-energy-project/?#axzz2XGi2Dmyr

48. Margarita M. Balmaceda, *Energy Dependency, Politics and Corruption in the Former Soviet Union* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2008), 73.

49. Ibid., 76.

50. Figures are cited from "Ukraine's Dependence on Russian Energy."

51. *It's a Gas: Funny Business in the Turkmen-Ukraine Gas Trade* (London and Washington, DC: Global Witness, July 25, 2006), www.globalwitness.org/library/its-gas-funny-business-turkmen-ukraine-gas-trade

52. "Gas Crisis: Rada Weighs In," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, January 15, 2009, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2009/01/09KYIV91.html

53. "Ukraine: Firtash Makes His Case to the USG."

54. "Ukraine: IUD's Taruta on Regions, Elections, and Gas Deals."

55. "The Tymoshenko Case," September 2012, Skadden, Arps, Slate Meagher & Flom LLP, 19–20. A copy of the report is in the possession of the author. On Mogilevich's ties to Hares Youssef, a Syrian businessperson living in Ukraine who was briefly an adviser to President Yushchenko, see T. Wallace and F. Mesko, *The Odessa Network*, 45.

56. "Ukraine: IUD's Taruta on Regions, Elections, and Gas Deals." On the penetration of the gas lobby into the Party of Regions, see S. Leshchenko, "Firtashyzatsiya Yanukovycha."

57. "Ukraine: PM Yanukovych, Others Analyze Pre- and Post-Election Scene," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, August 10, 2007, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2007/08/07KYIV1968.html#

58. Vladimir Bereznoi, "Kto vladeet Ukrainskym gazom" (Who has control over Ukrainian gas)," *Izvestia*, April 26, 2006, http://izvestia.ru/news/313258

59. S. Wagstyl and Tom Warner, "Firtash Considers LSE Listing for Rosukrenergo," *Financial Times*, April 28, 2006, www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/7fcde8b0-d652-11da-8b3a-0000779e2340.html

60. S. Leshchenko, "Vidlunnya skandalu roku: hroshi za vyshku Boyka platyly u 'sviy' bank," *Ukrayinska Pravda*, January 19, 2012, www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2012/01/19/6919527/. Serhiy Lyovochkin managed the RUE deal on behalf of the Ukrainian government while Yuriy Boyko was the intermediary to Russia. See "Ukraine: IUD's Taruta on Regions, Elections, and Gas Deals."

61. University networks became an important source for future trusted business partners in the post-Soviet era; for example, many of the key figures in the Ukrainian arms trade studied at the Odesa National Maritime University. See the graph in T. Wallace and F. Mesko, *The Odessa Network*, 41. Kivalov established a *Morska* (Maritime) party in Odesa, which merged with the Party of Regions.

62. The FBI accused Mogilevich and his associates of laundering $10 billion through the Bank of New York, stealing $1.2 billion in World Bank loans and being behind a $150 million scam on the Toronto Stock Exchange, www.fbi.gov/wanted/topten/semion-mogilevich/view/ and www.fbi.gov/wanted/cei/igor-lvovich-fisherman

63. These are available on the Melnychenko tapes and cited by J. V. Koshiw, *Abuse of Power*, 64. Smeshko's discussions with Kuchma over this can be found on 62–65 of J, V. Koshiw's *Abuse of Power*.

64. R. Kupchinsky, "The Strange Ties between Semion Mogilevich and Vladimir Putin," *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, 6, no. 57 (March 25, 2009), http://www.jamestown.org/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=34753#.VK_5JYrF_Sk Firtash recounted how Makarov invited him to dinner in Kyiv in January 2002, after he established ETG to replace *Itera*. Makarov attended with his head of security, Mogilevich, and Sergei Mikhas from the *Solnstevo* organized crime gang. "Ukraine: Firtash Makes His Case to the USG."

65. Ibid.

66. D. Firtash, interviews, www.epravda.com.ua/news/2008/01/28/157119/ and http://focus.ua/politics/159734/. At the same time, Firtash's personal website stated that in 2002 "Eural TransGas Kft, a company founded by Dmitry

Firtash, secured exclusive contracts to supply Turkmen gas to Ukraine" and in 2004 "RosUkrEnergo AG joint company (was) established by Dmitry Firtash and Gazprom (Russia)," http://groupdf.com/en/about/history

67. Stephen Grey, Tom Bergin, Sevgil Musaieva, and Roman Anu, "Putin's allies channel billions to Ukrainian oligarchs," *Reuters*, November 26, 2014, http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/26/russia-capitalism-gas-special-report-pix-idUSL3N0TF4QD20141126

68. T. Kuzio, "Will Russia Buy Up Ukraine?" *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, 7, no. 143 (July 26, 2010), http://www.jamestown.org/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=36668&no_cache=1#.VIL0hTGUcrU

69. S. Grey, T. Bergin, S. Musaieva, and R. Anu, "Putin's allies channel billions to Ukrainian oligarchs."

70. Ibid.

71. T. Kuzio, "Dmytro Firtash Launches New Opaque Gas Intermediary," *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, 10, no. 55 (March 25, 2013), http://www.jamestown.org/programs/edm/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=40641&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=685&no_cache=1#.VIKpHzGUcrU

72. *Korrespondent*, November 11, 2011.

73. V. Nalyvaychenko, interview, *Kyiv Post*, December 10, 2010, www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/nalyvaichenko-former-sbu-chief-talks-about-corrupt.html

74. "Ukraine: Interior Minister Ordered to Arrest Tymoshenko Lieutenant," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, April 14, 2006, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2006/04/06KIEV1531.html

75. M. Balmaceda, *Energy Dependency, Politics and Corruption in the Former Soviet Union*, 123–124.

76. V. Bereznoi, "Kto vladeet Ukrainskym gazom."

77. V. Nalyvaychenko, interview, *Kyiv Post*, December 10, 2010.

78. Firtash was no. 12 on the Women for the Future list in the 2002 elections when he was described as a member and Director of "KMIL," http://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vd2002/WEBPROC0V

79. "Ukraine: IUD's Taruta on Regions, Elections, and Gas Deals."

80. M. Balmaceda, *Energy Dependency, Politics and Corruption in the Former Soviet Union*, 136.

81. Taruta and Hayduk outlined this division of labor within the gas lobby in "Ukraine: IUD's Taruta on Regions, Elections, and Gas Deals." The gas lobby's massive financial resources permitted it to exert a great deal of influence on decision making in the Party of Regions. "Party of Regions' Internal Divisions."

82. Bakay was president while Ihor Sharov was vice president of *Respublika* (1992–1995) and *Interhaz* (1995–1999) gas intermediaries, respectively.

83. In the first half of the 1990s High Rock Holdings (becoming Kemnasta Investments) was registered in Cyprus to act as a facilitator for gas intermediaries *Itera, Respublika, Interhaz*, ETG, and RUE. The initial owners of Highrock were Firtash and his spouse (33 percent), Agatheas Trading (34 percent), and other undisclosed partners. Mogilevich's ex-wife, Galina Telesh, was the director of Agatheas Trading from 2001 to 2003 and from then Firtash became its director. Mogilevich was the president of Highrock Holdings.

84. Another company found by the Washington-based International Consortium of Investigative Journalists was Barlow Investing that also was registered offshore on behalf of Mogilevich's former wife, Telesh. The list of companies and individuals with ties to Firtash was disclosed by a High Court in the British Virgin Islands and included companies jointly owned with Bakay. Stefan Candea and Vlad Lavrov; "Firtash Leaks," *Kyiv Post*, June 13, 2013, www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/firtash-leaks-325618.html

85. "Ukraine: IUD's Taruta on Regions, Elections, and Gas Deals."

86. R. Kupchinsky, "The Role of Russian Organized Crime in the Gas War of January 2009," *Eurasia Daily Monitor* 6, no. 17 (January 27, 2009), www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=34416

87. *It's a Gas: Funny Business in the Turkmen-Ukraine Gas Trade.*

88. "Ukraine: Energy Minister on New Governments Plans for Gas Trade, Pipelines, and Nuclear Issues." U.S. Embassy Kyiv, August 11, 2006, www.wikileaks.org/cable/2006/08/06KIEV3128.html

89. "Ukraine: Boyko Discusses Yanukovych's Energy Priorities."

90. M. Balmaceda, *Energy Dependency, Politics and Corruption in the Former Soviet Union*, 134.

91. "New Ukrainian Administration Must Answer Key Questions about *Naftohaz Ukrayiny* and *RosUkrEnergo*," Global Witness, July 25, 2006, www.globalwitness.org/library/new-ukrainian-administration-must-answer-key-questions-about-naftohaz-ukrainy-and

92. M. Balmaceda, *Energy Dependency, Politics and Corruption in the Former Soviet Union*, 137.

93. Daryna Krasnolutska and Kateryna Choursina, "Naftogaz Subsidies Bleed Ukraine as President's Options Wane," *Bloomberg*, August 2, 2013, www.bloomberg.com/news/2013-08-01/naftogaz-subsidies-bleed-ukraine-as-yanukovych-options-dwindle.html

94. http://eng.nung.edu.ua/

95. https://peoplefirst.org.ua/uk and https://peoplefirst.org.ua/en; T. Kuzio, "New Ukrainian Foundation Puts People First," *RFERL Commentary*, May 25, 2010, www.rferl.org/content/New_Ukrainian_Foundation_Puts_People_First/2052436.html

96. http://forbes.ua/persons/543-bahmatyuk-oleg-romanovich and www.forbes.com/profile/oleg-bakhmatyuk/

97. http://korrespondent.net/business/economics/3272816-zolotaia-sotnia-korrespondent-sostavyl-novyi-reitynh-bohateishykh-ukrayntsev

98. Although Ivchenko resigned in May 2006, *Ukrayinska Pravda* reported the appointment three months later of Bakhmatyuk as "One of Ivchenko's People Continuing to Steer *Naftohaz*," www.pravda.com.ua/news/2006/07/26/3134983/

99. Ivan V. Diyak, *Ukrayinske Vidrodzhennya chy nova Rusyfikatsiya?* (Kyiv: n. p., 2000).

100. K. A. Darden, "The Integrity of Corrupt States," 48.

101. J. V. Koshiw, *Abuse of Power*, 113.

102. Ibid.

103. *Den*, November 4, 1998.

104. J. V. Koshiw, *Abuse of Power*, 8–9. A table listing the amounts that total $1.3 billion is given by J. V. Koshiw, *Abuse of Power*, 110.

105. "Khto vin, Vitaliy Klitschko?" http://kobzar1814.blogspot.ca/2012/09/blog-post_9204.html

106. Ibid.; "Braty Klychky—vynyatkovi rekordsmeny kryminalu i sportu," http://novomoskovsk.eu/2012/ 109.рати-клички-виняткові-рекордсмени-к/

107. http://tabloid.pravda.com.ua/focus/502516bfb7b9e/

108. S. Leshchenko, "Oliharkhy na vyborakh: Kolomoyskyy stavyt na Klychka, Pinchuk rozkladaye u vsi koshyky," *Ukrayinska Pravda*, September 7, 2012, www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2012/09/7/6972227/. UDAR deputy Pavlo Ryabikin is a close partner of Bakay who meets him when he visits Ukraine. See "Ihor Bakay khoche u komandu Klytchka" (Ihor Bakay wants to join Klitschko's team), *Narodnyy Korrespondent*, August 29, 2013, http://nk.org.ua/politika/54354-igor-bakay-hoche-u-komandu-klichka

109. Viktor Zherdytskyy was elected in 1998 to parliament as an independent in Transcarpathia, http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/radan_gs09/d_ank_arh?kod=624003

110. V. Tsvil, *U Tsentri Kasetnoho Skandalu*, 104.

111. As late as 2015, Lopushanskyy was still seeking in court to be returned to his position in *Naftohaz Ukrainy*. http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2015/01/17/7055414/

112. See photograph of the Bandera picture in T. Nikolayenko and Serhiy Shcherbyna, "Vladyslav Kaskiv: Proty LNG-terminalu diye tsile uhrupuvannya v kolorakh susidnoyii derzhavy," *Ukrayinska Pravda*, March 14, 2013, www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2013/03/14/6985537/

113. The Radical Party elected Yuriy Shukhevych, a former long-term political prisoner and son of the well-known leader of the Ukrainian nationalist underground, and Oksana Korchynska, wife of Dmytro Korchynskyy, all with ties to the UNA-UNSO nationalist group. Dmytro Korchynskyy's *Bratstvo* nationalist group is often hired for provocations, such as on December 1, 2013, outside the presidential administration. Then provocateurs had unhindered driven a bulldozer to police lines where they launched a riot and were permitted to flee behind *Berkut* lines giving the excuse for the riot police to severely beat authentic protesters. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p9q3VrL9-gI

114. In 2011, Ivchenko's declared income was over 2 million *hryvnya* and his family has over 31 million *hryvnya* in bank deposits. The household possesses a total of seven cars, including a 2006 Mercedes-Benz S-class and two 2009 Mercedes-Benz, 2008 and 2009 Audis, 2008 Porsche Cayenne, and a 2006 Volkswagen. www.pravda.com.ua/news/2012/08/16/6970955/

115. M. Balmaceda, *Energy Dependency, Politics and Corruption in the Former Soviet Union*, 128.

116. "Ukraine. Our Ukraine's Bezsmertny on Why the January 4 Gas Deal Is Good for Ukraine," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, January 25, 2006, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2006/01/06KIEV337.html

117. Ukrainian State Channel One, February 3, 2006.

118. Sergei Kiselev, "The Orange Boomerang," *Moscow News*, February 1–7, 2006, www.russialist.com/2006-33-30.php

119. "Politychni orbity Viktora Yushchenka," *Ukrayinska Pravda*, January 30, 2006, www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2006/01/30/3058123/. Petro Yushchenko's dacha is analyzed at www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2009/12/22/4557101/

120. A. Wilson, *Ukraine Crisis*, 46.

121. Although growing up in Galicia, the Firtash name has either Transcarpathian or Hungarian origins.

122. V. Bereznoi, "Kto vladeet Ukrainskym gazom."

123. "Ukraine: Firtash Uses Crisis to Expand into Banking," U.S. Embassy Kyiv, November 21, 2008, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2008/11/08KYIV2294.html#. See also S. Tuchynska, Maria Shamota, Y. Onyshkiv, and M. Rachkevych, "Billion-dollar Conflicts," *Kyiv Post*, September 9, 2010, www.kyivpost.com/news/nation/detail/81809/

124. S. Candea and V. Lavrov, "Firtash Leaks."

125. David Leigh and Solomon Hughes, "Oligarchs Adviser Funds Tory," *The Guardian*, October 25, 2008, http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2008/oct/25/partyfunding-conservatives

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132. J. A. Armstrong, *The Soviet Bureaucratic Elite*, 129–130.

133. Yevhen Stakhiv humorously wrote that during his two years in Donetsk in 1942–1943, the nationalist underground had greater influence in the region than the Kyiv central authorities. Y. Stakhiv, Interview, *Istorychna Pravda*, September 15, 2012. http://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2012/09/15/94193/. On the organization of a nationalist underground in the Donbas, see Y. Stakhiv, *Kriz Tyurmy, Pidpillya i Kordony. Povist moho zhyttya* (Kyiv: Rada, 1995): 103–166.

134. On the *holodomor* in Donetsk *oblast*, see two volumes (in three parts) of *Natsionalna Knyha Pamyati Zhertv Holodomoru 1932-1933 Rokiv v Ukrayini*. http://www.memory.gov.ua/data/upload/publication/main/ua/1090/80.pdf, http://www.memory.gov.ua/data/upload/publication/main/ua/1090/81.pdf, and http://www.memory.gov.ua/data/upload/publication/main/ua/1090/20020002000200020000200002000200002000.pdf. On Luhansk *oblast*, see the volume http://www.memory.gov.ua/data/upload/publication/main/ua/1090/103.pdf

135. It would be impossible for a German or Austrian politician, for example, to praise the Nazi Gestapo secret police and to go on to experience a future political or government career, let alone be elected president of the country. But this is what Yanukovych did as the Donetsk governor in 2002 when he praised the Soviet equivalent of the Gestapo—the Cheka and NKVD—in his preface in I. I. Kulaga and V. V. Zuyev, eds., *Organyi Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosty v Donetskoy Oblasty* (Donetsk: OOO "Alan," 2002): 5–6. A translation of his preface is available at http://blog.taraskuzio.net/2014/10/23/viktor-yanukovych-praises-the-soviet-secret-police/

136. http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/UA/OHCHR_sixth_report_on_Ukraine.pdf

137. B. Lewytzkyj, "The Ruling Party Organs of Ukraine." in *Ukraine in the Seventies*, ed. P. J. Potichnyj, 273..

138. In 1980 in Poznan, Poland, where I was an exchange student, Soviet academics living on the floor of my student dorm corrected my use of the term *West*. "For us Poland is the West," they told me.

139. A. Fournier, *Forging Rights in a New Democracy*, 94.

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141. Y. Zissels, interview, Kyiv, December 11, 2014.

142. L. I. Shelley, "Russia and Ukraine: Transition or Tragedy?" 206.

143. Piotr H. Kosicki and Oksana Nesterenko, "Eastern Ukraine Has Been a Mafia State for Years. Can Kiev Break the Cycle of Violence?"*New Republic*, June 5, 2014. http://www.newrepublic.com/article/118010/eastern-ukraine-mafia-state-can-kiev-impose-rule-law

144. L. I. Shelley, "Stealing the Russian State," 487.

145. Hiroaki Kuromiya, *Freedom and Terror in the Donbas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 301.

146. Ibid.

147. Ibid.

148. Ibid.

149. V. Chalidze, *Criminal Russia*, 51.

150. Ibid., 273. Y. Bilinsky wrote that the Donetsk faction of the KPU was "eminently acceptable to Moscow" because it was isolated from Ukrainian cultural politics and attuned to thinking in "All-Union" and "centralist terms." See Y. Bilinsky, "The Communist Party of Ukraine After 1966," in *Ukraine in the Seventies*, 245.

151. J. A. Armstrong, *The Soviet Bureaucratic Elite*, 145.

152. http://dif.org.ua/ua/publications/press-relizy/ukraini—-22-dumka-gromadjan.htm

153. "Now It's the Ukraine's Turn," *The Wall Street Journal*, July 18, 1990.

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155. H. Kuromiya, *Freedom and Terror in the Donbas*, 328.

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157. S. Zhuk, "The Dnipropetrovsk Clan in the Soviet Era and Why It Lost Out to Donetsk in Independent Ukraine."

158. L. Paoli, "Broken Bonds: Mafia and Politics in Sicily," 33.

159. H. V. Zon, "The Rise of Conglomerates in Ukraine: The Donetsk Case," 383.

160. Taras Chornovil, interview, *Hazeta po-Ukrayinski*, February 1, 2013. http://gazeta.ua/articles/politics-newspaper/_timoshenko-ce-yanukovich-u-spidnici-ale-vona-aktivna-a-vin-lezheboka/480185. There was an attempted poisoning of Yanukovych and other assassination attempts against him when he was the Donetsk governor. Taras Chornovil, interview, *Hazeta po-Ukrayinski*, August 13, 2013. http://gazeta.ua/articles/511084. See T. Kuzio, "Assassination Phobia Spreads in Ukraine," *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, 7, no. 124 (June 28, 2010) and "Yanukovych's Assassination-Phobia Deepens," *Jamestown Foundation* blog, October 28, 2010. http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=36540 and http://jamestownfoundation.blogspot.ca/2010/10/yanukovychs-assassination-phobia.html

161. Three requests for Akhmetov's biography from 1985 to 1995 were made by this author in front of witnesses at a British-Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce event held in the Hilton Hotel, Kyiv, on April 17, 2014. Jock Mendoza-Wilson, director of International and Investor Relations at SCM, refused to provide such a biography.

162. H. V. Zon, "The Rise of Conglomerates in Ukraine: The Donetsk Case," 386.

163. Y. Lutsenko, interview, Kyiv, November 1, 2013. The author has hundreds of very detailed police documents from the 1990s on organized crime in the Donbas region given to him by senior members of the Interior Ministry. The September 1999 report by the Interior Ministry Directorate on Combatting Organized Crime titled "Overview of the Most Dangerous Organized Crime Structures in Ukraine" lists seven groups in Donetsk *oblast*. The report alleges that the "Renit" organized group "dealt with money laundering and financial fraud, and controlled a large number of both real and fictitious companies. It goes by the name Lyuksovska hrupa." Underneath the report is written "The leader is Akhmetov Renat Leonidovych born in 1966, who lives at 16 Udarnyy Street, Donetsk." http://reportingproject.net/new/REPORTS/Document%20about%20Donetsk%20crime%20group.pdf. See also Harriet Salem, "Ukraine's Oligarchs: A Who's Who Guide," *Vice News*, October 13, 2014. https://news.vice.com/article/ukraines-oligarchs-a-whos-who-guide

164. See transcript of conversation between Kuchma and Interior Minister Kravchenko in M. Melnychenko, *Kto yest kto na dyvanie prezydenta Kuchmy*, 81–86. On ties between the SDPUo, the party that Medvedchuk led, and organized crime in Transcarpathia, see T. Kuzio, "State-Led Violence in Ukraine's 2004 Elections

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165. H. V. Zon, "The Rise of Conglomerates in Ukraine: The Donetsk Case," 381. For a comparative analysis of these nexuses, see T .Kuzio, "The Organized Crime/Security Forces Nexus in Yugoslavia and Ukraine," *RFERL Newsline*, March 31, 2003. http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1142887.html

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167. Krantz was a major rival of Brahin. Organized crime brothers Artur and Yakov Bogdanov were also rivals of Brahin and they were murdered in the same year, 1992. See J. V. Koshiw, *Abuse of Power*, 203.

168. The photograph has been published in many publications and a copy can be viewed at http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/chornovol/5106584eed6da/. S. Matuszak writes, "Links between Akhmetov and Brahin were documented in the operational evidence of the Ministry of Internal Affairs" and he provides a link to a video at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dA29BDRfCEA. Cited from S. Matuszak, *The Oligarchic Democracy*, 88.

169. See the photographs at http://tabloid.pravda.com.ua/photos/4f63197aba18d/; http://tabloid.pravda.com.ua/news/51076ecbd0e33/ and http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/chornovol/5106584eed6da/

170. S. Matuszak, *The Oligarchic Democracy*, 88. Akhat Brahin had the underworld nickname "Alik the Greek" remains unclear. The 2001 Ukrainian census recorded 91,500 Greeks in Ukraine, of whom 77,000 lived in Mariupol, Donetsk *oblast*.

171. According to J. V. Koshiw (*Abuse of Power*, 203–204), their Tatar ethnicity may have brought together Brahin, Akhmetov, and Yevhen Shcherban. Akhmetov was a protégé of Brahin (A. Wilson, *Ukraine Crisis*, 121).

172. T. Chornovol, Interview, Kyiv, October 30, 2013.

173. On Akhmetov, see S. Rudenko, *25 Bogachey Ukrainy*, 18–35.

174. http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-11-01/the-world-s-200-richest-people.html and http://www.bloomberg.com/billionaires/2013-01-23/aaa

175. www.feg.org.ua. The head of the FEG international advisory board was Kim Campbell, the only (short-lived) woman prime minister of Canada who held this post in 1993.

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177. The Ukrainian NGO *Chesno* listed Akhmetov as one of the worst cases of absenteeism from parliament (http://chesno.org/news/1239/). From February 2011 to January 2012, Akhmetov's card was used to vote 2,982 times when he was not present in parliament (http://chesno.org/news/1507/). S. Leshchenko, "Podarunok vid Yanukovycha yak znushchannya," *Ukrayinska Pravda*, May 9, 2012. http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2012/05/29/6965503/

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should divide up responsibility with him), *Ukrayinska Pravda* blog, December 3, 2013. http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/leschenko/529e2f5be32c1/

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CHAPTER 11

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